

# **SPECIAL NUMBER**

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts — Please reprint

# **INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE**

Vol. 10 No. 15

21<sup>st</sup> March 1930

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## **Plenary Session of the E.C. of the Y.C.I.**

November — December 1929.

### **The Third Period and Proletarian Youth.**

The Decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. and the Tasks of the Y. C. I.

#### **Report of Comrade Manuilsky.**

##### **I. The Revolutionary Advance.**

Comrades, the subject of my report is, "The decisions of the 10th Plenum and the tasks of the Communist International". My report consists of two parts. We may say without exaggeration that since the 10th Plenum we can place on record important events of world historical significance. I refer especially to the Five-Year Plan of Socialist Construction, and above all to the results of the first year of its realisation, the balance which was drawn at one of the most important plenary sessions ever held in the history of the C.P.S.U., the last November Plenum of its Central Committee. A further noteworthy event is the general economic crisis culminating in the Exchange crash in the United States.

##### **THE RESULT OF THE FIRST YEAR OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN.**

The first and most important confirmation of the correctness of the decisions of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. must be sought in the realisation of the Five-Year Plan of socialist construction by the strongest section of the Comintern, the C.P.S.U., and in the proletarian state led by it.

Comrades, do you not remember how two years ago, when the Union entered the phase of the reconstruction of the economy, pessimistic prophecies were heard from the Right deviation? Do you remember the words of Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsky who were being experienced in supply difficulties signalling the offensive

being taken up by the kulak elements in the village against the regime of the proletarian dictatorship? These comrades maintained that the place of socialist reconstruction envisaged was not realisable by our country, that it is an agricultural country, that the development of its economy would for long depend on the "peasant's horse", and that the backwardness of agriculture would render impossible the tempo of development proposed. With this they sought to intimidate the Party. They spoke of the inevitability of a breach with the decisive masses of the middle peasantry; they asserted that the kulak would continue to be the chief supplier of market grain for a long time to come, that the development of the collective and Soviet farms cannot secure for us the production of market grain, and that this development will meet with opposition from the main mass of the middle peasantry.

Neither the collective agricultural undertakings nor the Soviet farms — declared Comrades Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsky — will form the "main road" of agricultural development during the next few years, but the individual peasant farms. This attitude on the part of the leaders of the Right opposition formed a part of their estimate of the New Economic Policy. The Rights regarded the N.E.P. exclusively as the form of market relations arising during the first years after its introduction. The Leninist idea of an offensive against the capitalist elements during the epoch of the N.E.P. was dropped by the Rights. Therefore in their eyes the New Economic

Policy became a policy of constant concessions to private capitalist elements in town and country.

At the last Plenum of the C. C. these same comrades came forward once more with a fresh declaration that they had made no mistake whatever, and that their sole differences of opinion with the Central Committee had arisen in connection with the question of the use of exceptional measures in the collecting of grain. Allegedly they had been opponents of these exceptional measures only, and their decided differences of opinion with the Party were now abolished by the actual facts. Is this the case? What lay behind our disagreements with our Right? The differences of opinion with our Right were concentrated de facto on the decisive question of our revolution: **will the revolution in the Soviet Union develop along socialist lines, or will it take the road to capitalism?** Our disputes did not relate to exceptional measures; it was on this fundamental question that our differences arose with Comrades Tomsy, Bukharin, and Rykov. The C. P. S. U. proposed the persistent pursuit of a course directed towards rapid industrialisation, undeterred by difficulties, accompanied by a simultaneous all-round firmer establishment of the socialist section of our economy and its key positions.

The Right appealed to the Party to have the speed of industrialisation reduced, in order that there might be no separation from the peasant basis, and that the apparent gap between socialist industry and agriculture still based on the individual farm might not become wider.

Our Party proposed that agriculture should adapt itself to the tempo of industrialisation, and should do this by placing backward agriculture on a new technical basis, and adopting for it the course towards collectivisation. The Right recommended to our Party a follow-in-the-wake policy of adaptation to the "weak links of the economic front", and endeavoured to divert attention of the Party from the collective and Soviet farms, in favour of the individual peasant farms.

Our Party proposed a new form of production in the alliance between the workers and peasants, envisaging the reconstruction and raising of the level of agricultural production. The Right made the market relations of the first period of the N. E. P. the basis of the alliance.

Our Party proposed the strengthening of the leading role of socialised industry in relation to the millions of individual peasant farms, and therewith the firmer establishment of the leading rôle of the proletariat in the guidance of the decisive masses of the middle and small peasants. The Right depreciated the leading rôle of the working class towards the peasantry, and made the proletariat a mere appendage of the scattered peasant masses.

Our Party saw in advance that the victorious building up of socialism would lead inevitably to resistance on the part of the private capitalist elements in town and country, and to an acuter class struggle. The Right concealed this struggle, made light of it, wrongfully accused the Party, to the masses of the middle peasantry, of the restoring Trotzkyist views.

And now I ask, how can anyone come forward after all this, and maintain that our decided differences of opinion with the Right have been concerned only with disagreements on exceptional measures? Seen objectively, the Right within our Party mirror the pressure being exercised by private capitalist elements on the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is how history states the question, and we find ourselves faced with the necessity of answering it.

Comrades, actual life has decided our quarrel with the Right. At the last Plenum we drew the balance of the first year of the Five-Year Plan. Permit me to sum up briefly the most important events.

**First result:** The course directed towards the industrialisation of the country has proved brilliantly successful. The tempo laid down by the Five-Year Plan has not only been found to be entirely capable of realisation by our national economy, but has been far exceeded. I append a few figures, and these are by no means dry, for each one of them shows vividly how the proletariat of the Soviet Union, in spite of capitalist encirclement, imperialist plotting, and international social democratic treachery, is accomplishing miracles of heroism in the construction of its socialist economy.

