

**Results of Two Congresses:
Abridged Report of 1928
Communist International**

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by Roberts

RESULTS OF TWO CONGRESSES



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6th Congress of the Communist
International, and 5th Congress
of the Young Communist Inter-
national, held in Moscow, July-
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Results of Two Congresses

*The Sixth World Congress of the C.I. and
the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I.*

TWO World Congresses took place in July, August and September in Moscow, the Red Capital of the First Workers' and Peasants' State of the world. The Sixth Congress of the Communist International and the Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International which followed it, brought together for serious work the best representatives of Communist organisations from all parts of the world. Important questions were dealt with thoroughly and in great detail decided upon on the basis of the rich fighting experiences of the last period. The decisions are of considerable interest to all young workers. In order to convert them into deeds by practical work, every young Communist must have a thorough knowledge of them. The following survey gives a brief review of the questions dealt with, but it should be pointed out that it does not by any means take the place of a thorough study of all the theses and resolutions of the two World Congresses.

I. The Comintern Points the Way to the Masses in their Liberation Struggle

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, whose deliberations lasted for six weeks, has placed before the entire international working class a series of great new problems, and it is now incumbent on all Communists to study these problems and their practical realisation. The decisions of the Congresses are all the more important as they signalise the beginning of a new historical stage of the revolutionary world movement and bring forward new and far-reaching tasks. The correctness and fighting character of the resolutions adopted by the Congress are obvious.

The World Congress summed up the results of the development and struggle of the Comintern in the four years which have passed since its last World Congress and gave a

correct and clear appreciation of the international economic and political situation. Thereby, the Congress gave a straight answer to the question of the so-called "stabilisation" and showed that capitalism which has been increasing its productive forces in a series of countries, is calling forth powerful antagonisms which will lead inevitably to catastrophes, wars and revolutionary crises.

II. Growing Antagonisms in the Capitalist Countries

Since the end of the world war, capitalism has gone through three stages in the course of its development. In the first stage we witnessed direct revolutionary actions on the part of the proletariat which aimed at the overthrow of capitalism and reached a climax in 1921. The victorious Russian October revolution was the signal for proletarian insurrections, big and small, in all parts of the world which led in some countries to the temporary establishment of Soviet dictatorships. This stage came to a conclusion with the October defeat of the German proletariat in 1923.

Taking advantage of the defeat of the proletariat which was still more weakened by the complete surrender of the social-democrats, capitalism embarked on the "reconstruction" of its system. This stage, when capitalism succeeded in lifting its head once more, in partly consolidating its disorganised economic order and when it took up the offensive against the working class, is known as the stage of the partial stabilisation of capitalism.

In the course of this development and in the stage which we have now reached, capitalism succeeded in consolidating its economy disorganised by the war, and thereby also in consolidating its political power, through technical and organisational rationalisation and the formation and development of international cartels and trusts. This process is accompanied by a worsening of the position of the working class. The so-called gains of the post-war period have been withdrawn, real wages have decreased, the 8-hour day is practically abolished in many countries and the political and cultural rights of the proletariat have also been reduced.

When about three years ago the Communist International confirmed the partial stabilisation of capitalism, the social-democrats were jubilant because the Communists themselves had given up their idea of the imminence of world revolution. The recognition of the stabilisation of capitalism served the reformists as evidence that the proletarian revolution is not possible within a measurable distance because "its pre-

requisite" is lacking in the external conditions. They laid stress on the idea that the present stabilisation of capitalism is not a passing but a permanent fact. The reformists have not given up this idea.

What has the Sixth World Congress set against this, after an unprejudiced investigation of the economic situation on a world scale?

