

**The Draft Programme
of the Young Communist
International**

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**The Draft
Programme**
of the
**Young Communist
International**



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**Young Communist
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FOREWORD

We re-publish the draft programme of the Y.C.I. together with the report on this question to the Fourth Congress.

By resolution of the Fourth Congress, all Sections are instructed to discuss this draft and the draft programme of the Communist International, of which our programme is a part.

It is imperative that every Young Communist gains a thorough knowledge of the fundamental principles of our organisation.

Without this theoretical clarity, a Leninist organisation is impossible.

Our programme makes possible the commencement of a systematic Leninist educational work.

Our programme is the granite foundation upon which is built our whole organisation.

We hope that the discussion aroused by the publication of these comments, will acquaint every member with our aims and tasks, and enable us to unanimously adopt the final draft at our Fifth World Congress.

The E.C. of the Y.C.I.



ON THE PROGRAMME

1. The Congress ratifies the draft programme presented to it, and presents it to the Leagues for discussion.
2. The Executive is instructed to issue the draft together with the speech.
3. The Executive Committee and also the Leagues are instructed to regularly and intensively discuss the programme in the press.
4. Similarly, the programme of the Communist International, which was decided upon in draft by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, must be discussed in detail.



RESOLUTION UPON THE PROPAGANDA OF LENINISM.

1. The Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. considers it necessary to carry out a systematic work in all sections of the Y.C.I. for the study and the propaganda of the ideological heritage left to us by our great leader, LENIN.

The work of Lenin has freed Marxism from the mutilations of the Second International, and at the same time has, upon the basis of experiences of the working class movement, supplemented it and carried it further. Leninism, that is to say, revolutionary Marxism of the imperialist epoch and the proletarian revolution, is therefore, the sharpest weapon in the hands of the fighting Working Class.

Only when the battalions of the Communist Youth are educated upon the basis of Leninism will they understand how to find their bearings correctly in the complicated political situation, to bolshevise the organisation, and to lead their work upon a correct path. The Congress, therefore, calls to the Young Communist Leagues of all countries to take up energetically the work for the propaganda of Leninism.

2. The Congress points out that the study of Leninism cannot be separated from the educational work of the Leagues, but that the whole educational work must have a Leninist content.

The study of Leninism cannot take place without a study of Marxism. For this reason and hav-

ing regard to the lack of leading forces for the educational work, the Congress recommends to the Leagues that they establish no special circles for the study of Leninism, but that they see to it that the elements of Leninism form the basis of all programmes for the circles and lecture courses, and that they make the Leninist circles the highest course in the system of political education. In consequence, the programmes of all circles must be so worked out that the basic problems of Leninism form the central points:

- (a) Imperialism, the national and colonial questions.
- (b) Working class and the peasantry.
- (c) The State, the proletarian dictatorship and the Soviet power.
- (d) The organisational principles of Bolshevism.
- (e) The tactical questions, etc.

3. *The explanation of the Leninist methods for the relation of theory and practice. The history of the struggle of Lenin against opportunism and Left digressions, must take a special place in the study and propaganda of Leninism.* The programmes must not be purely historically built up, but they must deal with the individual fundamental questions of Leninism, and show how these questions have been formulated and carried through in the whole history of the revolutionary struggles and particularly in the Russian Party and the Communist International.

The study and propaganda of Leninism must not be carried out in the circles alone, but must take a leading place in the whole practical work of the Leagues. The anti-militarist work, the work in the trade unions, the work on the land, etc., must be permanently supported by the propaganda and explanation of the ideas of Leninism on these fields, only in this way can we obtain the greatest possible connection between the individual fields of our work and final aim.

4. The Congress considers it necessary to use the press in the broadest manner for the propaganda of Leninism and the explanation of Leninist ideas. It is the task of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. to issue a number of brochures, etc., as assistant means for the propaganda of Leninism, and for this purpose it will utilise in the first place, the brochures which have already appeared in the Russian language (for instance, the books of Stalin, Safrov, the articles of Bukharin, Adoratsky, etc.). Similarly a special selection from the writings of Lenin must be issued for the Youth. This selection must be issued in all the important European and Oriental languages at low prices. They must be edited in such a manner and supplied with such notes and explanation, that they are easily understandable to the Youth. At the same time the Executive shall issue a popular pamphlet upon Lenin and his work for mass distribution amongst the Working Youth in all countries. In all the newspapers and publications issued by the Leagues, articles must appear regularly, explaining the ideas of Leninism in relation to topical questions.

5. The Executive is instructed to collect all material upon the co-operative work of Comrade Lenin with the revolutionary Communist Youth movement during the war, and later in Russia, and in the C.I. and the Y.C.I. This material must be carefully examined and utilised in the necessary manner in the press and (or) in special pamphlets, etc.

The Congress calls to the Communist Youth of all countries to occupy themselves systematically and persistently with the work of Comrade Lenin, in order to educate a new generation of true Bolsheviks, free from all the heritages of the Second International, from the ranks of the Young Communist International.



THE SPEECH OF COMRADE TARCHANOV

On the Programme Question of the Young Communist International.

Comrades, we have decided to combine the report of the programme commission elected by the Executive Committee, which was active in the last few months, with an argument upon the resolution on Leninism, in the form of a short information which will be recommended to your notice. In consequence of this, it is not necessary for me to spend much time upon partial questions, or upon those less important alterations, which were decided upon in the former draft of the programme which served the previous world congress as a basis. Similarly, I will not present the reasoning in favour of the structure of the programme, nor for those unaltered sections which have been left, for this was already done at the previous Congress, and is already contained in writing. At the moment I will merely discuss the new and more important questions of a principle nature.

The Deficiencies in the Discussion.

Above all, comrades, I will say a few words upon the actual progress of the programme discussion in the most important sections of the Y.C.I. Before the Congress, when we attempted to draw the sum of the discussions, we came unfortunately to a very sad conclusion. The discussion has been nowhere carried on as exhaustively and thoroughly as the importance of the question would demand. This is

a very disappointing fact, and it is an extremely bad sign that, for instance, in France, only one single article has appeared upon the programme discussion, and that was an article upon the work amongst the young women workers. The work amongst the young women workers—this is the only thing upon which the French comrades considered it necessary to express their opinion. In the discussion of the fundamental documents of our movement. In England and America the discussion confined itself to the question of our programmatic demands with regard to the application of Youth Labour after the conquest of power by the proletariat.

The third question which was discussed, was the question of the work amongst the Peasant Youth, and in this case the discussion took place only at the enlarged Session of the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I., in the Trade Union Commission. In Russia, there was actually no discussion upon the programme questions. But during the discussion which took place in March and April, 1924, upon the next tasks of the League, very much of value was introduced in the definition of the question upon the role of the Y.C.I. after the seizure of power by the proletariat.

However, when we draw the balance of the discussion upon an international scale we can say, and this is made clear from the examples quoted, that fundamentally considered, no discussion has taken place, and that the Leagues have not paid a tenth part of the attention to the programme question which it deserved. The clearest example for this is given by our German section. After the October

defeat an extensive discussion of the chief problems of Party tactics took place inside the German Party, and particularly upon the question of the application of the tactic of the united front, upon the slogan of the Workers' Government, and upon the work of the Party in the trade unions. This discussion also took place in our League. Unfortunately, however, our League confined itself exclusively to a discussion of the questions of the Party tactics. It did not even make the attempt to draw the balance of its own activity during the Autumn period, and in this way the rich experiences of the work of the Y.C.I. during the period of the immediate struggle for power, were lost. These experiences could have been of the greatest use to all our Leagues if they had been collected and theoretically examined, and made available to the Leagues.

As we have said, unfortunately the German League completely neglected this question, and this is a clear proof of the poor development in our Leagues of an interest in the main problems of the Youth movement. We must also say that the programme of the Comintern, which should have been discussed by the Leagues in the same manner, was not discussed in any of the sections of the Young Communist International.

We must, therefore, come to the following conclusion :

The resolution of the previous World Congress with regard to the Programme Discussion, has not been carried out.

This in itself makes the adoption of the programme difficult, for as this is the fundamental document of our movement, and contains the aim and character of our organisation, and determines the chief methods of our work, it cannot be adopted too hurriedly, but may only be ratified after a basic discussion in which the rich and varied experience of our whole movement should show itself and find a sufficient expression. As this has not been the case, *we have decided not to ratify the programme finally at this Congress*, but to place it once again before the Leagues with all the proposed alterations for further discussion. We demand that all Leagues shall discuss this programme in the coming year in the most thorough manner possible.

More Interest for Theory.

The circumstance that the discussion was so weak, forces us to a further conclusion: We are convinced that *the interest for the theory of the Communist Movement in general in our Leagues, is on far too low a level*. This is an extremely disturbing symptom. Such a situation cannot be regarded as normal; for although we must always concentrate our activity upon practical questions, yet nevertheless this practical work should not react against our interests for theory, against our interests for the study of the fundamentals of the proletarian movement. Nothing can have more harmful effects than such a carelessness with regard to theory.

Engels treated all young people with merciless scorn who were of the opinion that one could lead

the Workers' movement and speak with the Workers without bothering to know anything. In one of his letters, Engels wrote that the greatest service which the law against the Socialists had rendered the German working class movement was, that it had freed the Party from German students with such Socialist ideas, who held it completely superfluous to study political economy, the history of political economy, or the social problem, and who were of the opinion that one could present the workers with any nonsense, anything was good enough for them. We must definitely make an end with all such opinions amongst us. The time of agitation with empty phrases has long since passed. In order to be able to work under the complicated conditions which exist at the present moment, not only in Russia, but also in other countries, it is necessary to have a deep understanding of the period through which we are passing, for the social relations which arise out of it, and for the political tasks with which it faces us. If we were incapable of analysing these phenomena, theoretically, we would be also incapable of choosing the correct tactics. At our 8th Party Congress, Lenin said: "If we put on the airs of frogs, blow ourselves up and puff ourselves out, then the whole world will laugh and we would be simply swaggerers. We have trained the proletarian Party upon the basis of the Marxist programme, and in the same way the hundreds and millions of toilers must also be trained. Bestir yourselves to prove scientifically that you possess a scientific basis, and not one of sand."

Comrade Lenin said this on a different occasion but we can apply these remarks to ourselves com-

pletely. Enough with general phrases, the blowing out and puffing up like the frogs! The time and circumstances are such that we must be in a position to prove our scientific basis, we must be able to supply the Youth who come into our ranks, and who seek for answers to a number of burning questions, with positive knowledge. Apart from this, the theoretical training of our young movement for the actual practical work, is an urgent need. I could produce here dozens of examples to show how an insufficient Marxist education in our Leagues leads all the time to dangerous practical conclusions, to completely incorrect digressions in the work, and finally causes the waste of energy and forces in internal struggles, which could be avoided or which could have been made much shorter and more limited, if they were conducted on a more or less Marxist basis.