The production of socialist big industry has increased by 23.7 per cent. instead of the 21.4 per of the Five-Year Plan; the industry producing the means of production has increased its output by 30.7 per cent instead of 25.6 per cent; the capacity

of the power stations has grown by 22.1 per cent. as compared with the 14 of the Plan.

These successes induced us to revise the original figures of the Five-Year Plan for the current economic year of 1929/30. The control figures propose an increase in industry to the extent of 32 per cent, in place of the original 21 per cent. Industrial building work has advanced by 92 per cent. as compared with the 52 per cent. of the Plan. The gross revenues of the railway have been 23 per cent. higher, the estimated advance being 14 per cent.

These are figures, which deal a decisive blow to our Right. They have convinced the sincerest representatives of the Right opposition, some well known Moscow workers who became temporarily followers of the Right, of the correctness of the course of Party policy, and induced these to declare, at the last Plenum of our Central Committee, their withdrawal from the Right\*).

**Second conclusion:** We can place on record an enormous advance in the collectivisation of agriculture, the growth of gigantic collective and Soviet farms, the spread of pre-purchase contracts and other forms of socialised economy. The Five-Year Plan envisaged the merging together of 120,000 peasant farms in collective undertakings during the past year. The actual figures amounted to five times this number, to 600,000. At the present time the collective undertakings include 1,040,000 peasant farms. The area which they cultivate has increased from 1.4 million hectares in 1927/28 to 4.2 million hectares 1929/30.

At the present time we are organising vast grain farms, actual grain factories. Let us take, for instance, such a Soviet farm as the "Gigant No. 1" in North Caucasia, embracing an area of 150,000 hectares. Bourgeois science maintains that state farms of such a size as this are impossible and ill-adapted to purpose, that they are contrary to the practical experience of agriculture all over the world. Our results refute the assertions of bourgeois science, and upset the views hitherto held. We have already attained noteworthy results in the growth of the socialised sections of our agriculture. The Soviet farms and collective undertakings already delivered, in 1929, 135 million poods of commodity corn, in 1930 the Soviet and collective farms will supply 400 million poods, or 50 per cent. of the total market grain of the Soviet Union.

**Third conclusion:** The idea of a production alliance, supported by our Party, has proved completely successful. Lenin wrote at one time that the middle peasant would vote for the "commune" as soon as we are in possession of one hundred thousand first class tractors. In 1930 we shall have more than 60,000 tractors at our disposal, by 1932 approximately 250,000. Gigantic works are in course of construction — among these the Stalingrad works, with an output capacity of 50,000 tractors yearly. A tractor factory of like capacity is being built at Chelyabinsk. Within two or three years we shall possess two works of our own, producing 100,000 tractors annually.

Is it then a matter of surprise when the Right now declare that differences of opinion no longer exist between them and the Central Committee? The Right are now obliged to recognise our success. They are successes acknowledged by practically the whole bourgeois press.

**Fourth conclusion:** The Right drew terrifying pictures of the dangers of a rupture with the middle peasantry. Developments in the rural districts show, however, that not only the poor peasants are joining the collectives, but the middle peasants. The decisive mass of the middle peasantry is moving forward, streaming into the collective farm. The alliance with the masses of the peasantry is more firmly cemented than ever. The middle and small peasants believe in socialism — this is the decisive consequence of the experiences gained in the past year.

**Fifth conclusion:** The success of our grain collecting campaign! I cite a few noteworthy figures. By 10th November 1927/28 the annual plan had been accomplished to the extent

\*) The success of socialist leaders of the Right opposition and Tomsy, to capitulate a few to acknowledge their own false li of the Party in the disagreements

of 38.4 %; on the same date in 1929/30 by 44.1 %; by this year, however, the percentage has reached 82.6 per cent\*).

**Sixth conclusion:** The unbounded faith of our Party in the creative powers of the working class has been confirmed. We were told that we should not be able to master our difficulties. But I ask, in what capitalist country is such creative enthusiasm possible, such an advance, as that in the country of the proletarian dictatorship at the present moment? This enthusiasm is being expressed at the present time firstly in the universal wave of self-criticism, secondly by the socialist competition being participated in by every works and factory, by the whole working class, and now spreading to other countries on the initiative of the German comrades. And finally, it is expressed in the uninterrupted working week, this new form of creative enthusiasm in the masses for the intensification of the productivity of labour. Even bourgeois national economists, confronted by this fact, cannot maintain a conspiracy of silence on the success of our socialist reconstruction.

**Final conclusion:** The theory of the degradation of agriculture, as brought forward by Comrade Bukharin in his "Observations of an Economist", is completely bankrupt. It is true that our agriculture cannot keep pace with the tempo of industry. During the past year, for instance, livestock breeding lagged behind in its growth by 2 to 3 per cent. This is admittedly the case. But is it possible to accomplish the transformation of millions of individual peasant farms, to set these on the road to collectivisation; to bring about their participation in the social economic system, to abolish the backwardness hitherto prevailing in our agriculture — is it possible to carry out such a decisive change in the economy of the Soviet Union, and in class relations, with perfect smoothness, without evoking any of the phenomena of a crisis, without having to overcome the resistance and sabotage of the kulak, his "Italian strike", that is, his passive resistance, and without encountering his attempts to oppose the collecting of grain and the sowing of seed by means of strikes or even by open resistance? Only a Liberal can hope that such abrupt changes in history can be executed without friction. And is it possible to regard the situation of our agriculture so pessimistically that we even compare it with the agrarian crises of other countries? In the capitalist countries the ever encroaching and ever profounder agrarian crisis may well justify the use of the term degradation of agriculture.