The consolidation of the position of world capitalism, which has taken place in a number of big capitalist countries owing to new technical and organisational methods and the increased exploitation of the working class, is accompanied also by an extension and consolidation of forces which are hostile to capitalism. **Above all, these forces are: the growth of the internal differences of capitalism itself, the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R.—one-sixth of the globe, and the national-revolutionary movement of the masses in the colonies.** Capitalist stabilisation is being gradually undermined owing to the growing resistance of the working class, the gigantic strikes, the results of election campaigns and other mass activities which show that the mass of the workers are veering to the left and that Communist influence is continually growing.

The contradictions within the capitalist economy and social order are the cause of frequent collisions between the classes. These contradictions are also the basis of gigantic new antagonisms between the individual imperialist States.



THE TRADE UNION HALL IN MOSCOW WHERE THE C.I. AND Y.C.I. CONGRESSES WERE HELD.

III. Growing Danger of Imperialist War

The attempts at an economic and financial blockade against the Soviet Union, the steady preparations for an attack on the country of proletarian dictatorship, the growing antagonisms between the capitalist Powers are sure signs of the imminence of another imperialist war. The Congress declared struggle against the war danger the main slogan of the present period. But the Congress did not only expose the war danger, it also issued concrete and minute directions for the practical daily revolutionary struggle against the war danger and war.

The social-democrats declare, with their usual hypocrisy, that war is the only hope of the Communists and that the Communist International desires and even encourages war. The social-democrats use these "arguments" as a cloak for their treacherous role (active co-operation in the war preparations) and to prove they are the only real friends of peace.

It is from this viewpoint that the Congress has dealt with the role of international social-democracy and has exposed it as an active supporter of the capitalist economy identifying itself more and more with the bourgeois State. **Social-Democrats openly defend the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie and have become thereby the most dangerous enemies of the working class.** Consequently, the Congress decided on a general sharpening of the ideological and organizational struggle against international social-democracy especially against its dangerous "left" wing which is endeavouring by radical phraseology and clever manoeuvring to damp down the will to fight and the leftward move of the masses.

The second important factor which must receive attention in connection with the acute war danger, is the question of revolutionary struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies. The Congress was able to deal with these questions very carefully owing to the presence of many representatives from the countries oppressed by the imperialists and from the glorious fighting experience of the Chinese Communists. Thus, it was possible to create the premises for a united fighting front of the proletarians of industrial countries who carry on the struggle for proletarian dictatorship and the mass of the colonial workers and peasants who are fighting against imperialism.

IV. The Programme—A New and Powerful Weapon

The main decision of the Congress which makes it



ABOVE COMRADE BLENKLE, LEADER OF THE GERMAN Y.C.L., ADDRESSING THE Y.C.I. CONGRESS.

The Programme of the Comintern has been designated by the Mensheviks as "the Programme of war and disruption of the working class." In reality, it is they (the Mensheviks) who participate in the preparation of war through their co-operation in the pacifist doping of the masses, on the one hand (League of Nations, Kellogg Pact, etc.), and through support for the war preparations of the bourgeoisie (armoured cruisers, French Army Bill, Blanesburgh Bill, etc.), on the other hand. It is for this purpose that they are now giving

of the most significant historical landmarks, is no doubt the adoption of the Programme of the Communist International. In their struggle for world dictatorship the working class and its Communist vanguard have been given the sharpest theoretical weapon. The Programme lays a sound foundation for the united activity of the proletarians of all countries and of all peoples of all races.

an impetus to the disruption campaign in all the mass organisations of the working class. The hypocrisy of such a description of our Programme is obvious.

For a long time the advanced proletariat of all countries has been waiting impatiently for this Programme. The Programme, which deals with all the questions of the revolutionary movement in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, is not only a first class weapon in the hands of the proletariat in the theoretical and ideological struggle against all the enemies of the working class, but also an excellent means of education. To carry the Programme right into the masses, to make it known to the largest possible number of workers, to explain, popularise and elaborate it, must be the most important task of all Communists and also of all class conscious workers.