Above all, the speeches and articles of our Italian comrades upon the role of the Party and the winning of the majority of the working class, must be counted amongst these examples. Our Italian youth follows completely in the footsteps of its Party, or to be more correct—in the footsteps of Comrade Bordiga. However, in this case we cannot support such a bond between the Party and the Youth, for unity upon the basis of ignorance, unity with the Party in an insufficient theoretical training, are the most unfortunate forms of the unity between the Party and the Youth. Such a unity is to be condemned, and never to be praised. Another example can be supplied by the discussion which took place at the previous Congress of the Y.C.I. on the Sport Question, and which continued in the Youth press.

During this discussion, some comrades introduced the so-called theory of the "Three Arms of the Working Class Movement." By this theory they meant that the working class movement should direct itself in three columns: A political, a trade union, and a cultural working class movement.

I do not doubt that these comrades would hardly have stood by their opinions, if they had possessed the same knowledge as the Russian Marxist Bolsheviks upon the question of the changing conditions of the economic and political struggle during the whole course of the Russian Party history, or apart from that, if they had read what Lenin wrote upon the neutrality of the trade unions. Or let us take a third example: The quarrel about who was to form the kernel of our movement—the Workers, or the Unemployed, a struggle which took place last year in almost all our Leagues, when they attempted for the first time to go over to the shop nuclei basis. It is the same with the discussion upon Centralism, a discussion which is well known to all our Leagues (in Czecho-Slovakia, by the way, this question is even to-day, the centre of the struggle. This question is only possible where the theoretical fundamentals of Bolshevism, upon the character and structure of the Party, are completely unknown.) All these are things about which Lenin wrote in 1903-4, and which since then have been perfectly clear for us, and beyond doubt. They could also be just as clear and indubitable for the comrades in the West, if the interests for theory amongst them were sufficiently strong, if, let us say, they would take the time to make themselves acquainted with the discussions between the Russian Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, at the differ-

ent stages of the development of the Russian Social-Democracy. Such examples, comrades, could be produced in great numbers, for example, the quarrel upon the work in the Orient, etc. But I take it that the examples which I have already quoted are a completely sufficient proof of the great lack of clarity, and deficiency upon the field of the Marxist education of the leading circles of our League.

I believe that this is a result of that peculiar idea which has shown itself in much of the League work and which is to the effect, that all study of theory is a mere waste of time and almost opportunism, for we must be practical men concerned with practical work and have no need to waste time upon theory. "We must work amongst the masses and not crack our heads with theoretical discussions." Such a statement contains very much which is incorrect, and even dangerous. The comrades have a tendency to represent this preference for practical work almost as true one hundred per cent. Bolshevism. Lenin, nevertheless, would have rejected such Bolshevism without the slightest doubt.

An example:

Even before the revolution of 1905, when Lenin was occupied together with Plekhanov in the editorial staff of the old *Iskra*, several comrades raised the question of the issue of a popular Workers' paper, for they were of the opinion that the *Iskra* occupied itself with difficult theory, not understandable to the Workers. Lenin sharply attacked such a tendency to simplicity. He feared that to ignore the theory of Marxism, the arsenal

of tactical thought which, although at that time not so rich, was gradually accumulating, would lead to a revival of the old "Economism," to a preference for the struggle on behalf of the immediate needs of the working class, for its economic demands, and that in consequence the tasks of the political struggle might be forgotten. He understood that the Russian Social-Democrats would only be able to bring the struggle for the daily needs of the workers into a close and harmonious connection with the political struggle if they had sufficient theoretical training, only if they were in a position to recognise the final aim of the working class movement, and to recognise the path to be followed to the emancipation of the working class. This was the attitude of Lenin towards theory. With Lenin, the theoretical work went always hand in hand with the practical work. He never set the tasks of education up in opposition to the political activities, as so many comrades in the Russian League, and in almost all countries, have a tendency to do.

Our chief misfortune is just the fact, that we have not yet succeeded in *combining the practical work with the theoretical*, and that in a great number of countries we concentrate all our forces upon the advancement of our knowledge, or on the contrary, we almost completely neglect the educational work. In Russia for instance, we have been for a long time compelled to struggle against such tendencies.

At the Congress of our Russian Young Communist League, Comrade Bucharin quoted examples to show how Lenin worked theoretically

upon each practical slogan which he gave to the working masses, for example the slogan:

"ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING CLASS WITH THE PEASANTRY,"

which is well known to all of you. The word "Alliance" ("Smytchka") has become international and is used in all languages. Lenin did not suddenly set up this slogan at random or pick it up in the street, but it was the result of long years of theoretical work, to which it gave a concise form. One can point to a whole row of works upon the agrarian question, a whole row of enquiries into revolutionary history, with which Lenin occupied himself before he set up this slogan. Or the slogan

"All Power to the Soviets!"

This slogan was similarly the result not only of an accumulation of practical experiences in the revolution of 1905, but also of an extensive theoretical work, one of the results of which was also the famous pamphlet, 'The State and Revolution.' Just because the slogans of Lenin had a firm scientific basis and an unshakeable theoretical foundation, they were accepted by the masses and struck home every time.

Comrades, I believe that the time has now come when we must say to ourselves,

"We must learn more, Leninism must be studied."

We must occupy ourselves more with the theoretical questions of Marxism, if we wish

to become real Leninists, if we wish to give our movement the correct line of development, and if we wish to ensure our success upon the field of practical work. In particular, the discussion upon the programme must be carried on in all Leagues, as widely, as thoroughly, and as basically, as possible. Our Youth press, our meetings, and our nuclei, must be drawn into this task. We consider it very necessary that our International organ, "The International of Youth," should carry a special section for the discussion of the questions connected with the programme. We are also in favour of the proposal to publish at least one article in each number of the organs issued by the Central Committees of the Leagues, in which live political questions should be not merely superficially, but fundamentally, discussed, and at the same time theoretical knowledge should be supplied to the readers of our press. This would be particularly desirable in such cases where the questions dealt with could be brought into close connection with the working out of the programme. Comrades, if we carry through the programme discussion in this manner, we shall be able to finally adopt our programme at the next Congress.

From all that which has been previously said, one may not, however, conclude that we should make no alterations in the old programme draft. We have already accomplished a certain amount of work, and have undertaken a number of alterations to the old draft of the programme, without waiting for the great mass of our Leagues to begin to interest themselves for these questions.

The chief alterations deal with the following points:

- (1) *The practical basis of the Communist International.*
- (2) *The tasks of the Leagues after the conquest of power by the proletariat.*
- (3) *The organisational basis of our movement.*
- (4) *The Peasant Youth.*
- (5) *The training in the spirit of Lenin.*

The Youth and Politics.

I intend to deal as concisely as possible with each individual question.

With regard to the structure, we have undertaken alterations by cutting out all paragraphs in which the practical questions of the Comintern were discussed (the united front, the strike question, the armed insurrection, and other similar matters), for we are of the opinion that it is not necessary for us to deal with these questions once again, as they are already dealt with with sufficient thoroughness in the programme of the Communist International itself. As we are a section of the Communist International, we naturally accept its programme and the basis of its tactics completely. We nevertheless consider it necessary to retain the whole political introduction which defines the political tasks of our organisation, in its entirety. We have done that for the following reason: In contradistinction to the Socialist Youth International we naturally regard ourselves above all as a political fighting organisation of the Working Youth, which educates a Young Communist generation upon the basis of an active participation

in the political struggles of the working class, and which can only carry out the emancipation of the Working Youth in a general struggle with the adult workers against the capitalist social order. It is generally known that the Socialist Youth regard this question in a different fashion. In the programme of the old "Working Youth International" and in the chief decisions of its inaugural Congress, one can find no single word about politics. One can find no single word upon the class struggle carried on by the working class and the working class Youth. The Socialist Youth defines its political opinions in the following way in its programme.

"We condemn all attempts to make a political party from the movement of the working class Youth. To attempt to give the Youth movement such a character, would be in opposition to the wishes and requirements of the great majority of the Young Workers of both sexes, and would prevent the healthy development of the Youth organisation."

This declaration is naturally quite characteristic for the young Social Democrats. It is true that the programme upon which the Youth of the Second and a Half International supported itself before the Hamburg Unity Conference, dealt with the question of political activity, and politics in general, in a somewhat different manner. There we could meet with such phrases as, "The participation of the proletarian Youth and their organisation in the present political class struggle, is an educational means of the greatest importance." But it is no secret for any of us, that when in

Hamburg these two ideologies amalgamated, the first won a complete victory. The best example for this is the Socialist Youth of Austria, which, is known, formed the Left-wing of the United International, and which for a long time carried on a serious polemic against the Berlin ideology, against the "free German" spirit of the "Working Youth of Germany," but which finally abandoned all their positions, and which at the moment develops its activity according to the worst examples of the Liberal petty bourgeois German Youth.

Naturally, we the Young Communist International, reject this idea of political activity decisively, and for this reason we have retained the political introduction, ratified by our previous World Congress, in our programme.

The Tasks of the Y.C.I. During the Period of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Comrades, I will now give the reasons for the first of the alterations proposed by us. This refers to the tasks after the conquest of power by the proletariat. We must state that this question was not dealt with in a sufficiently thorough manner in the previous draft. Actually, we dealt with this question in quite a mechanical manner for we formulated it in the following manner:

Before the seizure of power by the proletariat, it is the task of the Young Communist League to undermine the apparatus of the bourgeois state, the bourgeois army, etc. But after the proletarian

revolution it is the task of the League to build up the Red Army which must consolidate the proletarian dictatorship. But the question naturally has a much deeper significance and does not limit itself merely to a statement that the tasks of destruction is replaced by the task of construction.

In my opinion the question of the tasks of the Young Communist League in a country where the working class has been victorious must be dealt with in the closest connection with the problem of the birth of the *New Generation*. This problem plays a decisive role in the construction of Communist society, as we picture it upon the basis of the idea of the "Development into Socialism" dealt with by Lenin. I believe, comrades, that a sceptical attitude to this problem of the birth of a new generation would be completely incorrect. It is not necessary to speak here of a play with Left-phrases. When we speak of the education of a new generation after the proletarian revolution, this is in no way opportunism. The mistake made by the Social-Democrats in their talk of the "New Humanity" does not consist in a fact that there can be no "New Humanity," but in the fact that they imagine the birth of this New Humanity under the conditions of capitalist society, under the dominance of the bourgeoisie, and their educational monopoly and their influence upon almost all the phenomena of social life.