In the capitalist countries 1929 was a year of most severe agrarian crisis. This was evidenced by the sudden price fluctuations in the agricultural produce market. During the last eight or nine months the prices rose and fell alternately three or four times. Up to May the prices of agricultural products showed a rising tendency. In most of the countries exporting grain there were fair prospects of good crops at this time. The market reacted at once with a great drop in prices. Between the end of May and the middle of July the grain prices quoted on the most important corn exchanges, in Chicago, Winnipeg, London, and Buenos Ayres, were 30 to 50 per cent. lower.

Later on the crops of the leading grain export countries suffered from drought, and the over-production crisis threatened to become converted into an under-production crisis. The result was a fresh upward spring of the prices. They rose again by almost 50 per cent. After the harvest a fresh drop in prices followed, the result of the exchange crash, which forced down the prices on the corn exchanges.

It is therefore no matter of surprise that a process involving the ruin of the small farm is observable in all capitalist countries. The bourgeois governments are trying to arrest this process. The American government has, for instance, granted 100 million dollars to prevent in some way or another the fall in prices. The Canadian government and the bourgeois co-operatives in Canada are making desperate efforts to hold back grain, and to prevent thereby the wild fluctuations in price. But "organised capitalism" is proving itself incapable of alleviating the serious consequences of this earthquake in prices.

The drop in the grain market prices has been accompanied by a catastrophic fall in the price of rubber, involving actual economic convulsions in the East Indies and the Malay Is-

lands. The falling sugar prices mean a crisis on Java, Cuba, etc. The price of coffee is falling, and this again signifies a catastrophe in Brazil and many other countries of Latin America. The cotton prices are crumbling, affecting to an extreme degree the agriculture of the United States, Egypt, India, China, etc.

At the same time a mechanical reconstruction of agriculture is taking place in the capitalist countries. The small and middle peasants are being ruined by the competition of the large undertakings. The technical process is accompanied by the growing social misery of the small peasant and of a considerable section of the middle peasantry. Under the circumstances created by capitalism to-day, it is difficult to find a way out of this blind alley. A part of the middle peasantry, and millions of the poor peasantry, are ruined and pauperised. The rationalisation of industry, the great army of the unemployed in the city, and the slowness of industrial growth, make it on the other hand difficult for the peasant to be absorbed in industry as a proletarian.

The enormous advantage of the Soviet system here is that it offers the peasant a way of escape. The middle and small peasants join the collective undertakings, and rise through this primary form to ever higher forms of collective, enterprises, to agricultural communes. The "superfluous" labour of the village is absorbed, if not yet quite fully and all at once, with the aid of the rapid tempo of industrialisation. The whole policy of the Soviet government is directed towards supporting the middle and small peasant farms, whilst the agrarian policy of the bourgeoisie aids the large landowners and the large farmers. The co-operatives of the Soviet Union serve first of all the interests of the middle and small peasantry, whilst the co-operatives of the bourgeois countries promote the organisation of rich peasant farms.

The agrarian crisis is felt most severely by those countries in which "agrarian reforms" were introduced as the result of war and revolution. These agrarian reforms have led to the organisation of numerous new undertakings possessing no resistive powers, no working capital, and no means of production. In these countries these farms suffer most of all under the development of capitalism, under competition and the agrarian crises. The soil of the "new" peasantry of Poland, the Baltic countries, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, etc., is passing rapidly into the hands of the large landowners, capitalists, big peasants, etc. The illusions of the poor peasantry are shattered. For them there is no other possibility but ruin, pauperisation, proletarianisation. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the proletarian revolution has opened out to the peasant farms too a way absolutely new in the history of humanity.

These then are the most important features of the degradation of agriculture in the capitalist world, and these our Rights do not want to see. They exaggerate the difficulties of the socialist order in course of construction, and minimise the difficulties of capitalism. All these facts confute the view held by the Bukharin school, and show that in the midst of a degradation of agriculture all over the world, it is only our middle and small peasantry who are striving forward, under the leadership of the proletariat, towards a mighty uplift of their economy on a new socialist basis.

The execution of our Five-Year Plan means that not only are we setting the world proletariat a stupendous example, showing them how they themselves may realise the work of reconstruction on the day following the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, but it means at the same time that we are already beginning to-day to strengthen the positions of the international revolutionary labour movement. The rising of the new wave of revolution runs parallel with this, and must advance simultaneously with this firmer establishment of the positions of socialism in the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

Hence our Five-Year Plan is the most important of factors in the destruction of capitalist stabilisation, and a constituent of the approaching proletarian world revolution.

### THE AMERICAN STOCK EXCHANGE CRASH.

At the 10th E. C. C. I. Plenum we spoke of the inevitability of a severe crisis of capitalism within the confines of the general crisis of capitalism. We continued to speak of this even though the first half of the year was characterised by a

\* By 1st December the annual economic plan for the grain supply had been fully accomplished.

general tendency in the world's economy which confused some of our theoreticians, and led them to the theory of "organised capitalism", of "industrial revolution" in many countries, etc.

Scarcely four months have passed since then. During this time a tremendous Stock Exchange crash has overwhelmed the United States. This is not only a Stock Exchange crisis, but the beginning of a general economic crisis. It broke over the country when the lessening prosperity of North American industry, became noticeable, resulting in fewer orders and reduced production in the steel, iron, paper, and coal trades, in the building industry, in the non-iron metal industries, and in goods traffic. This reduction became observable as early as the summer of 1929. It was mentioned a few months ago by the bourgeois economic press.