V. A Congress of Unity, Significance and Fruitfulness

The Congress dealt also with another series of important questions. Extension and improvement of trade union work, struggle against the disruptive policy of the reformists in Labour organisations, energetic application of the united front tactics from below, daily propaganda and agitation among the masses, especially among the rank and file of the social-democrats, adequate leadership in strikes, etc., will make it possible for the Communist Parties to achieve decisive success in the struggle for the capture of the majority of the working class.

The Congress did all its work in perfect unity. This is a new and telling reply to all our enemies who are hoping in vain for a split in the international Leninist ranks. The Congress paid, of course, serious attention to the purity of Bolshevik unity of its ranks and to opportunist right tendencies in the Communist Parties. It recorded correctly that in the immediate future the right danger is the main danger in the Communist Parties and therefore it set the task of energetic struggle against this danger.

The work of the Congress came to a conclusion with the expression of the united and firm will of all its participants—the representatives of the workers and peasants of all parts of the world—to carry the decisions of the Congress right into the masses.

VI. The Policy of the Fifth World Congress of the Y.C.I.

The decisions of the Sixth World Congress of the Y.C.I. constituted the starting point for the work of the Congress.

the Young Communist International which followed immediately on the Congress of the C.I.

The Y.C.I. Congress associated itself with the estimate of the political situation given by the Comintern Congress. It carried on its work on the lines laid down by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern and made the same main tasks—struggle against the imperialist war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union—the basis of its whole work. Although it fully agreed with the Comintern Congress, the Congress of the Y.C.I. did not take over automatically the tasks of the Comintern. On the contrary, the move towards youthlike methods was carried out in every respect and an energetic fight was put up against the old practice of giving Young Communist Leagues too much the character of a second "young party."

The centre of the work of the Y.C.I. was the question of mass work, the critical examination of past work and working methods from the standpoint of the capture of the mass of the working youth and the development of Young Communist Leagues into mass organisations.

VII. The Growing Role of the Working Youth in Production and in the Class Struggle

The period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism with its rationalisation-offensive, by which capitalism intends to put the cost of the reconstruction of capitalist economy on to the shoulders of the young workers, has brought with it a considerable worsening of the position of the working youth. The real wages of young workers have decreased, their working hours are longer than before, youth protection laws are being ignored more than ever, and a series of laws directed against the working youth have been introduced. Unemployed young workers are being attacked, and their miserable "dole" reduced on all hands, whilst the technical education of the working youth has also decreased. Owing to the fact that the number of apprentices generally is decreasing whereas the number of unskilled and semi-skilled young workers is increasing, only an ever-diminishing section of young workers get the benefit of a proper vocational training. Wage reductions, longer working hours, curtailment of social and political rights and militarisation of the youth—such were the aims pursued by capitalism in its rationalisation-offensive and its ever increasing imperialist war preparations.

Owing to the change which has taken place in the position of the working youth, especially to its more important role



COMRADE KHITAROV, SECRETARY OF THE Y.C.I., ADDRESSING THE CONGRESS.

importance, considering that the coming wars will be decided by the youth. In the immediate future the struggle against the war danger will be the centre of the activity of the Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues of all countries.

Therefore, the youth question is claiming the attention not only of the proletariat but also of the bourgeoisie. The struggle for the youth has assumed uncommonly acute forms in all countries. As a consequence, the role and importance of the Young Communist Leagues is steadily increasing.

The bourgeoisie has lately been paying considerable attention to the capture of the working youth. It is using various means for this purpose: it is persecuting the revolutionary youth organisations not only in countries where Fascism and White Terror are reigning, but also in so-called "democratic" countries; it is taking measures for the militarisation of the youth and for the development of Fascism amongst them (compulsory and also "voluntary" military

in production (young workers are now partly taking over the functions of their adult fellow workers in the factories), the will to fight of the young workers has increased. Thus, in the last few years young workers have not only participated more frequently and extensively in the industrial struggles of the adult workers, but have also organised strikes of their own.