You will remember how the Social-Democrats deal with this question. In the programme of the Socialist Youth International it is said: "The renewal of personality, the true Socialism, the development of a Socialist humanity for the future

society—that is the slogan of the Proletarian Youth movement.” Supported upon this paragraph their whole educational activity for the production of the so-called “New Humanity” of the “Future Man” develops, and here is their basic mistake, for under the conditions of capitalism, such talk is nothing but reactionary utopianism. Under the conditions of present capitalist society, the Working Youth can have no other task than the destruction of the bourgeois order the overthrow of the dominance of the Imperialist states, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only when this task has been fulfilled, can one speak of the education of a new generation. After the proletarian revolution one can, and even must, discuss this education, and this refers not only to Russia, but to all countries, although the construction of Socialist society will proceed differently in the various countries according to the economic and political relations of the country, according to the stage of their industrial development, and according to the cultural development of their peoples, etc.

The general and characteristic line of the struggle for Socialism after the Proletarian Revolution, as compared to the struggle before the seizure of power by the working class, will consist in the fact, that whilst the development previously was to a certain extent catastrophic, the revolutionary development after the victory of the proletarian revolution will be replaced by an evolutionary process. The characteristics of this evolutionary process will be that the foreign economic forms will not be destroyed, but overcome. The state will not be simply destroyed immediately it is no longer required, but it will die a slow and natural death.

And parallel with these two processes goes a third process, the work upon the human material, the re-modelling of the classes, the birth of the new generation, a process which is necessary for the Socialist society. This smelting process of the classes shows itself in the raising of the cultural level of the whole mass, and its education in the spirit necessary for Socialism, and also in the training of the necessary administrative, economic and cultural forces, required by the Proletarian State.

It is just in the carrying out of this work after the victory of the Proletarian Revolution that the chief importance of our Youth Leagues consist. The role of the Young Communist Leagues after the victory of the Proletarian Revolution consists, therefore, in the recreation of the forces of the working class, and at the same time in the Socialist re-modelling of further circles of the Working Youth.

These theoretical considerations have an immense practical importance for us; they imply for instance, that the social basis of the organisation after the victory of the Proletarian Revolution can be broader than under the conditions of the capitalist states. The social basis of that grade of the working class movement preceding the Young Communist League, i.e., the Communist Children's Movement can be still broader. Our task consists in drawing ever broader and broader masses of the working people into the Socialist construction, i.e., the young generation of the toilers.

It appears to me that in this way we must

approach the question of the role of the Y.C.I., after the seizure of power by the proletariat, and that we must proceed from this point in all the practical conclusions for our work. Naturally, we may not forget for one instant that for us Communists and Leninists, the class education consists above all in a continuous participation in the political struggles and the social work of the working class.

The Idea of Collectivity.

Comrades, as far as the question of collectivism is concerned, it appears to me that now for the first time after almost three years since the Second World Congress of the Young Communist International have passed, that we gradually come to an understanding of the tasks of our Leagues as mass organisations. At the Second Congress we issued the slogan for the winning of the masses, the winning of the majority. We presented this slogan with theoretical accuracy and thanks to our correct treatment of this question, we can point to the great successes which we have had in influencing the broadest circles of the Working Youth, both in the Soviet Union, and in the countries of the capitalist West.

In practice, however, we have defined and detailed this idea of collectivism much later in the course of the carrying out of the decisions of the Second World Congress. Here the process was a somewhat similar one to that experienced by the NEP. When the Russian Party adopted the decree for the replacement of the compulsory payment of goods, by the natural tax, at its Tenth Party Congress, hardly any of the Party members

had a concrete picture of how the NEP would look, how Russia would look, after it left the period of War Communism and entered the period of NEP; and only then, when we began to carry out this Congress decision, when after the adoption of the decision, many decrees appeared upon leases and concessions, when we saw in practice how small peasant production, small trading and private capital would exist side by side with state forms of production and our Socialised industry, then for the first time we began to understand what the NEP really was, and what conclusions we had to draw from it.

The same was the case with the decisions of the Third World Congress of the Communist International. We could say that we had grasped the tasks of the mass organisation, and that we could, therefore, correctly formulate the questions of the work of our Leagues only in the practical carrying out of the decisions, only after we had worked upon a great number of questions dealing with the shop nuclei, with our trade union work, with the new methods of our enlightenment work, only after we had adopted a great number of extremely important decisions upon the development of the policy adopted by our Second Congress, and only after our organisation had commenced to carry through these decisions, only after three years of practical work. Therefore, for the first time we have been able to deal with a number of questions of the mass work in our programme. These, comrades, are the remarks which I wish to make upon the question of this section of our programme.

The Organisational Question.

I will now deal with the organisational question. This section has been thoroughly dealt with by the programme commission, for in our opinion everything was dealt with too abstractly and "schematically" in the old draft. We are of the opinion that one can only deal with the organisational question in the closest connection with the political tasks of the organisation. During the Party discussion which took place in the Russian Party at the end of the previous year, and the beginning of 1924, there was a moment when the opposition said: the political line of the Central Committee is correct, but its organisational line is wrong. And Comrade Stalin remarked upon this very correctly:

Can an organisational line or an organisation work be incorrect when the political line is correct?

One can never separate politics from the organisational form, for the political tasks pursued by this or that organisation, and the political work carried on by them, determine always and without exception, the way in which this organisation deals with all questions, even purely organisational questions.

When we commenced work in the programme commission upon the question of the organisational form of the Y.C.I. as a mass organisation, and at the same time the fighting organisation of the working class Youth, we were able to convince ourselves once again of this fact.

We decided to present the reasons for the basic forms of our organisation in more detail, and to

draw a parallel between the Y.C.I. and the Socialist Youth. In fact, comrades, when we consider how this or the other question is dealt with by the Socialist Youth on the one hand, and by our organisation on the other, we observe that the questions are both formulated and solved in a very different fashion.

Let us take, for instance, the question of the *basis of our organisation*. We make the *shop nuclei* the basis of our movement. And from there we commence the task of winning the majority of the working youth for our aim, for the final struggle for power. This basis is at the same time determined by the necessity of carrying on the daily struggle for the economic interests of the working class Youth. On the other hand the Social-Democrats give their movement another basis, that of territorial districts. Why? The reply is very obvious, it is because the Social-Democratic organisation is no fighting organisation of the working class Youth, and has only educational and cultural aims intended to draw the attention of the young workers from the tasks of the class struggle and the participation in the struggles of the adult working class. Such an organisation naturally does not need to be closely connected with the shops and factories. Such tasks determine the basis of the Socialist Youth organisations.

Or let us, for instance, take the question of *Centralism*. As the Socialist Youth is not a fighting organisation which must take part in the class struggle, it does not require centralised Leagues, and can permit itself the luxury of federalism. It deals with the question not only on a national, but also upon an international scale, upon this basis.

We, for instance, strive to become a united, strongly centralised and consolidated international Youth League, but the Socialist Youth International sets itself no such aims, nor has it ever done. Its programme reads simply: "that the Leagues affiliated to the Socialist Youth International have the right to choose their organisational forms and methods of work according to the economic and political relations of their own countries."

A third question—that of the *social composition*. We deal with this question of the social composition of the organisation in the following way: In the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers, the hegemony (the leadership) belongs to the proletariat. The kernel of our organisation must, therefore, be composed of the Working Youth. However, the working class can only be victorious when it draws all the toilers and all the exploited into the struggle with it. Therefore, apart from the workers, we must draw also the best and most revolutionary sections of the peasantry and such individual persons from the intelligentsia who have proved their devotion to the cause of Communism, into our ranks. In this way, we stress on the one hand the class character of our organisation, and on the other hand we distinguish ourselves sharply from sectarian class divisions. We do not find that this question is dealt with in the same manner by the Socialist Youth. We can find no word in their organisation about the working class kernel. As they represent a purely cultural organisation, or more simply expressed, a cultural institution, there is, therefore, no reason for them to take care that the leadership of the organisation

remains in the hands of the workers. We can also find no reference to any necessity for drawing in the Peasant Youth. As they "struggle" only for the daily and private interest of the Working Youth, they have never left the confined frontiers of a guild, and have never learned to see in the working class the leader of all the suppressed and exploited.

The situation is similar with the fourth question also—the question of discipline. This question is missing completely amongst the Socialist Youth, for what sort of discipline can exist in an organisation which is only occupied with educating the "New Humanity" on the basis of the development of a "free Spirit?" We, however, regard the necessity for a strong, conscious, and iron discipline, as one of the chief conditions for the existence of our organisation. For otherwise we could naturally not fulfil a single one of the tasks which fall to us as the Communist organisation of the working class Youth.

We have dealt with the question of the organisational form of the Young Communist Movement upon the basis of this parallel. This is a question of immense importance. You know that during the discussion which recently concluded in the Russian Communist Party, that this question took up a great space. It was in truth, the testing stone for very many questions. And he who is acquainted with the history of the Russian Party from the first days of its existence to the present time, knows how much room the quarrels upon the organisational question took in our differences of opinion with the Mensheviks. The occasion for the

split of the Russian Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was an organisational question—namely, the first point in the Party statutes which discussed who might be admitted into the ranks of the Party and regarded as Party members. And later also, the organisational questions stood in the foreground, in the course of the whole Russian Party history.

And can we not observe that even now the opportunistic sections of our parties, just those who have not completely freed themselves from the ideological inheritance of the Second International, raise objections against the decisions adopted by the World Congress upon the organisational forms? Let us take for instance the opposition made by the Czechist Communist Party against the introduction of the shop nuclei. This question was naturally in close connection with all the other opportunistic digressions, of the leading Czechist Communist Groups. Let us take on the other hand, the propaganda for the organisational ideas of Rosa Luxemburg carried on by the extreme Left in the German Party, and which are naturally in close connection with all their other digressions from the policy of Bolshevism. We are of the opinion that we should create full clarity upon all these questions (upon the role of the Party and Young Communist League, upon the dominant role of the working class kernel, upon the social composition of the organisation, upon discipline, upon the international unity of our organisations, etc.), in the minds of the active workers of our Youth movement in all countries, and in the minds of the broad masses of our League membership. The programme will have to fulfil its task in this question also.

The Y.C.I. and the Peasant Youth.

The next important alteration which we have undertaken in the programme and with which I will now deal, refers to the question of the work amongst the Peasant Youth. In the old draft we confined ourselves merely to a few phrases upon this question. We have now decided to devote a special paragraph of the programme to our work amongst the Peasant Youth. This question is not purely a Russian question, although many still persist in regarding it as Russian because here in Russia and allegedly only in Russia, where the peasantry is numerically predominant, this question plays an important role. Such an opinion is naturally incorrect.