In the second half of 1929 the curve of international economic prosperity began to sink. By August for instance, the greatest steel trust of the United States, a combine of actually international importance (3,000 million pounds, or 70 per cent, of the world's output) considerably restricted its production. In September the output of the steel trust rose again, as a result of large orders from the railways. The secret of this proceeding is that Morgan, the railway king, contrived to procure a large order for the king of the steel trust at the critical moment. A transaction, therefore, in which orders worth millions travelled from one of Morgan's pockets to the other.

The worsening of the world's economic position finds further expression in the great decline in the manufacture of motor cars, in numerous "still" and widely sensational bankruptcies, in the limitation of the manufacture of articles of luxury, in the decreased output of coal. At the same time we observe one of the most characteristic features of a crisis, the fall in prices. The prices of steel, crude iron, building timber, india-rubber, cotton, wool, glass, non ferrous metals, agricultural products, and groceries, have declined to an extraordinary extent not only in the United States, but all over the world. And this is one of the surest signs of the international character of the crisis.

In Europe too symptoms of the crisis were observable in the summer of 1929. We witnessed for instance such collapses as those of the Viennese Bodencreditanstalt, of the Frankfort Insurance Co., and of the whole of the undertakings connected with the name of the notorious English speculator Hatry, which last ended, incidentally, with the arrest of that gentleman. Hatry had relieved his trusting clients of eleven millions. All these were the first rumblings of the storm which burst on the New York Exchange in the second half of October. A few German newspapers have hinted that the crash did not take place without the participation of the American great banks, and that as early as the summer of 1929 the leading exchange jobbers withdrew from the New York Exchange, leaving the transactions to the smaller speculators. But the New York Exchange crash affected not only this category of exchange speculators, but broad strata of the bourgeoisie and of the labour aristocracy, holders of small shares. The crash mainly brought the petty bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy to beggary.

The first signs of the Stock Exchange panic became visible on 18th October. The shares of all industrial undertakings dropped abruptly. By 24th October the catastrophe had broken out over the Exchange.

At the end of October the crisis became even acuter. On 29th October the number of shares changing hands reached the record number of 16 million. In order to gain an idea of the extent of this exchange catastrophe, it should be remembered that, according to the calculations of the "Vossischen Zeitung", the crash on the New York and other American Exchanges involved losses to the large and small capitalists affected running into almost astronomical figure (160,000 million marks, by 15th November 200,000 million). Nor was the crisis confined to the United States; it spread to the countries closely connected with the States, above all to Canada and the most important countries of Latin America, and finally to Europe, where the countries most affected have been those where much American capital is invested, for instance Sweden (Kreuger concern). The whole of the **Eastern part of Europe** bordering on the Soviet Union has been seized by a **general economic crisis**: Austria, Hungary, Poland, the Balkans, the Baltic countries. The political crisis in these countries is a result of the economic crisis. The situation in

these countries signals to us the necessity of raising the question of the consequences of the international crisis. History must not find our Party unprepared.

What will be the immediate consequences of the crisis?

1. The collapse of capitalist stabilisation, the intensification of all the antagonisms of capitalism, the acceleration of the radicalisation of the working class, the growth of their dissatisfaction, accompanied by the increasing discontent of the ruined petty bourgeoisie. The broad masses of the workers will lose faith in the stability of the capitalist system, the basis of reformism will shrink, the part played by the labour aristocracy in the labour movement will decrease in importance.

2. A considerable shrinkage of the home markets, an intensified disproportion between the productive apparatus of capitalist economy and sale possibilities. The restriction of production is already adding to mass unemployment. The bacchanalia of enrichment among certain sets of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the growing mass impoverishment on the other, will deepen the cleavage between the social poles.

3. Greatly intensified acuteness of the struggle between America and Europe, since the United States are endeavouring to emerge from the crisis at the expense of Europe. At the same time intensified struggle among the capitalist states of the European continent. The struggle for markets will assume acuter forms, for here the United States will endeavour to ensure success by giving notices terminating the long term credits securing the position of European capitalism. The policy of the United States, actuated by the endeavour to deprive Europe of the sources of raw materials, will become more aggressive than before. The antagonisms called into being by the Young Plan, by the intensified struggle for colonies, and above all for China, must inevitably increase in acuteness. At the same time the pressure on the economically weak countries will be augmented. The danger of imperialist war cannot but increase; the attempts of the imperialist powers to break through the confines of the Soviet Union foreign trade monopoly will become more frequent.

4. The crisis may well become the dirge of international social democracy and international reformism, whose influence on the labour movement has been closely bound up with the capitalist stabilisation. The collapse of the stabilisation will shake international social democracy to its foundations, and may complete what the great war and the October revolution did not fully succeed in accomplishing towards the liquidation of social democratic influence over the working class.

5. The crisis may prove fatal to capitalist society. Its consequences, taken in conjunction with the intensification of capitalist antagonisms, cannot be less than the consequences of the great war of 1914. The revolutionary situation may mature very rapidly in a number of countries. At the very least the demands of the working class will swell enormously even in the first stage of the crisis. A wave of gigantic strikes is impending, and these will assume the character of political general strikes. The question of the dictatorship of the proletarian dictatorship will appear on the order of the day. The influence of the communist idea will expand among the masses to an enormous extent. It is the first duty of the Communist Parties to be prepared even for this situation, and to go to meet it with open eyes. Our own ranks must be efficiently reorganised for these struggles; all that is rotten, opportunist, weakly, must be liquidated; the course must be directed determinedly to the revolutionary advance, and we must not fall behind the tempo of the movement of the masses. The question of the approaching international crisis must be made the starting point of our nearest revolutionary perspectives. This must be our starting point when laying down our first tasks in the sphere of trade union tactics, in our work in the shops and factories, and in the impending economic and political struggles of the working class.