Another factor in the growing role of the youth is the ever growing war danger. It is self-evident that the youth is bound to grow in

wars will be decided the struggle against

training, school and cultural reaction, etc.); the bourgeois youth organisations which have been very active lately, are receiving all manner of support from the bourgeoisie and its governments. The Young Socialist International, too, is supporting the bourgeoisie and is co-operating openly and secretly with the bourgeois organisations.



COMRADE BUKHARIN, LEADER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, DELIVERING THE REPORT OF THE COMINTERN CONGRESS TO THE Y.C.I. CONGRESS.

All this makes it necessary for the revolutionary working class to do its utmost for the capture of the youth and imposes an enormous responsibility on the Y.C.I.

VIII. From the Fourth to the Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

Four years of struggle and work separate the Fifth Congress from the Fourth. While at the First Congress, in November, 1919, in Berlin, Young Communist Leagues representing 14 countries rallied under the banner of the Y.C.I., at the Second Congress, held in Moscow in 1921, Young Communist Leagues representing 43 countries were organised

in our ranks. At the time of the Third Congress in November, 1923, 760,000 young workers were organised in the Y.C.I., i.e., a fourfold increase since the First Congress. At the Fourth World Congress (1924), the first million was already passed, and Young Communist Leagues from all parts of the world were represented. At present, the Y.C.I. has 2,157,232 members spread over 42 countries throughout the world. To this must be added the legal political organisations of the illegal Leagues and the sympathising organisations which have 67,068 members.

As far as its importance is concerned, the Fifth World Congress is comparable to the Second Congress in the history of the Y.C.I. The Second Congress initiated the mass character of our youth organisations and issued the slogan "Mass work among the working youth." The Fifth Congress thoroughly revised all our methods of work and gave a critical analysis of all our successes and defects. It initiated a change from the narrow slavish Party-like character of our work to youth-like methods of work, it gave an impetus to mass work among the youth and emphasised the special needs and requirements of the working youth. All these questions were formulated in the so-called "New Course," "Youth Politics," etc.

IX. Successes and Gains of the Y.C.I.

Since the time of the Fourth Congress, the Y.C.I. can record a series of considerable successes and gains in many spheres of work.

First and foremost, the political activity of the Y.C.I. and its sections has increased. Most Leagues have achieved a certain amount of success in mass work on a large scale. A considerable gain is the development of the Young Communist League of China which has been converted from a small organisation of revolutionary students to a mass organisation of the working and peasant youth. That the Y.C.I. has been developing into a world organisation is shown by the establishment of a number of new Leagues. Special mention must be made of the heroic struggle of the illegal Leagues which work under difficult White Terror conditions and are nevertheless able to develop their mass work. A considerable achievement is the internal consolidation of the Y.C.I. shown by the ideological consolidation of the Leagues, the attraction of new cadres of workers and by the search for new methods of work. The greatest achievement is the work of the League of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, which is a prop and pillar of the proletarian dictatorship in

U.S.S.R., and which is drawing millions of young workers into active participation in the construction of socialism.

X. Self-Criticism

The Y.C.I. has, no doubt, achieved considerable successes. Since the Fourth Congress several Leagues have been at the head of armed struggles, have led the working youth in many industrial struggles and have been able to resist heroically the brutal White Terror. In this connection one must draw attention to the heroic struggle of the Chinese Young Communist League, to the difficult work of our illegal Leagues, such as those of Poland, Bulgaria, Italy, etc., to the British General Strike, and mining lockout, the splendid anti-militarist work of the Young Communist League of France, and to the continuous socialist construction work of the Russian Y.C.L. Nevertheless, the Y.C.I. would not be a Bolshevik organisation if it were not to criticise its own mistakes with truly Bolshevik sincerity. A critical attitude to its own mistakes was certainly the keynote of the Congress.