At the Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Riazonov quoted citations from Marx which we were all able to hear, and which were to the effect that Marx had dealt with the question of the Peasantry in the same manner in Germany as we Russian Bolsheviks deal with it here in Russia. By the formation of the Peasants' International, the Communist International has given the Communist parties of the whole world the serious task of addressing themselves to the solution of the Peasant problem. For us, for the working class, for the Working Youth, it is a question of winning an ally which the proletariat requires in order to seize power, to maintain power, and to build up the Communist Society.

In very many countries we cannot be victorious without the support of the Peasantry, or cannot maintain power once we have conquered it. That

Lenin regarded this question in this manner, is clear from the development of Lenin's ideas upon the Peasantry. These ideas developed in him during the course of the polemics with the various groupings in the Russian movement for emancipation. The People's Party (Narodniki), regarded the Peasantry as the class which would lead Russia into Socialism. The Mensheviks used to say that revolution could be achieved if an alliance was created between the working class and the Liberal bourgeoisie. Against these two formulas Lenin set up a third: that the working class should conclude an alliance with the Peasantry, but not a normal alliance, not simply an alliance meaning the Working Class plus the Peasantry, but an alliance in which the Working Class should lead the Peasantry. The tremendous significance of this question has been previously unclear to very many, because it was to a certain extent too closely confined, that is to say, it was dealt with as referring to one state only. But now, complete clarity must be created upon the point, and it must be regarded from an international standpoint. For the question of the Peasantry is at the same time a Colonial and National question. The millions and millions of the toiling masses of India, China, Korea and Africa, these immense sections of suppressed humanity, are at the same time nothing but Peasants, and the question of the relation of the struggle for the emancipation of the European and the American proletariat, with that of the suppressed in the Colonial and half-colonial countries, is nothing but the question of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry on an international scale.

We know, however, that up to the present we have done very little for the work amongst the Peasantry. In this connection the Comintern has already much more experience than we have. On this field, the first act, if not the first word, must be left to us, for the Peasant Youth is naturally the most active and revolutionary section of the Peasantry; we must make a beginning with this section if we wish to win the Peasantry for the working class, if we wish to remove them from the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie. At present, the only Leagues outside of Russia which have experience in the work amongst the Peasant Youth are the Bulgarian and Finnish Leagues. But these experiences have already shown that the work amongst the Peasant Youth is quite possible also, in the West.

The elections in Carpathian Russia offer a clear illustration of the excellent grounds for our work, which exists amongst the Peasantry, and of the great possibilities which are open to us. Taking this into consideration, we have decided to elaborate a special paragraph in the programme of the Y.C.I. upon the work amongst the Peasantry. We have worked out a number of demands of an economic, judicial and cultural nature which we will seek to realise on behalf of the Peasant Youth, and which will form the slogan for the unity of the Peasant Youth.

A special place amongst these demands is taken by the demands on behalf of the young landworkers who, together with the poorest section of the Peasantry, will naturally be our supporting point, and the chief kernel of our peasant organisations.

All our Leagues must now occupy themselves seriously with the work amongst the Peasant Youth. This refers not only to such Leagues as the Bulgarian and the Czecho-Slovakian, but also to such Leagues as the German, the French, the Italian, and all others: because although these countries have reached a high stage of industrial development, nevertheless the Peasantry continues to play an immense role.

The Education in the Spirit of Lenin.

Comrades, now to the last alteration: we have added a paragraph to the programme dealing with the question of the education in the spirit of Lenin. The old draft of the programme spoke only of Marxist education. But from this it is in no way necessary to draw the conclusion that we set up Leninism against Marxism. No, such a thing would be not merely fundamentally false, but we can present in practice no study of Leninism without a study of Marx. Just as Lenin held it to be completely false to teach the workers the structure of Imperialism without first making them acquainted with commodity economy, with the existence and structure of capitalist society, by Leninism we understand nothing else but the Marxism of the new epoch, in the form formulated by Lenin, that is to say, a Marxism on the one hand freed from the rust of the Second International, and from the distortions of the opportunist, and on the other hand continued and added to by the facts drawn from the new conditions under which Lenin lived, which were unknown to Marx. Lenin lived in an epoch of the complete dominance of finance capital, of the greatest imperialist war, and of the erection

of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a sixth part of the word, and this gives him the possibility of adding new contributions to the treasure chamber of the revolutionary theory, treasures which Marx could not offer. It is, therefore, not a question of opposition, but one of forward development.

We shall never be a Bolshevik organisation, and in consequence we shall never be able to work and struggle to victory unless we know what Lenin taught the working class, unless we know that which Lenin contributed to the theory of the Proletarian Revolution. Each of his works has an immense practical value and represents an inestimable weapon in our daily struggle. The whole work of Leninism is so remarkable by the fact that it represents a synthesis of theory and practice, and we believe that the most important thing which our Leagues must learn in their study of Leninism, is to combine theory and practice in a Leninist fashion. They must learn to regard theory not as something abstract, something isolated from the daily life, but they must understand how to subordinate our political slogans to the concrete task of our struggle to the particular objective conditions, and to the continually changing political situation. All the successful struggles of the Russian party, all their successful manœuvres are to be explained by the fact that they have understood under the leadership of Lenin how to recognise in time the practical necessity of this or that practical measure, instead of following old slogans which have become useless.

However, apart from this side of the Leninist lessons, our Leagues must also address themselves

to a sufficiently basic study of the chief questions with which Vladimir Ilyitch occupied himself. This is above all the cycle of questions dealing with Imperialism and with the National and Colonial question. The chief sections of our movement must be taught to look at this epoch of the collapse of Imperialism in which the task of the working class is to increase the speed of this collapse, to assist in the destruction of the Imperialist system, and for this purpose to support all movements which bring nearer the moment of the final collapse of Imperialist society, with the eyes of Lenin. The second question upon which we must concentrate in our enlightenment work is the Leninist understanding of the State, the proletarian dictatorship, and the Soviet Government. We know what Vladimir Ilyitch has contributed new upon this field. He taught the working class that they had not merely to conquer the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, but that they must understand how to destroy it and to create a new State apparatus better adapted to our aims.

Having regard to the example of the Saxon Workers' government, to the example of the ideas of a few of our parties upon the question of parliamentary activity, the immense significance of the enlightenment of the members of the League upon these ideas of Vladimir Ilyitch will be clear to all. The third cycle of questions refers to the mutual relations between the working class and the peasantry. And the fourth cycle finally deals with the tactics of our Party, with its strategy in the class struggle. The Party is the only weapon which the development of the proletariat has brought forward in the struggle against the bourgeoisie for the de-

struction of bourgeois society, and for the erection of the new Communist society. The question of the tactic of the Communist movement, the role and the nature of the Party therefore plays an immense role, and we have continually convinced ourselves in practice of this.

We must work upon all these questions, for without this knowledge no one can become a Bolshevik. In order, however, to carry out this work, comrades, we must above all get rid of those opinions of Leninism and the role of Lenin as a theoretician, which are unfortunately still held by an important section of the leaders of our Western European Leagues. In one of his works, Comrade Bucharin points out that Lenin already in the nineties, had raised and answered very many of the questions at present debated in connection with the theory of Rosa Luxemburg. I believe that this is the best answer for those who tend to underestimate the role of Lenin as a theoretician.

One must study Leninism in a Leninist manner as Bela Kun correctly remarked in an article of his which appeared in the "International of Youth." That is to say, one must study in such a fashion that one is not satisfied merely with what is contained in the book, but one must understand how to combine the study of Leninist theory with the practical social work and the revolutionary struggle of the members of our League. We must bring our theoretical study in harmony with the conditions under which we are. We must, therefore, use the method recommended by Comrade Krupskaya, which was also adopted by the decision of the Fourth League Congress of the

Russian Young Communist League upon the question of propaganda of Leninism. This method consists in not merely studying Leninist theory in a purely theoretical manner, as was previously the case, as one studies the history of the Russian Communist Party, or the Communist International, but one must take the chief problems of Leninism individually, and study how the particular idea arose, and was solved in the different historical moments. Let us take for instance, the question of the working class and the peasantry as Lenin dealt with it before the revolution of 1905, and then how he dealt with it later in the epoch of the October revolution, and in the year 1921 during the introduction of the NEP, and later in relation to the Parties of the West, etc. In this way we will see the fundamental ideas of Vladimir Ilyitch not merely a historical life and that will assist us to make the methods of Leninist thought our own.

I must limit myself to these remarks upon the question of the propaganda of Leninism.

Comrades, I will make no comments upon a few alterations of lesser importance which we have decided upon in the programme. The programme commission of the Congress will discuss them in detail. What we have to say here in the Congress upon this point of the agenda, amounts to this, that our Youth Leagues can only become Bolshevik if they have sufficient theoretical clarity in their heads, and if they understand how to deal with all the burning questions of our movement upon the basis of the theory of Lenin.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

(Adopted as the draft programme at the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I.).

The time when toiling youth suffered the yoke of exploitation without resistance, has gone for ever. A tremendous development has taken place throughout the great masses of Young Workers in town and country, apprentices and the children of the working class, ruthlessly involved in the process of production by capitalism in its upward path of development. The insupportable slavery to which the toiling youth is subjected by the capitalist economic and social order, has awakened also their proletarian class consciousness, and closed their ranks in the fight against their intolerable position. Hundreds of thousands of the toiling Youth have rallied round the banner of the Young Communist International. Millions of youthful workers and poor farmers, the trebly enslaved and persecuted Youth of the Colonies, have been aroused under the pressure of the Imperialist wars and violent social struggles, and impelled to join the armies of the fighting working class. Closely allied with the adult workers in the fight, the toiling Youth are drawing nearer the goal which the Communist International points out to them: the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Communist social order.

The World Revolution.

Capitalism dominates the largest section of the globe. The principal characteristics of the capitalist social order are private ownership of the means

of production, the exploitation of the masses of the working class by a small group of bankers, manufacturers and landowners, and the anarchy of production. The capitalist state in all its forms is the weapon of the ruling class for the suppression of the working class and all toilers, and for the maintenance over them, of the domination of exploitation.

The increasing concentration of capital and of production, has led capitalism into a new period of its development—into the phase of *Imperialism* which is characterised by the development of trusts, syndicates and cartels, and by the domination of finance capital. In order to win new markets for its commodities, new sources of cheap raw materials, and new opportunities for the investment of its capital, the imperialist bourgeoisie have subjected most of the economically backward peoples in Asia, Africa, Australia, Central and South America, and appropriated their lands. Others have been brought under their sway. Over the heads of their states, the various national capitalist cliques are conducting a continual and bitter struggle among themselves for the re-distribution and domination of the globe, for the Colonies, for the European markets, for the sources of raw material and fuel. This continuous struggle necessarily leads to armed conflicts—

To Imperialist wars.