The approaching world economic crisis has still another meaning. In its light some of our theories will be tested. One of the theories which collapses is Trotsky's theory of the dependence of our socialist economy on international capitalist economy. It will be remembered that Trotsky declared, at one of the E. C. C. I. Plenums, that it is not possible to switch the socialist economic system out of international economics like an electric current from the main. This means that in Trotsky's opinion the economy of the Soviet Union is subject to the same "economic fluctuations" as the economy of the capitalist world; that the international crisis is bound to reach the Soviet Union as well as other countries, since according to

this theory its economy is a constituent of the total economy of the world. And what do we see in reality? The crisis spreads insidiously across Eastern Europe, but stops at the frontiers of the Soviet Union as if before a magic circle. This is its characteristic peculiarity. If we can speak at all of a connection, of reciprocal effects between our economy and that of the rest of the world, it is only possible in the sense that the capitalist world has the difficult task and we the easy one, that the difficulties encountered by capitalism create an objectively revolutionary situation which facilitates the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat in the capitalist countries, and consequently the tasks of the proletariat of the Soviet Union in the building up of socialism. The "dependence" here evidenced is not (as Trotsky supposes) direct, but a reversed one, resultant on the irreconcilable contradiction existing between the two opposing economic structures.

The crisis has at the same time refuted Bukharin's theory of "organised capitalism", of the tendency towards systematic planning in capitalist economy, of the declining rôle played by the home markets in the determination of prices, of the fading of the inner contradictions of capitalism, etc. The American economic crisis is the clearest expression of the lack of system and the anarchy of capitalism. Comrade Bukharin's assertion, that competition is dying out in the home markets of the capitalist countries, that capitalism has succeeded, within the separate countries, in overcoming economic disorganisation, and that capitalist anarchy has been banned to the international arena has also proved false. The threatening industrial crisis, which may create a revolutionary crisis in numerous countries, refutes at the same time Bukharin's theory that a fresh revolutionary situation can only be created by antagonisms in the outer arena, that is, by war.

You will probably be aware that during the last few years the economy of the United States has been declared to be the "best organised". Hoover, the typical representative of organised trust capital of the United States, stated on several occasions that the American bourgeoisie had succeeded in discovering the secret of general "prosperity", based upon "technical progress", on the abolition of the disproportion between the various branches of economy, of the antagonism between the classes, etc. The American bourgeoisie has been proud of its system of the "Federal Bank", and has regarded it as the most perfect part of the "organised capitalism" of the United States.

The development of the American economic crisis has however proved the complete impotence of the "Federal bank", this main pivot of the System of "organised capitalism", its complete incapability to prevent the crisis or to inhibit its effects. We see that in the dispute as to the nature of monopolist capitalism, it is once more Lenin, and not Comrade Bukharin, who is right.

### THE YOUNG PLAN AND "DISARMAMENT".

While the economic crisis is spreading gradually over the whole capitalist world, some attention must be devoted to the Young Plan. According to the views expressed by the bourgeois and social democratic press, this plan is to act as a decisive lever finally stabilising capitalism, and "regulating" the balance of capitalist international economy thrown out of gear by the war and its consequences. The American bourgeoisie hoped to gain an instrument, in the International Reparations Bank, enabling it to control the world's credit system and the international money market. We saw in advance that this plan was bound to fail. At the 10th Plenum numerous comrades pointed out that the bourgeoisie will fail to create any international "planned economy" organ, for the reason that the "organised capitalism" of the imperialist epoch reproduces, on a higher stage, the decisive contradictions of capitalism. The 10th Plenum further emphasised the fact that the Young Plan will bring no mitigation of imperialist antagonisms, but will rather form the point of departure of an intensification of old antagonisms and of an accumulation of new ones. Now, after the Hague conference, after the inexorable struggle among the imperialist powers at this conference, after the International Reparation Bank has been obviously proved a broken reed, no further doubt can exist as to the correctness of the analysis of the 10th Plenum. The contradictions between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union have intensified. The plan of the "United States of

Europe", the subject of Briand's demagogic performance at the Hague, has in actual fact been directed not so much against America as against the Soviet Union. The rôle played by the imperialist powers during the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway has shown that the danger of an attack on the part of the capitalist world on the Soviet Union is very real, and may be initiated on any "pacifist" pretext. Moreover, the struggle between Great Britain and France, for the leadership in the politics of Europe, has increased in acuteness.

Finally, the Young Plan has intensified the antagonisms between the United States and England. Every continent of the earth feels this. These are the decisive antagonisms in the capitalist camp, and no negotiations between Hoover and Mac Donald on naval armaments can conceal them. The journey recently taken to America by MacDonald was a miserable trick to revive pacifist illusions among the workers on both sides of the Atlantic, and to lull to sleep their vigilance towards the threat of imperialist wars. The Labour Party, now in power, needed MacDonald's journey in order to deceive the workers by its charlatanism of outcries for "disarmament". Those who are inclined to close their eyes to this aspect of the Anglo-America agreement, and to see in this agreement a postponement of the inevitable Anglo-American war, should inform themselves as to how even the bourgeois press judges the peace-loving efforts of Mr MacDonald.

The "New York Times", for instance, devotes lengthy columns to the American air manoeuvres, and to the tests of instruments of destruction intended for land war. Every line of this report breathes that spirit of war which dominated the press during the blood bath of 1914/18.