This critical attitude was mostly due to the fact that the Y.C.I. has not yet carried out its main task which was set already at the Second Congress—creation of a Young Communist mass movement in all countries. That is why the Congress had to ask itself the question why this task was not yet solved and if the path pursued by us till now has been the correct one.

In order to answer this question, the Congress had to give an analysis of the position of the working youth and to investigate the experience gained in the past.

XI. Creation of a Mass Youth Movement

The Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I. opposed categorically the viewpoint that the creation of a Communist Youth movement under capitalist conditions is utopian, and also the viewpoint that the Y.C.L. must inevitably remain a small "elite" organisation. Our aim and task in all countries is the creation of a mass Young Communist movement, a political fighting movement which cannot limit itself to the capture of the advanced sections of the working youth but must get into its ranks also wide sections of the young proletariat and peasantry.

It is from this viewpoint that the Congress dealt with all the questions and laid down our further tasks. The general situation is favourable to our movement. It will remain so also in the immediate future when the class struggle is bound to be very acute.

XII. Move Towards Youth-Like Methods of Work

The principle of more youth-like methods of work is, after all, not new. Already the Berlin programme of the Y.C.I. (1919) declared that not only the position of the youth in the process of production but also its psychological peculiarities demand the establishment of special proletarian youth organisations. However, the Congress had to record once more that Y.C.L. work was still too much like Party work and that Y.C.L. methods of work were in most cases slavish imitations of the methods of work of the Parties and were not adapted to the special requirements and peculiarities of the working youth.

The Y.C.I. and its sections have paid hitherto inadequate attention to these psychological peculiarities and needs of the youth, and it is to the credit of the Congress that it brought home to all the Leagues the seriousness of this question. This alone will enable the Leagues to carry on real mass work.

This new re-direction must take place mainly in the internal working system of our Leagues, because there is much that is inadequate and which needs improvement in this system.

The Congress recorded that the main defects are: that the methods of work of most Y.C.L.'s are not sufficiently adapted to the mental capacity and the requirements of the working youth. In many cases the youth is approached only with involved agitational phraseology. The young people who join us are not introduced into the work in a methodical way but are frequently given tasks which they cannot carry out even with the best intentions. The work is not interesting enough, the life of the organisation is dull and there is little to attract to our organisation young people who certainly do not come to us as full-fledged Communists.

The so-called "new methods" of work with the help of which we are endeavouring to enliven our agitation and propaganda, our internal and external work, will and must help us to get nearer to the young workers and to establish closer ties with those who are already in our ranks. It is in this manner that we will also succeed in stemming the fluctuations which reaches sometimes 70 to 80 per cent. in some Leagues and in securing a steady growth of our membership. An important basis for this is a thorough re-direction of Y.C.L. members towards real work among the masses,

XIII. New Attitude to the Question of Auxiliary Organisations

The recent decision that mass work is a concrete task of the Y.C.I. necessitated an investigation of the correctness of decisions on matters of principle made by former congresses. For instance, experience has shown that the thesis of the Second World Congress regarding the lack of necessity for other youth organisations side by side with the Y.C.L. "because the entire working youth can be organised in the Y.C.L." is not correct. This thesis had to be revised because our aim—to draw the entire working youth into our ranks—cannot be achieved in a hurry, especially in capitalist countries. Frequently, a series of auxiliary organisational forms are required. This principle of the Second World Congress only impeded the development of the Y.C.L. into a mass organisation. Life itself has led to the formation of a series of auxiliary organisations. Such organisations are the Red Youth Front and the trade union youth sections and committees. We are creating organisations for soldiers in the form of clubs and we must create them also for the peasant youth. The Congress drew the necessary conclusions from past experiences and rescinded the former decision. The Congress demands the widest possible application of the system of the so-called "transmission belts" and proposed in this connection various forms which have already stood the test.