The Imperialist war of 1914-1918 was waged at the cost of ten millions of dead and crippled, undermined and disorganised finance, industry and transport in all parts of the world, and brought

hunger and misery to the toiling masses at large. Capitalism has not been able to cope with the consequences of the war it brought about, and has entered upon the epoch of decay and decline. In spite of its numerous vain attempts to reconstruct its economy, its economic basis continues to crumble and capitalism is on the way to complete chaos. Every step taken by capitalism to reconstruct its economy is at the cost of an unprecedented increase in the exploitation of the toilers, and thus leads to increasing bitterness of class antagonisms, which undermine the foundations of the capitalist structure. The political antagonisms between the states were not overcome by the peace treaties; on the contrary, they were accentuated. The social balance of power and the efforts to reconstruct capitalist economy, are continually disturbed by the extraordinary intensification of class antagonisms. Capitalism has guided humanity into a blind alley, from which there is but one outlet—**world revolution.**

The liberation of humanity from the yoke of capitalism has become the immediate task for which the international proletariat must fight. The proletariat must overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, must establish the proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power, deprive the capitalists of land, banks, transport and industry, and follow this path until private property and classes have disappeared, and the Communist economic and Social order has been established.

The material pre-requisites for the world revolution are at hand; its victory depends on the struggle, the will and the power of the proletariat.

The proletarian world revolution can conquer only if the proletariat completely frees itself from reformist illusions, leaves the allies of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the Second International, and enters the struggle under the leadership of the Communist Parties and of the Communist International, the revolutionary leader and representative of the toiling masses of the whole world. The basic condition for the conquest of power is the winning over of the majority of the working class for the principles and aims of Communism. The principles and tactics of the Communist International point out to the proletariat the path its struggle should take to final victory. The Young Communist International adopts the principles and tactics of the Communist International and acts completely in its spirit.

The world revolution has begun! The toiling masses, under the leadership of the Russian proletariat, have conquered a huge area of Europe and Asia, and established there their Soviet Republics. German and Austrian imperialism have received their death blow. In many countries the proletariat has already entered on the path for the conquest of power. Powerful strikes and social struggles of unprecedented violence are convulsing all capitalist countries. The oppressed slaves of the Colonies and semi-colonies have arisen in their millions to the fight for liberation from national and social slavery.

But the world revolution is a lengthy struggle which is equivalent to an entire epoch in human history. During this epoch the ebb and flow of the revolutionary waves, defeat and victory, alter-

nate. The working class can gain final victory only if it manifests the greatest courage, self-sacrifice and discipline, and learns how to fight with its class enemies in all situations.

The Toiling Youth and Capitalism.

The class character of the capitalist social order is very clearly expressed in the present situation of the Youth and their social position. The Youth are divided into two camps, the Youth of the suppressed class and the Youth of the ruling class, who have as little in common with each other, as the exploiting class with the exploited class. Whereas the Youth of the ruling class occupy the position of being trained for a special stratum of society, and enjoy all the advantages and privileges of careful training and education, the toiling Youth of town and countryside entirely share the fate of the adult workers, and are an object of ruthless exploitation. The little that is available for the training of the working class Youth in the bourgeois state, serves only to prepare them for profitable future exploitation to which they are condemned during their whole life of wage labour.

Admitting that the economic situation of the adult workers is extraordinarily hard under capitalism, then the situation of the labouring Youth is absolutely unendurable.

Already in early childhood, the sons and daughters of working class families are the object of capitalist exploitation. The exploitation of children by wage labour still prevails to a vast extent throughout the whole world in the most

terrible form. The type of the apprentice of the olden times, the member of the family of the mediæval handicraft worker, in line for a master's job, has irrevocably vanished. Apprenticeship to-day is nothing but a screen for more intense exploitation of the Youth and is fast disappearing. Thanks to the development of industrial technique, the capitalists are able to draw masses of children and immature Youths as inexperienced workers into the process of production. Only a small upper strata of the proletariat is trained at the cost, and to the disadvantage, of the great majority.

Capital exploits the small amount of defensive strength of the working class Youth, and squeezes special profits out of the cheaper and for the employer, more advantageous labour of the Youth. Long working hours, out of all proportion, which, in spite of the immature bodily development and weaker stamina of the Youth, and the necessity for their mental development, often exceed the working hours of the adult workers, wages disproportionately low in comparison with those of adult workers, although the work done is equal to theirs, night work, work in factories injurious to health, barbaric treatment at the hands of the employers, unemployment without support and its consequences (sinking into misery, prostitution, crime)—that is the lot of the Working Youth under the domination of capitalism.

Conditions are specially bad in small industry, and in handicraft work which try to save themselves from the competition of large-scale industry by ruthless exploitation of the apprentices who are almost completely subjected to the whims of the employers and masters.

And though girls are the weakest elements in the working class Youth, they are the objects of exceptionally brutal and humiliating exploitation at the hands of capitalism, their position is still worse than that of young male workers.

Capitalism, which caused mass proletarianisation in the towns, has also caused tremendous proletarianisation of the country people and plunged the poor peasants into deep misery, so that the situation of the labour Youth of the countryside, is especially hard.

An exceptionally flagrant characteristic of this insufferable situation of the working class Youth under capitalism, is the general use that is made of the Youth against the adult workers, with whom they are allied by their class situation, their common need and bonds of blood. Capitalism uses the Youth for reducing wages, and for strike breakers, and forcing adult labourers out of their jobs.

Closely allied with the economic enslavement of the working class Youth are the efforts of the bourgeoisie to ideologically subject them also. The bourgeois class schools give the working class Youth only so much knowledge, and only that kind of knowledge, which will make out of them efficient and servile slaves of capitalism, for the factory, the army and in political life. The elementary school and continuation school serve this purpose. The middle and high schools are accessible only to the children of the bourgeoisie. The same purposes are served by the extensive literature and the bourgeois press, by religion and its organisation—the church, by bourgeois art,

and by the allurements of trashy literature, cinemas, bourgeois amusement institutions, etc. Special bourgeois organisations for the Youth, assuming various forms (educational, recreational, travel, nationalist, militarist, religious, free thinker, pacifist and political organisations, Boy Scouts and bourgeois sport organisations), work among the toiling Youth under the direction and in the spirit of the Bourgeoisie, in order to dupe the Youth.

The militarism of the bourgeois states, which serves as the leader of imperialist wars and for the suppression of the working masses at home, seek its soldiers above all, from the midst of the labouring and peasant Youth, who are nothing but cannon fodder to it. The militarisation of thought serves to make the labouring Youth pliable, for its imperialist slaughters, and in many countries the bourgeois military institution extends its domain over the Youth even during school age, in the form of military preparatory organisations. Capitalist barracks make automatons out of the youthful workers who are callously set against their class brothers at home and abroad, and rob them of the best period of their lives. It is the blood of the working class Youth which drenches the battlefields of the Imperialist Wars.

While capitalism demands these tremendous sacrifices from the working class Youth, in labour and blood, it denies them the most elementary political rights.

The apprentice, especially in handicraft work, is ignominiously dependent on his employer. The

toiling Youth are deprived of the right to vote even in the most wretched institutions of bourgeois democracy, and in the factory councils. In many countries the right of political organisation, of political assemblage, etc., is denied the Youth, either by legal or illegal measures. Class justice and the organs of suppression of the bourgeoisie rage ruthlessly against the revolutionary working class youth.

This situation became worse during the world war and the period following, and increased the suffering of the working class Youth in the most unheard-of manner. Tremendous masses of half-grown Youths were sent to the front, and in their places, and in those of the grown workers, fresh armies of Children and Youth were drawn into war industry. Without obtaining any training, they were here subjected to the most brutal exploitation, which suspended even the few existing protective laws. In order to make good the ravages of the world war in the factories, and in order to overcome the crisis, taking care, however, to shift all the cost of the ruin on the shoulders of the working class, the bourgeoisie is intensifying the exploitation of the working class, and especially of the Youth, and is repeatedly launching attack after attack in order to force their position down to a level of misery not experienced for a long, long, time. Thus the process of the decay of capitalism carries with it a further increase in the suffering, economic need, political oppression, and loss of rights of the Youthful proletariat.

The Necessity for, and the Role of the Communist Youth Movement.

The general political and economic relationships, and the special condition of the working class Youth under capitalism, lead the latter to active participation in the class struggle of the proletariat and demand of them not only the fulfilment of the general proletarian fighting tasks, but also a special fight for the overthrow of the conditions prevailing for their own work and training. The working class as a whole is interested in bringing the toiling Youth under its influence, to awaken its class consciousness and thus secure a continual source of new and fresh energies for the continuation of the struggle for the complete liberation of the working class. In order to fulfil these tasks the working class Youth unite in special young Communist Leagues.

The necessity for the existence of special Communist Youth organisations, arises also from the psychological peculiarities of the working class Youth. Their revolutionary training requires the application of special methods in independent organisations. A further reason is the task of creating for the Youth a preparatory school to the Party.

The first proletarian Youth Leagues, which were formed at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries when the proletarian Youth movement began to develop in the capitalist countries of Europe, were organised under the banner of the anti-militarist struggle, representation of the economic interests of the working class

Youth, and of the Socialist education of their members. With the growth of its power in the labour movement, reformism tried to get the proletarian Youth into its power. Where it succeeded in so doing to some extent, it tried to keep the Youth isolated from every struggle, and to transform its organisations into purely educational organisations. But it was a difficult task to bridle the revolutionary elements of the Youth, and the Socialist Youth organisations, or at least the greater part of them, formed a branch of the left revolutionary wing of the labour movement even before the world war. During the war 1914-18, the proletarian Youth organisations in the majority of countries, or the great majority within these organisations, remained true to the principles of the revolutionary class struggle, and attained greater and greater clarity in contrast to the Social-Democratic parties, which deserted to the bourgeoisie. In this situation, when the working class had no revolutionary parties, the Youth organisations were sharply differentiated from the Social-Democratic parties and conducted an independent political struggle against the war, against the bourgeoisie, and their Social-Democratic lackeys, whereby they prepared the basis, to a great extent, for the formation of revolutionary proletarian parties. The formation and strengthening of the Communist Parties in the various countries offered the revolutionaries, i.e., Young Communist Leagues the opportunity of determining what the special and peculiar role of the Youth Leagues was to be, in the general proletarian revolutionary movement, and of again adopting a field for their activities, peculiarly their own.

The Communist Youth organisation is the mass organisation and leader of the working class Youth in town and country, and that form of the Labour movement which represents the interests of the working class Youth in all spheres and in all questions. It is the mass school of Communism for the toiling Youth on the basis of the organised participation in the fight of the proletariat, which is supplemented and complemented by theoretical enlightenment. It is the most devoted support of the Communist Party in the present, and its reserve for the future. Since the Youth form a section of the working class, they need not form special Youth organisations besides the Communist Youth organisation in the various spheres of the struggle of the working class (political, economic, sport, etc.), since the proletariat already possesses such organisations for the working class as a whole.