After describing in detail the course of the manoeuvres, the "New York Times" adds, with the primitive and naive irony characteristic of the Yankee who despises the upstart "politician" of the MacDonald type: It is remarkable that the first cannon shots thundered precisely at the moment when the special train bringing back the Prime Minister MacDonald from the negotiations with President Hoover on the interests of peace all over the world, passed the fields where the army was testing its new guns". It would be difficult to find a more effective estimate than this of the "New York Times" of the true meaning and actual significance of the agreement between Hoover and MacDonald.

The leaders of the Labour Party exert themselves to the utmost to boost the importance of the Anglo-American agreement. There can, however be no doubt but that this agreement is bound to collapse, for capitalism is unable to cope with the anarchy which is rending it to pieces, and entirely incapable of avoiding the wars and economic crises convulsing the capitalist order.

### AUSTRIA.

The effects of the international economic crisis are felt most acutely by the weakest members of the capitalist system. It is at such spots that the general crisis of capitalism appears in an intensified form, and a political crisis is most likely to arise. The regroupings in the camp of the bourgeoisie involve the decay of the old parties, and their place is taken by Fascists. The growth of Fascism in Europe is by no means either a sign of the stability of the capitalist system, or of a more firmly established position on the part of the bourgeoisie, as the Right opportunist elements conclude. As a matter of fact, the growth of Fascism in the present situation of international economic crisis developing within the general crisis of the capitalist system, actually reflects the economic and political decay of the capitalist world. Fascism flourishes best in the countries where the economic and political situation is most uncertain. In these countries Austria must be included. The growth of Fascism in Austria has been the result of the insoluble inner contradictions of Austrian capitalism. The decay of the old monarchy lost Austrian industry its markets. This is the first cause of the decay of the Austria of to-day. The second cause is the fact that Austrian agriculture is passing through a severe crisis at the present time, due to the agrarian crisis obtaining all over the world, and to the weak purchasing powers of the Austrian population.

The 15th July, 1927, proved the powers of resistance possessed by the Austrian proletariat against the offensive of the bourgeoisie. From this day onwards there began the

determined preparations of the Fascist forces, the mobilisation of the dissatisfied peasantry and the simultaneous recruiting of individual strata of the workers disappointed in social democracy.

The offensive of Fascism prepared the ground for the Fascist Schober government, for the government which the social democrats declared to be a "government of democracy" closing the path of the Heimwehr to the armed Fascist coup d'état.

A peculiarity of the process of Fascisation in Austria is the combination of the open Fascism of the Heimwehr with the veiled Left phrases of the social Fascism of Bauer, Renner etc. This circumstance will greatly influence the development of Fascism. The bourgeoisie, which arms its Fascist cohorts, and which organises Fascist terror in the works and factories, does not refrain from making use of social democracy.

Hence the path pursued by Austrian Fascism on its way to power is not the Mussolinian march on Rome, although it is not impossible that the final passage of power into the hands of the Fascists may be masked by a comedy of a "march on Vienna". The path pursued is that of the "legal" establishment of Fascism with the active aid of Austrian social democracy.

The social Fascist rôle played by Otto Bauer, Renner, and others, lies precisely in their having first thrown open the doors of the factories to the Fascists, following this by emptying the streets by prohibiting the counter-demonstrations of the workers and by finally camouflaging their pact with Fascism, admittedly including a revision of the constitution in a direction agreeable to the Fascists, behind their outcries on the "March of the Fascists" and the "violent upheaval".

But one thing is certain: the victory of Fascism, whether accomplished with the aid of Schober and Bauer, or on Mussolini's methods, means civil war.

Were the tactics pursued by our Austrian Party after the 10th Plenum correct? Here our Party represents a numerically very small group in the Austrian labour movement, and the responsibility resting upon it was enormous. Our Party unmasked social democracy unwearingly; not always skilfully, but still unmasking it. Our Party called upon the workers to oppose Fascism; not always successfully, but still making the appeal. It issued the right slogans, and though it did not bring these to the masses in the works and factories, the slogans were the right ones. And finally it sent its members into the streets, if only a handful at a time, to fight against Fascism. These are all things for which they cannot be reproached.

Street fighting is one of the methods of mobilising the working class. We know that the workers will remember later, that at the moment when the social democratic leaders prepared to betray their followers, and restrained the masses from street action, our little Austrian Communist Party was the sole element fighting courageously against Fascism, and calling upon the workers to fight. The work done by the C. P. of Austria will some day bear hundredfold fruit.

The errors of Party begin, however, with the application of the tactics of the united front from below in the struggle against Fascism and capitalist rationalisation. The Party believed that all it needed to do was to proclaim the right slogans, and the working masses would follow of themselves.

But it is not sufficient to have faith in our own activities, to believe in speedy miracles, to believe that the working masses, taught by the treachery of Austro-Marxism, will turn its back on social democracy within 24 hours. Unwearying petty work in the works and factories is required. And this has been lacking among the Austrian communists. In Austria our work in the factories is absolutely inadequate. It does not suffice to address an open letter to the social democratic workers, proposing a united front from below against the will of the social democratic leaders. This true revolutionary front must be fought for against the Fascists. We must go to the social democratic meetings, and tell the workers the hard truth, without fearing that the slanders of the social democratic leaders may cause our speakers to be beaten and thrown out of such meetings. The struggle against the Fascists in the streets needed no less courage. To the social democratic workers in the factories we must say, quietly but firmly:

"Class comrades, we communists, at the present time a minority in the working class are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with you, according to proletarian custom, against Fascism, without renouncing for one moment our struggle for the leading rôle in these class struggles".

Is this the course that was taken? No. Our Party has not attended any social democratic meeting. It has organised no campaign for the united front from below in the factories. This abstention from the united front is its leading error. In the new situation created by the extreme intensification of class antagonisms, it has not accomplished the necessary re-adaptation of its methods. In an extremely favourable objective situation it has made no great progress towards advancement to a mass Party of the working class.