XIV. Into the Factories

With a few exceptions, we have not yet succeeded in reorganising our Leagues on a factory group basis. The main reason for this is our failure to pay sufficient attention to work in factories and a too mechanical reorganisation on to the factory group basis. In many cases, this reorganisation was effected by means of instructions and circulars instead of giving it the form of actual penetration into the factories.

The Congress also proposed remedies for this. It has made it incumbent on all Leagues to give factory group work a much more concrete form, to improve their activity by giving the groups and the organisation definite work to do, to raise the level of the groups of active workers and to utilise all the positive results of our work everywhere and in every possible way by a continuous exchange of experiences.

Our most important task is still the concentration of our work on the factories, especially big enterprises, development and consolidation of existing factory groups and penetration into new factories through the formation of concentration

groups, etc. In view of the growing war danger special attention must be attached to factory group work. Special attention should be paid to munition and armament factories and also to the chemical industry.

XV. New Tasks and Forms of Our Anti-Militarist Struggle

Apart from basing all its work on the struggle against the imperialist war danger, the Congress dealt also with the concrete tasks of our anti-militarist work. The militarisation measures of the imperialists have partly assumed new forms which places new tasks before the Y.C.I.

In nearly all countries the bourgeoisie is taking measures for the **militarisation of the whole population**, especially of the working youth. Partly through legislation and partly through economic and political pressure, the youth is compelled to undergo **military training in the schools, in special training camps and units, in Fascist and defence organisations**, etc. This makes it imperative for us on the one hand to expose to the mass of the youth, the meaning of this preliminary military training and to mobilise it against it and to carry on, on the other hand, educational and disintegrative work within these organisations.



DEMONSTRATION OF LENINGRAD YOUNG WORKERS ON INTERNATIONAL YOUTH DAY, SEPTEMBER, 1928

The militarisation of the whole population is accompanied by the transformation of the standing armies into armies of **mercenaries** or at least by the formation of **strong groups of professional soldiers**. This demands **more energetic work among these strata**, elaboration of suitable **methods and partial demands**.

The bourgeoisie is also carrying out a **militarisation of all economic resources** and is preparing for the **reorganisation of industry on a war basis**, in the event of war. This requires **more energetic work on our part in the war industry**, in the industries which will be paramount in the event of war. We must enlighten the workers on the reorganisation possibilities and the role of these factories in the event of war, we must form factory groups, etc.

XVI. Our Trade Union Work

The growing importance of the youth in production, its growing militancy, have brought to the fore new fighting tasks and forms as well as new problems.

To a certain extent new forms have been created for the organisation and co-ordination of the working youth. The accentuated struggle of the reformists, the attacks of the reformist bureaucrats on us, the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary trade unionists, necessitates on our part better fraction work in the trade unions: young trade unionists' conferences and trade union discussions re the organisation of industrial campaigns, wage and working day movements, etc., must be organised.

XVII. Struggle against Opponent Organisations

The Y.C.I. has drawn into its ranks only a small percentage of the working youth. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to influence the youth by every possible means and method. Although in some countries 40 to 50 per cent. of young workers are in the ranks of bourgeois organisations, we have hitherto paid very little attention to them. The Congress laid stress on this and pointed out the importance of work in these organisations and of struggle against them.

Although the **Young Socialist International** with its **100,000 members** is only a small organisation compared with other organisations, it is still our **most dangerous opponent**. With its help, reformism exercises considerable influence over the working youth. The Y.S.I. is our most direct and, therefore, most dangerous opponent.

In this connection, the Congress once more emphasised

the necessity of making use of the united front tactic which is still very inadequately applied. The acute crisis in the Y.S.I. makes it incumbent on us to utilise more fully than before the disintegration which is going on within its ranks. With all the means at our disposal we must support the "left" opposition in the Young Socialist organisations without, however, making or tolerating any concessions.

XVIII. Work in Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries

The fact that we have in China a mass Young Communist League which is doing admirable revolutionary work, is of enormous importance to the Y.C.I. and to our further work. The development of the Young Communist League of China and its rich experience enabled the Congress to deal with the question of work in the colonies in a much more concrete manner than ever before.