The Political Activity of the Young Communist Leagues and their Relation to the Parties.

The Communist Youth decisively rejects the hypocritical slogan of the Bourgeoisie and Social-Democracy: The Youth must keep out of politics. The energetic participation of the working class Youth, who are an important factor in social production, in the political struggle of their class would constitute a powerful increase of strength for the class struggle and is the basis of the Communist training of the working class Youth. The Young Communist Leagues work under the political guidance of the Communist International, and the Communist Parties, which are the vanguard of the proletariat and the leader of all its organi-

sations; *i.e.*, the Youth Leagues endorse the programme, the tactics, and the political instructions of the Communist International, and of the Communist Parties.

Thus allied with the Communist Parties, the Young Communist Leagues participate in the activity and the fight of the former against all the bourgeois parties and groups, since these represent the interests of big business and of petty business, and, as their political organs, defend the maintenance of capitalist domination and exploitation. They also fight against the Social-Democratic parties of all shades and colours, since these have become the direct or indirect allies of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the proletariat, since they protect capitalism from collapse and oppose the revolutionary struggle of the working class, and since they continually betray not only the final aims, but also the simple daily programme of the toiling masses, and thus are nothing more or less than the left-wing of the bourgeoisie and of bourgeois reaction. In a similar manner the Leagues also combat the "pure" Syndicalists, who deny the necessity of the Proletarian Dictatorship, of the Proletarian Party, and of proletarian centralisation, and the Anarchists who, as the ideologists of the "slum proletariat," and of the groups of the working class least removed from the petty bourgeoisie, preach individualism, denial of the proletarian state, and reactionary economic ideas. The Young Communist Leagues fight with determination against the Fascist movement, the mortal enemy of the working class, which tries with sham delusions to rally the working class against the class struggle with the bourgeoisie, constitutes the

sharpest weapon of bourgeois reaction, and signifies the complete bankruptcy of the old methods of administration of the bourgeois class state, of bourgeois democracy, which has been substituted by unlimited dictatorship.

The Young Communist Leagues conduct an energetic struggle against the Youth organisations which are in alliance with the bourgeois parties and groups, against the numerous religious societies, the national sport clubs, the militarist, chauvinist, pacifist and other Youth organisations. They also aim to do away with the Social-Democratic, Syndicalist and Anarchist influence on the Youth, and to liquidate the Youth organisations of this tendency. The Young Communist Leagues are endeavouring to establish comradely relations of joint struggle with those Syndicalist elements which comprehend the necessary for the revolutionary struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and are abandoning their old prejudices. They are trying to lead the unorganised working class Youth, or those who have misguidedly strayed into other camps, on to the right road of the proletarian class struggle and to bring about the final union of the whole working class youth on the basis of Communism.

The concrete tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in the political sphere, consist in untiring agitation for the aims of the Communist International, in support of the Communist Parties in their every-day work, and in the fight, in participation in all revolutionary activities of the proletariat, discussion and explanation of immediate political events, and of the immediate tasks of the

proletariat, and in active participation in Party discussions.

Without restricting the political guidance of the Communist Parties, the Young Communist Leagues require full organisational independence from the Parties for the performance of their educational tasks. In the interest of successful co-operation in all activity of the struggle, close organisational contact must be maintained by an interchange of representatives in all stages of organisation and permanent mutual support between Youth Leagues and parties.

The Economic Fight of the Young Communist Leagues.

Under the domination of capitalism it is impossible for the toiling Youth to obtain a radical improvement in their conditions. During the period of the decay of capitalism, when the bourgeoisie endeavours to reduce the standard of life of the Proletariat and its Youth as much as possible, the bourgeoisie fights with all its power against every little attempt of improvement. Hence the toiling Youth can expect a fundamental improvement in their conditions of work and training, only after the victory of the proletariat.

The establishment of the Socialist order requires, and renders feasible, as the illuminating example of the Russian Revolution has shown, re-organisation of the activity of the toiling Youth from the point of view of their training, and creates the Socialist training, which is

A Combination of Productive Work and Training.

The toiling Youth are transformed from an object of exploitation into a social stratum, which is developed in productive activity to be a useful member of the entire society. In the framework of the united fight of the working class, the Communist Youth organisations assume the task of the fight for the realisation of the aim of Socialist training of the Youth on the basis of the re-organisation of Youth labour.

But prior to the seizure of power by the proletariat, the Young Communist Leagues conduct an energetic struggle for the improvement of the condition of the toiling Youth. This fight must be directed against the impoverishment and degeneration of the toiling Youth under pressure of capitalist exploitation, towards strengthening the power of resistance of the working Youth by raising their standard of living, to wrench new positions from capitalism, and thus contribute to the disintegration of its power, and to rally the broad masses of the toiling Youth on the basis of their immediate needs. The whole economic fight of the Young Communist Leagues must thus be closely linked up with their final aims and their general political activity.

The basis and aim of our programme of demands is

The Socialist Re-organisation of Youth Labour.

This means :

Abolition of wage labour for all Youth up to 18

years, provision for them at the expense of society, and the re-organisation of labour from the standpoint of the training of the Youth.

Our partial demands for all youthful workers up to 18 years, as a preliminary to the demands for complete prohibition of, and active fight against, child labour, and equality of workers of all nations and colours, are

(1) Minimum wage based on the existence minimum.

(2) For Youths and Adults of both sexes, equal pay for equal work. Graduated scale of apprentice wages during the period of apprenticeship.

(3) Establishment of the six-hour day with wages for eight hours.

(4) Wages of Youth to be determined by the trade unions.

(5) Six-hour day to include attendance at the trade school with full pay.

(6) A 44-hour Sunday rest.

(7) Complete prohibition of night work for all Youth up to 21 years of age.

(8) Prohibition of piece work and of the speeding up system.

(9) Four weeks annual vacation on full pay, and maintenance of Young Workers at vacation homes, sanatoria, etc., free of charge.

(10) Prohibition of the employment of Youth up to 21 years of age in factories and industries which

are detrimental to the health of the Youth, in mines, certain branches of chemical industry, etc.

(11) Equal unemployment benefit for Youth and adults. The minimum for existence as the basis of unemployment benefit.

(12) Compulsory placing of unemployed Youths in factories and training institutions, guaranteeing the continuation of the professional training for Youth compelled to interrupt their training.

With reference to professional training and apprenticeship we make the following demands:

(1) Obligatory, gratuitous and complete professional training for all Youths up to the age of eighteen.

This training must be based on practical instruction and regulated in accordance with the principles of the work schools (in the factories, etc.). The basis for this is the creation of a special apprentice department in industrial institutions.

(2) Organisation of joint training institutions for a number of handicrafts and small industries where part of the working period is spent.

(3) Abolition of individual apprenticeship agreements, and inclusion of apprentices in the collective agreements.

(4) Abolition of the apprenticeship cult by strict control of the right to keep apprentices (maximum proportion of apprentices to be a fixed number of workers, severe punishment for maltreatment, and for breaking the laws regarding overtime and the protection of Youth).

(5) Two years apprenticeship, including the period of trial, which is sufficient in view of the present capitalist nature of the work.

Prohibition of the employment of apprentices for work without training value.

(6) Prohibition of "living-in" system.

(7) Strict control of apprenticeship by the organs of the working class (trade unions, factory councils, etc.).

(8) Participation in the administration of apprenticeship institutes, trade schools and continuation schools through councils selected by the apprentices or students.

To close the ranks on the fighting front with the adult working class, the Young Communist International demands:

(1) The right to vote and to be elected on the Factory Councils for Young Workers.

(2) Abolition of all organisational limitations, unconditional admission of the Youth into the trade unions, facilitated entry into the trade unions by reduced contributions, and equal rights in the trade unions.

On the basis of the circumstances peculiar to the condition of the toiling Youth in the various countries, the Young Communist Leagues can supplement these demands in every case by more detailed demands.

The fate of the toiling Youth is indissolubly bound up with that of the whole working class. The economic struggle of the toiling Youth can be

crowned with success, only if it is carried on together with the fight of the adult working class, and receives full support from the latter. The adult workers must give the fighting Youth this support, since the interests of the toiling Youth are the interests of the whole proletariat, and since its own immediate interests are affected by the economic questions of the toiling Youth. The organisations of the proletariat as a whole, especially the trade unions, make it possible to conduct the economic struggles of the Young Communist Leagues, and the latter must energetically spur on this activity in every way.

The trade unions are the broad mass organisations of all toilers for the defence of their economic interests. The Young Communist Leagues demand that fundamental right of equality of the working youth in entering the trade unions, and within the trade unions, and endeavour to bring the question of the defence of the demands of the Youth into the trade union sphere of struggle. Every member of the Young Communist League must be a member of his trade union. Of course, the Young Communist Leagues realise that only the revolutionary trade unions are ready, and are in a condition to represent adequately the interests of both the Adult and Young Workers. Hence they fight against the reformist trade union bureaucracy, which is an ally of the bourgeoisie for the suppression of the struggle of the working class; they fight for the revolutionisation of the trade unions, and for the Red International of Labour Unions. They develop their activity in the trade unions through the fractions of the Young Communist League within the trade unions and

through the representatives of the Communist Youth in all the leading institutions of the trade union movement.

The Bolshevist Anti-Militarist Struggle of the Young Communist League.

Militarism is an inevitable phenomenon of capitalism, and constitutes one of the strongest and most important branches of its domination. The fight against militarism is, therefore, a fight against one of the most powerful weapons of the class domination of the bourgeoisie. It is from the ranks of the toiling Youth in town and country, that militarism gathers its victims, the human material with which it fills the armies and the battlefields. Militarism tries to poison them from earliest childhood, and to put them ideologically and organisationally under its spell. Hence, it is the principal duty of the Young Communist Leagues to conduct an untiring struggle against militarism, and an energetic anti-militarist propaganda among the masses of the Young Workers and Peasants, both within and without the army.

In the epoch of the world revolution, bourgeois militarism directs its activity more and more against the working class and becomes the instrument of White Terror. Therefore, the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties are both confronted in this epoch by the necessity of increasing their anti-militarist fight.

The Bourgeois Pacifists and Social-Democrats, oppose the chauvinism of the Imperialists by petty bourgeois pacifism. But pacifism is a hopeless

Utopia. The bourgeoisie, fighting for the division of the globe, and fearing and hating the Proletarian Revolution, will not lay down its arms until the victorious proletariat snatches them from its hands. But even more—Pacifism does tremendous harm in the working class, for unless the bourgeoisie is disarmed, or at least frightened, it actually robs the proletariat of these weapons, conjures up vain illusions, and turns it over unarmed both intellectually and practically, to its class enemy, which is well armed.