This attitude of abstention from the tactics of the united front represents a serious danger in all the Sections of the Comintern, and especially in those Sections which are numerically weak. The old forms of united front tactics are obsolete, and the new, as laid down in the resolutions of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I., are coming into practice. But even the limited experience already gained is not utilised with sufficient energy by the Sections.

Let us look back at the anti-war committees before 1st August. Did we prove capable, on the eve of the 1st August, of organising a campaign participated in by tens of thousands of non-Party and social democratic workers? No, comrades, our anti-war committees were not even able to reach those workers who generally march with us. The lessons to be drawn from the 1st August, and from the events in Austria, must make it clear to us that the lack of fresh revolutionary united front tactics has prevented our becoming the decisive factor in the class struggles between capital and labour, our winning over of millions of the working class for the idea of communism.

Our comrades frequently evade this most urgent and elementary task by means of a general formula of an "immediately revolutionary situation". The Vienna "Rote Fahne", for instance, proclaimed the "immediately revolutionary situation", that is, a situation of insurrection in Austria, after the events at Stockerau. Is it possible to speak of a situation of insurrection in Austria? At present we cannot. We may speak of an extremely rapid maturing of the revolutionary situation in Austria. What did Lenin designate as the signs of a revolutionary situation?

1. "The impossibility for the ruling classes to maintain their dominion in an unchanged form; this or that crisis among the 'heads', the crisis in the policy of the ruling class, tearing a rent through which the discontent and rebellion of the oppressed classes breaks through. For a revolution it is, as a rule, not sufficient that those 'below' are no longer willing to live as they are doing, it is necessary that the 'heads' too can no longer continue living in the old way.

2. A more than customary measure of impoverishment and misery among the oppressed classes.

3. An essentially increased activity, as result of the last named cause, of the masses who quietly permit themselves to be pillaged in "peaceful" times, and in stormy times are urged forward to independent historical action both by the whole situation created by the crisis, and by the "heads".

Without these objective changes, which are dependent not only on the will of individual groups and parties, but on the individual classes, revolution is as a rule impossible." (Lenin. Vol. 13. p. 139—Russian.)

Not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution.

In Austria we have the crisis among the heads, an extreme intensification of the exploitation of the working class, but still an insufficiently tempestuous effect in the revolutionary activity of the masses. This activity of the working class is growing every day. It may mature with great rapidity. The time dividing us from the decisive struggles of the Austrian workers may be calculated in days and weeks, and yet we cannot speak today of a situation of insurrection in Austria. The Austrian comrades are not in a position to send 2000 or 3000 workers into the streets, or to organise one or two anti-Fascist committees elected by the whole of the workers of any given undertaking. There is not one single undertaking in which they have founded a proletarian Defence Corps, and yet they speak of a situation of insurrection.

Such a representation of the immediately revolutionary situation signifies the compromising of the conception, the formation of a superficial and sectarian view of the most serious of revolutionary tasks.

This attitude is dangerous, for it diverts the Party from detail work in the shops and factories. Why trouble with this work when the "immediately revolutionary situation" is going to bring us through it all? Why should we plague ourselves with the works nuclei, when insurrection has been placed on our agenda? The Comintern must warn its Section against such "over-zeal".

Our Austrian comrades are in the midst of a maturing revolutionary situation in their country. But they will not have reached the situation of insurrection until the activity of the working masses assumes more energetic form, until the streets of Vienna are black with the masses of the workers, until they sweep away like an avalanche the Heimwehr rabble, and overthrow the movement of Austrian social Fascism.

### CHINA.

I now come to that section of my report dealing with China. Here there is a fresh phenomenon to be stressed since the 10th Plenum, **the rise of the revolutionary wave in China.** This is a result of the acute crisis among the Chinese "heads", of the decline and decay of the Nanking counter-revolutionary bloc. What caused this crisis in the Nanking reaction?

a) In no respect has any liberation from foreign imperialism been accomplished. The economic position and the participation of foreign capital have been reinforced at the expense of Chinese national capitalism. The imperialists have even ceased to make illusory concessions, as they did at one time in the question of customs autonomy. The Nanking government has twice applied officially to the governments of all capitalist Powers, requesting that the unequal agreements be revised, and that these Powers should abandon the principle of the extraterritoriality of foreigners in China. The request was refused both times.

The imperialists, intent on securing their foothold in China, grant no credits which might alleviate the position of Chinese national economy.

b) The unsolved agrarian question is accompanied by a severe crisis of Chinese agriculture (destruction of the irrigation plants, pillaging of the masses of the peasantry by the militarists, large landowners, and usurers). According to official statements, last year's failure of the crops affected 57 millions of the population, of whom 30 millions are doomed to extinction.

The third cause of the decay of Nanking reaction is the crisis in industry. The Nanking government has failed to regulate the economic life of the country. With the exception of the cotton industry, every important branch of Chinese industry is suffering from depression. Heavy industry fails to throw off the crisis creeping upon it. At the same time the decay of the silk industry in China is increasingly observable.

Needless to say, the position of Chinese industry, as here described, is due to the ceaseless and relentless foreign competition. This deprives native industry of its perspectives of development. China is a living refutation of the theory of "decolonisation". The growing agrarian crisis, and the steady decline of the purchasing powers of the population (especially of the peasantry), are likewise bound to affect the situation of industry. The decay is further accelerated by the uninterrupted internal wars.

d) The unification of the country has not been accomplished, the feudal economic and political dismemberment has not been done away with. The civil war among the Generals is not only showing no signs of ceasing, but on the contrary it is spreading. Today the internal warfare of these military careerists extends its front over the whole of China.