Hitherto the idea prevailed in the Y.C.I. that broad national revolutionary youth organisations will be the main form of our movement in the colonies. The Chinese experience has, however, shown that the Y.C.L. is the main form of our movement not only in advanced capitalist countries but also in the colonies, and that **only** in isolated cases will we have to create broad national revolutionary youth organisations.

As emphasised in the political resolution of the Congress, work in the colonies assumes enormous political importance. The activity and struggle of the Chinese Y.C.L. must continue to receive the effective support of the entire Y.C.I. At the same time, the Congress decided to form a Young Communist League also in India where small isolated Communist groups already exist, and also in other colonies and in the countries of Latin America. Work among negroes is no less important. **The Y.C.I. cannot claim the title of an international organisation unless it continues energetically the partly successful work initiated by it among the oppressed peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies.**

XIX. The Struggle against the Right Danger

The accentuation of the class struggle and especially of our struggle against the social-democrats has resulted in a series of deviations from the Leninist policy of the Comintern. The Congress of the C.I. has declared that in the immediate future the main danger in the Communist movement is the right danger. That is why struggle against it will be also our foremost task. To this right danger belongs also the

proposal to reduce the political activity of the youth movement, the proposal to make cultural and educational work the centre of our activity. This right danger as well as all right deviations, will be combatted by us most energetically, and the Young Communist Leagues will have to prove once more that they are, above all, political fighting organisations and that the Communist International can always depend on them as its most loyal supporters.

XX. The Programme of the Y.C.I.

Just as the adoption of the Programme of the Comintern was a fact of the greatest importance for the revolutionary movement of the world, the adoption of the programme of the Y.C.I. is a landmark in the history of the revolutionary young workers' movement. The main task of the programme was: to give a full and fundamental picture of the role, the tasks and the struggle of the Young Communist Leagues in the epoch of world revolution. The programme of the Y.C.I. is the programme of the tasks of the working youth in the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. The Young Communist International is a section of the Comintern and this implies that the programme of the C.I. is also its programme. From a general point of view, our programme is therefore a document which defines the special tasks of the working youth and of the Young Communist League in the struggle for Communism. As we maintain the standpoint



A DEMONSTRATION OF MOSCOW YOUNG WORKERS.

that we are an international organisation and that not every young worker who reads our programme is bound to know the programme of the C.I., the scope of our programme (the question and spheres of work it covers), is the whole world. Thus the programme is based on a complete understanding of the manifold and diverse character of the situation in the individual parts of the world.

The programme provides the Young Communist League with a new and important weapon in its struggle, with clear and definite directions in the struggle for world dictatorship. The programme embodies the best revolutionary traditions of the entire youth movement.

The treatment of the programme at the Congress, the interested participation of all Congress delegates, the numerous proposals and amendments bear testimony of the growth of internal forces in the Y.C.I. Therefore, the adoption of the programme means at the same time awakening the theoretical interest in our Young Communist Leagues. Bearing in mind Lenin's words, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement," we must encourage now in all organisations the study of the programme, furthering thereby theoretical development.

XXI. The Y.C.I.—the Only International Organisation of the Young Workers!

Our Fifth World Congress has proved that the Y.C.I. is a real international organisation. More than at other Congresses, the work had a decidedly international character. The Y.C.I. is a united family. The question which faces us now is to spread the international spirit, to educate the wide masses for internationalism, to interest them in the struggle of their class brothers in all the capitalist countries.

The Fifth Congress has armed us for further work. All Y.C.L. members must study the decisions and must begin to apply them in the practical everyday work.

Every Y.C.L. member to his post! More activity on the part of every individual member and of the whole organisation. Maximum efforts to strengthen the Y.C.I., the only international fighting organisation of the revolutionary class-conscious young workers.

F. G.