The methods of conducting the anti-militarist fight advocated by the Anarcho-Syndicalists, are no less harmful to the working class: refusal of individuals to serve in the Army separates the revolutionary elements of the proletariat from the Army and renders it more difficult to influence the mass of toilers in the army by means of revolutionary propaganda.

Communists know that the armed uprising of the proletariat against capitalism, is necessary in the fight for liberation. Only through the victory of Proletarian Revolution, the formation of the Red Army, and armed defence of the achievements of the Revolution against the counter-revolutionary attempts of the bourgeoisie to re-establish their power, will the proletariat lead humanity to the class-less society, which will forget the use of weapons. In its fight against capitalism the proletariat tries to enlighten the proletarian and semi-proletarian elements of the bourgeois army, to win them over to its side, to divert the guns directed at the workers by the soldiers, from the working class, and to turn them

against the ruling class. Hence it is the aim of Communist activity in the bourgeois army to disintegrate it to such an extent that it can no longer be used as a weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie but, on the contrary, can be used by the revolutionary proletariat in the interest of its fight for freedom.

The Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties are confronted especially by the following tasks in this struggle:

To combat the mental militarisation of the working Youth conducted by the bourgeoisie.

To combat military training among the Youths not of military age as the preparatory school for the bourgeois army.

To carry on revolutionary activity through nuclei organisation within the bourgeois army, i.e., in the regular standing army, in the occupational and colonial troops, in the military preparatory organisations; to conduct propaganda of enlightenment against war, militarism and use of the army in the service of capitalism. The work of the nuclei organisations in the army plays an exceptionally important role, for only by forming a secret organisation of revolutionaries in the army can the bourgeois army be made ineffective for the purposes of Imperialism, and the conditions created for the success of the armed uprising.

To fight for the material and organisational rights of the soldiers.

To fight for the abandonment of the Versailles Treaty and of other capitalist peace treaties which contain the seeds of fresh imperialist wars.

To fight against the Imperialist war with every possible means up to the general strike and the armed uprising; transformation of the Imperialist War into the Revolutionary Civil War.

To fight against all armed bourgeois organisations which are formed for the purpose of suppressing the proletariat and to disarm them, and to fight against the militarist and nationalist Youth organisations which serve as their reserves.

To arm the working class in self-defence against reaction and for its struggle.

The Young Communist Leagues, on behalf of these principles with which the Communist Youth combats bourgeois militarism, conducts a widespread propaganda among the broad masses of the toiling Youth, and especially among the sons of the working class belonging to the army.

The Educational Work of the Young Communist Leagues.

One of the indispensable branches of the whole training activity of the Young Communist Leagues is the special work of education and enlightenment. They must put at the disposal of the toiling Youth the collected and digested experience of fighting tactics, and train persevering fighters against capitalism, and on behalf of the proletarian revolution, as builders of the new social order.

They must act as the counter-weight and weapon against the bourgeois all-pervading influence on the working class Youth.

First of all the Young Communist Leagues carry on the work of the political enlightenment of their members and of the broad masses of young proletarians. They spread the knowledge among the proletariat of the laws of development of economy and society, understanding of history, the forms and methods of the class struggle and the labour movement, of the political and economic situation, and the tasks and aims of the proletarian revolution, and of the nature, structure, history, programme and tactics of the Communist Party. Marxism—the theory of the proletariat—is the most important weapon in the fight against capital and the most valuable instrument in the construction of the new society. Therefore, the Young Communist Leagues endeavour to spread a Marxist outlook among their members and to accustom them to Marxist methods of thought. The Young Communist Leagues are concentrating their educational work particularly on the propaganda and study of Leninism, which is Marxism developed and continued during the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. The Communist Youth must absorb the fundamental problems, the organisational principles and the tactics, and theory of Leninism, in order to fulfil the demands of the class struggle fully armed with revolutionary theory.

The Young Communist Leagues have also assumed the task of raising the general cultural level of the working class in the interests of the

proletarian struggle. The toiling Youth must wrench from the bourgeoisie the knowledge they need for the organisation of the proletarian masses and for the guidance of their fight for victory over capitalism. Whilst carrying on this work of political enlightenment and giving preference to social science, and consciously concentrating on this aspect of education, the Young Communist Leagues also carry on general educational work in the spheres of natural science, literature, art, etc. They do not attempt to substitute the school education provided the toiling Youth by the bourgeoisie, but try to counteract the bourgeois ideology in these spheres of knowledge in all its forms, by presenting a Marxian outlook on these things. They deal with these more remote spheres of education only in so far as they have any connection with the class struggle and are useful in training for the class struggle.

Such educational activity serves as the beginning of the training of an intelligent vanguard of the working class which bound by ties of blood with its class and its struggle, is called upon to fight for, and to build up *Socialism*, and to become the pioneer of a new proletarian culture.

The Communist Youth Leagues are also active in the physical training of the toiling Youth in order to diminish the injurious effects of capitalist exploitation on the physical state of the Youth, to strengthen them physically for the fulfilment of the tasks arising from the proletarian struggle, and to combat the bourgeois monopoly of sport and gymnastics. With this purpose in view, they are organising workers' sport associations, and are also active in them.

The methods of conducting the work of education and enlightenment of the Communist Youth, proceed from the concrete habits of life of the Youth, are adapted to their psychological peculiarities and are based on self-activity.

The Communist Youth organisations do not neglect the children in their activities of Communist training, but are confronted with great tasks of training the children of the working class. The influence of the bourgeoisie, which is exercised especially strongly on the working class children, must be counteracted by the Communist training of working class children, who must also be drawn into the class struggle in some suitable form. The organisational means for this work are the Communist children's groups which, under the guidance of the Communist Youth Leagues, are based on the complete independence of the children, and are adapted to the peculiarities of their ages.

Principles of the Organisational Structure.

The organisational structure of the Communist Youth organisations is adjusted to their role and their tasks. The Social-Democratic organisations, which even before the war rejected the revolutionary methods of the class struggle, created a structure admirably adapted to the reformist standpoint, and particularly to parliamentary elections, and hence organised the members according to place of residence. This form of organisation does not secure the leading role of the Proletarian "kernel," does not make possible the conduct of any activity based on revolutionary mass struggles, and hence the Social-Democratic activity is not centralised

and not co-ordinated by a strict discipline. The Communist Youth organisations have decisively broken with these worn out forms, and are creating an organisation which is capable of rallying the broadest masses of workers and of leading them into the fight. Hence the basis of the Young Communist Leagues, is the factory nucleus which unites the League members according to place of work, and fulfils all the tasks of the League not only with reference to the work among the masses, but also within the organisation. The organisation of the Young Communist Leagues is built up in such a way that it guarantees the membership of the organisations, namely the Proletarian kernel, the greatest possible development of self-activity and work. As the fighting organisation of the revolutionary Youth, the Young Communist Leagues are built up internally on the strictest discipline, which obliges all their members to carry out the decisions of the organisation and to fulfil all their duties towards the organisation. Only strongly centralised organisations can conduct a revolutionary struggle on behalf of the interests of the working class, and for the building up of Communism. Hence the Young Communist Leagues are built up on the basis of

Democratic centralism.

As organisations of the toiling Youth of town and countryside, the Young Communist Leagues, true to their proletarian role of leadership, also endeavour to draw the toiling Youth of other social strata into the ranks of the League. The Young Communist Leagues draw into their ranks the active and revolutionary sections of the econo-

mically weak peasant youth, as well as individual members of the intellectual and petty bourgeois circles and young students who prove by deeds their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

The Young Communist Leagues are always conscious of the fact that they are surrounded on all sides by enemies and that the moment may come at any time when the bourgeoisie compels it underground. Therefore, they prepare technically and ideologically for this possibility. But also in a state of illegality the Young Communist Leagues must remain mass organisations, *i.e.*, they must not lose contact with the masses, or their influence or leadership over them.

The Youth in the Country and the Young Communist Leagues.

Capitalism has caused a tremendous proletarianisation of the population in the country, and cast the poor peasants into the deepest misery. The continued crisis of capitalist society since the war, has caused a great, ever-deepening and growing agrarian crisis in all capitalist countries. The efforts of the capitalists to restore the balance of economy at the cost of the workers and peasants, by burdening them with taxes and tariffs, result in enriching the capitalists and big landowners at the cost of the proletarian and toiling peasant masses, and thus to the intensification of the class antagonisms also in the country.

The agrarian crisis strengthens and accelerates the process of differentiation of the peasantry and

leads to economic impoverishment and enslavement of the majority of peasants. The strata of the country population which suffers there from the capitalist crisis, are

- (1) *The agricultural labourers;*
- (2) *The small peasants or semi-proletarians, and*
- (3) *The middle peasantry.*

The standard of life of the agricultural workers is continually being lowered. The working day is extraordinarily long, the real wages decrease, and all other conditions of life are becoming worse. The small agricultural enterprises are destroyed. The small peasant is becoming increasingly dependent on the big landowners and capitalists. The small peasants are burdened with heavy debts, and their position is often worse than that of the industrial proletariat. The middle peasantry also suffer from these unfair conditions. The increased cost of commodities, the taxes, the burdens of war, etc., prevent the middle peasants from restoring the economy which was destroyed by the war, and since the war. Added to that there is the ever growing danger of war, menacing the finest energies and achievements of the workers with destruction, keeping the peasantry in a constant state of insecurity, and demanding even during "peace time" the support from the Peasants of great armaments.

Under these circumstances the toiling Youth of the countryside especially suffer. Child labour reigns in the countryside in terrible forms. Because of their miserable economic conditions, the

small and middle peasants are compelled to make use of the labour power of their children. The power of resistance of the youthful agricultural workers and peasants is not so strong as that of the adults or of the industrial Youth. Bourgeois, militarist, and ideological obscurantism still finds fruitful ground in the countryside. The fascist and other bourgeois organisations mobilise their picked troops from the midst of the Youth in the country.

The Young Communist Leagues cannot suffer this material and intellectual enslavement of the workers in the country, and the young toiling peasants. They look upon the young agricultural workers and small peasants as their natural comrades in arms. In their work in the country, the Leagues approach the young agricultural workers and the poor peasants. The Y.C. Leagues are under the obligation to transform them into conscious fighters for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Y.C.L. also work very energetically among the Youth of the middle peasants to win them over for the cause of the proletariat, or at least to neutralise those sections which are far removed from us. The former revolutionary experiences and especially the Russian Revolution, have shown that without winning over the peasantry it is impossible for the proletariat to gain certain victory. The peasantry cannot free itself alone from the yoke of the capitalists and big landowners because it does not represent a unified class, it is scattered in the various villages and thus cannot create a solid revolutionary organisation. The liberation of the peasantry can be achieved only in alliance with the proletariat and under its leader-

ship in the fight against capitalism for the dictatorship of the Proletariat. The proletariat has the historical task of bringing about this alliance with the peasantry.

The big landowners and their organisations are the most bitter enemies of the agricultural workers and the toiling peasantry. Therefore, the Young Communist Leagues carry on an energetic struggle against them.

In those countries where the economic exploitation of the peasants is bound up with national suppression (the Balkans, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, colonial and semi-colonial countries, etc.), the Young Communist Leagues fight on behalf of the right of self-determination of nations to the point of separation, which is the pre-requisite for the liberation of the peasants, as well as of the proletariat, in these countries.

The Young Communist Leagues conduct an energetic struggle for the political, economic and cultural interest of the young agricultural workers and toiling peasants. Hand in hand with the Communist Parties, the Young Communist Leagues fight for the realisation of the agrarian programme of the Communists. The Leagues look upon the fight for the interests of the young agricultural workers and peasants, as one of their most important tasks.

The Toiling Youth of the Colonial Countries.

Over half of humanity is languishing under the yoke of Imperialism in the Colonial and semi-colonial countries. The exploitation of the economically backward peoples of Asia, Africa,

Australia and America, is one of the foundations upon which the present-day capitalist world economy rests. As a result of the increased exploitation of the suppressed peoples of the colonial countries, the bourgeoisie of the imperialist states make super-profits which makes it possible for them to improve the material conditions of the upper strata of the workers of their own countries, and thus divide the ranks of the proletariat by the creation of a labour aristocracy.

Therefore, the struggle for national liberation of the suppressed peoples of the Colonial and semi-colonial countries, plays a tremendous role in the world revolution against capitalism. The alliance of the revolutionary proletariat of the capitalist countries with the toiling masses of the coloured slaves of capitalism, is one of the most important conditions for victory. The capitalist development which has begun in the largest colonial and semi-colonial countries has created the preliminary condition for the class differentiation of the peoples into toilers on the one hand and bourgeoisie and feudalism on the other, has aroused the native toiling masses and has added to the tasks of the national revolutionary fight against the imperialists, the class struggle of the toiling masses against the native feudalism and the native bourgeoisie.

The situation of the toiling youth in these countries is still worse than in the capitalist mother countries. The youthful proletariat there languishes under the double pressure of foreign and native exploitation, which still assumes feudal and patriarchal forms. Widespread petty handicrafts and petty trade, fighting for their existence,

impose such pitiless exploitation of the Youth as has never been known by the toiling Youth of Europe and America. The impoverishment of the peasants and the feudal backwardness of agricultural economy, makes the condition of the agricultural Youth well-nigh unendurable. Added to that is the extraordinary cultural backwardness and social slavery of the Youth of those countries, where religion, supporting itself on the ignorance of the mass, holds absolute sway, where the women often live under conditions of slavery, where the employers are given patriarchal rights over their workers, etc.

The Young Communist of the enslaved colonial peoples are confronted with two tasks:

(1) The organisation of a broad mass movement of the toiling youth under the banner of the revolutionary liberation from the foreign imperialist yoke, establishment of alliances with the proletarians of the capitalist countries, fight for the economical, cultural and political need and demands of the Youth;

(2) The formation of class conscious Communist cadres of the Youth, which will lead the masses of the toiling Youth within the framework of the national revolutionary fight, and prepare and introduce the class struggle for Communism which is inevitable, and which has also begun in these countries, in connection with the world revolution.

The organisational forms of the revolutionary Youth movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, will be determined by the historical, economic, social and political peculiarities of the respective countries.

The Young Communists of the capitalist countries, especially of those countries which carry on an active colonial policy are confronted with this task:

The fight against the colonial policy and for the complete liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonies, against the race prejudices of the proletarians themselves, and the energetic support of the toiling Youth and their struggle in the colonies.

The Toiling Youth and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

During the period of the immediate fight for the conquest of power by the working class, the Young Communist Leagues concentrate their whole attention and their entire strength, on the fulfilment of this decisive task. During this period more than ever before, they put themselves at the disposal of the Party, develop the greatest energy for the mobilisation and winning over of the broadest masses of the toiling youth, for the complete liquidation of the Social-Democratic Youth organisations, and for the disintegration of the bourgeois army. The centre of their activity lies more than ever before, in the factories; energetic activity is developed in the mass organisations of the proletariat, in the trade unions and factory preparatory great energy is devoted to the technical preparation and conduct of the armed uprising. The Young Communist Leagues, under the leadership of the Party, actively participate in the mobilisation and organisation of the toiling masses, in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and later in the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship. The

overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat fundamentally alter the situation of the toiling Youth. The Proletarian State looks upon the work of the Youth not as an object of exploitation, but completely subjects it to the point of view and tasks of education, to the aim of developing the Youth into qualified and conscious participators in the establishment of Communist society in all the manifold spheres of life. In this manner the Proletarian State undertakes a Socialist re-organisation of the Youth labour. It fulfils all the economic, cultural and political demands of the Young Communist Leagues. The Proletarian State regulates the whole system of popular education, which becomes a monopoly of the State, from the standpoint of the Socialist re-organisation of the Youth labour. The Proletarian State also fulfils the demands of the Youth for political rights by conferring on youths over the age of 18 complete citizen rights.

The victorious proletariat also liberates the Youth of the suppressed peoples, grants them full political rights, and secures for them actual equality by a number of economic, administrative and cultural measures. In the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the toiling Youth of all nationalities were transformed for the first time, from an enslaved mass which was held in intellectual darkness and ignorance, into free citizens with full rights, conscious fighters and participators in the building up of the new society. The workers of capitalism, enslaved and without rights become fully enfranchised citizens of the Proletarian State. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat endeavours to bring

about a fundamental improvement of the condition of the Youth from political, economic and cultural point of view, and is gradually but constantly realising this. The Communist Youth organisations persecuted, and harried by capitalism, enjoy the all-round ideological and material support of the Soviet Power, and become active participators of the whole work, the collective fight of the Proletarian State and especially in its activity in the sphere of the work and training of the Youth; for the Proletarian State recognises the Young Communist Leagues as the only representatives of the interests of the Youth.

The Young Communist Leagues are offered the widest opportunities for the complete development of their role as mass organisations for the Communist training of the working class Youth, which are responsible to the Youth in their activity in all aspects of life. The aim of this training in the period of the Proletarian Dictatorship is to draw co-workers and co-fighters out of the ranks of the Youth for all spheres of the struggle, and secure their co-operation in the building up of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

As a result of the change in the class nature of the State, the activity of the Young Communist Leagues also undergoes a change. Whereas under the domination of capital they are an instrument for the overthrow of the bourgeois State Power, during the period of the Proletarian Dictatorship, they become a support of the Soviet Power. The Leagues actively participate in the building up of the Socialist State apparatus, in industry and agricultural economy, as well as in the

whole political, military, economic, and cultural activity developed by the Soviet Power in town and country. The struggle against bourgeois militarism is replaced by active participation in the Red Army and Fleet, and by efforts to strengthen them, and the best elements in the Leagues become Red Soldiers, political workers and Red Commanders. After the assumption of power by the proletariat, the Leagues, through the Proletarian State and the trade unions, which are the class organs of the entire proletariat, realise their programme of economic demands, and gradually reorganise the Youth labour on a Socialist basis, and by constant practical participation give this activity the right impetus. The fight against the bourgeois school, and bourgeois religious obscurantism, is replaced with the help of the Soviet Power, by the establishment of unified work schools, organisation of schools for working class Youth (apprenticeship departments), conquest of the middle and higher schools by the proletariat, and assistance in the organisation of popular education for the masses of the people. The educational work of the Leagues is broadened and intensified, and in connection with the change of purpose of Communist training, and of the strengthening of the ideological and material means for educational work, it must assume new great tasks. Only in a working class state is it possible socially to mould the new developing human material into new human beings.

The Young Communist Leagues of those countries where the proletariat has already conquered, have the special duty of helping and supporting the fighting working Youth of other countries.

The Young Communist International.

The fight of the proletariat for Communism can only be successful if it is conducted on an international scale.

The same is true of the fight of the working class Youth. Therefore, the Young Communist Leagues of all countries unite in the Young Communist International, the International organisation and leader of the toiling Youth.

As early as 1907, at the Stuttgart Congress of the toiling Youth, the International Union of Socialist Youth Organisations was formed. In spite of the attempts of the reformists and social patriots to destroy this Union, the overwhelming majority of the organisations belonging to it, at the end of the war and the beginning of the period of revolutionary struggles, recognised the principles of the revolutionary class struggle and created the Young Communist International, which thus became the direct successor of the International Union of Socialist Youth organisations. The few Socialist Youth organisations which, for opportunist reasons, never belonged to any international before the war, or which during the war severed their international connections, or were called to life later by the Social-Democrats against the revolutionary Youth organisations, created in 1921 the "Young Workers' International," and the "International Working Community of Socialist Youth." Thus they manifested to the whole world their dependence on the social traitors and reformists, and have openly and once and for all deserted to the camp of the bourgeoisie against

the fighting-working class Youth of all countries. This fact became still more evident by the amalgamation of the two organisations in 1923 into a new international, which is completely under the guidance of the Social Patriots.

In contrast to the Social-Democratic International, which is merely a loose federation, the Young Communist International is built up on the principles of international centralisation. Its decisions are the supreme law for the national sections, for the Young Communist International represents a United International Young Communist League. Hence the Young Communist International has the task of co-ordinating the fight of the toiling Youth of the various countries into a united international fight under the leadership of the Communist International. The practical tasks arising therefrom are:

To guide and support the activity of the Young Communist Leagues on all fields, to organise new Leagues, to instigate international demonstrations, and campaigns, and international agitation, and to encourage mutual rapprochements between the revolutionary Youth of the various countries.

The Young Communist International adopts the basis of the Communist International, and constitutes one of its parts (sections). The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International works in close contact with the Executive Committee of the Communist International, and under its political guidance.

On the first Sunday in September each year,

the Young Communist International organises the "International Youth Day," as a day of joint struggle and of solidarity for the toiling Youth of the whole world.

A new epoch has opened for the toiling Youth with the creation of the Young Communist International. The frontier outposts have been uprooted, national clefts have disappeared. Capitalism is confronted with a single solid fighting front and its iron noose surrounds the whole world. The Young Communist International first creates the conditions for the liberation of the Youth of the working class from the unendurable political, economic and cultural yoke of capitalism, and which, entrusted with the fulfilment of this task as part of the fighting Communist International will also realise it to the full!