These, then, are the general causes of the critical position of Nanking. The Comintern foresaw all this, and long ago prophesied the inevitable bankruptcy of the Nanking government, the rise of the revolutionary movement in China, the equally inevitable decay of the Kuomintang, and its dissolution into bourgeois political parties. The formation of a party of "re-organisers" among former adherents of the Kuomintang again confirms the correctness of the Comintern standpoint in this question. The Comintern foresaw the growth of the strike movement in China, and a fresh outbreak of the peasants'

insurrections. The Comintern has proved to be right in its analysis of the development of the Chinese revolutionary movement, and the whole bourgeois press of the capitalist world has proved to be wrong.

The rising wave of revolution in China finds its first expression in the strikes. Shanghai gives us an idea of the extent of the strike movement. Here the number of strikers averages 10,000 daily, never drops below 5,000, and often rises to 25,000. The political strike is spreading everywhere.

The street demonstrations must also be included among the symptoms of revolutionary upsurge. The Shanghai proletariat defends its rights heroically in the streets. On 30th May, the fourth anniversary of the memorable day of the shooting of so many in Shanghai, a mass demonstration attended by 30,000 was organised, during which the crowd destroyed two Kuomintang editorial offices, and brought the autobus and tram traffic to a standstill.

The Communist Party of China further organised a demonstration in Shanghai on 14th July, one day after the arrival of the news of the occupation of the Chinese Eastern Railway. In spite of a term of preparation exceedingly short for an illegal party, and in spite of the counter-measures taken by the Kuomintang and the imperialists, 5,000 persons took part in the demonstration, proving that a fighting spirit prevailed. The demonstration was repeated on 26th July, and was taken part in by an even larger number. And finally the Chinese proletariat thronged the streets once more, in numerous towns, on 1st August and on 1st September (Youth Day), in order to demonstrate for international proletarian solidarity.

The increased revolutionary movement in the cities is accompanied by the growing peasant movement. Special stress must be accorded in this connection to the successful development of the activities of the partisan divisions under Tsu De and Mao Dse Lun in the frontier districts of the provinces of Kwantung and Fukien. These capture whole districts. The Nanking government has been fighting unsuccessfully against them for two years. It has equipped two expeditions against the partisans. The fight being carried on by the partisans is literally an epic.

Without munitions, without food or money, they have fought against a foe numerically many times stronger than themselves, and have hidden among the mountains for months without ceasing their revolutionary work. The latest report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China describes a number of actions taken by the peasants, and the extensive formation of Soviets in whole districts of the provinces of Hunan and Hupeh.

Hitherto we have regarded the activities of the partisans as the rearguard fights of a revolution in course of general retreat.

To-day their character has changed. They form a constituent of the upsurge, and one of the most important signs of the rising wave of revolution.

The decline of reaction, the growth of the antagonisms between the militarists, and the rise of a fresh wave of revolution, have been affected not inconsiderably by the predatory attack of the Chinese military leaders on the Chinese Eastern railway. On the one hand it brought Nanking into international difficulties with the Union, and on the other hand the attack gave rise to a disagreement among the imperialists (the plan proposed by America for the internationalisation of the Chinese Eastern Railway encountered resistance from Japan, which regarded this as an attack on its influence in Manchuria). It had the further effect of causing strained relations between Nanking and Mukden. Mukden separated from Nanking and even appointed a foreign minister of its own. This facilitated the action taken against Nanking by Feng, Yan Si Chan, and other generals. These made use of the emergency of the Nanking government, and took the opportunity of dealing it a blow.

Moreover, the conflict augmented the economic crisis; the railway forming one of China's chief traffic lines disorganised, the forwarding of Chinese transit goods and of goods from the districts forming the Hinterland of the Chinese Eastern Railway, delayed, and China's tea exports brought to stagnation.

Finally, the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway led to the holding of workers' and peasants' demonstrations with the slogan: Defend the Soviet Union! The growing revolutionary movement here gained fresh impetus towards increased activity.

What must be the line pursued by the Communist Party of China in view of the present revolutionary upsurge?

1. First of all, the Communist Party of China must not forget that it represents a factor in the revolution. It cannot merely look on at this movement. It must utilise the decline of the Nanking government, must intervene actively in the conflict, develop and organise the partisan movement, win over whole districts, establish the Soviet power, arm the peasantry, realise the agrarian revolution. It must come forward everywhere as an independent power.

2. At the same time it must not permit itself to become the staff of the partisan movement and nothing else, for the peasant movement can only be successful under the conditions given by energetic action on the part of the working class in the industrial centres. Therefore, the struggle for the organisational leadership of the strike movement is the most important task of the Party. The upsurge of the strike movement is the surest guarantee that the communists will succeed, by means of their energetic work in the trade unions of the Kuomintang, in liberating the working masses from the influence of the yellow Kuomintang leaders.

The attitude taken by the Party towards the "re-organisers" is of the utmost importance. The formation of a bloc with this party, of whatever nature, is impermissible. At the present time it is the most dangerous enemy of the workers and peasants. In China the "re-organisers" play the rôle of the social democrats in Europe. They are the last reserves of bourgeois counter-revolution in the struggle against the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement. The Communist Party of China has committed the error of not exposing emphatically enough the counter-revolutionary rôle of the "reorganisers". This is the more important, as the masses have not yet shed all their illusions with regard to the "reorganisers".

The C. P. of China would fail to fulfil its elementary duty towards the workers, were it not to expose, relentlessly and determinedly, the demagogic game played by the "re-organisers".

#### AFGHANISTAN AND PALESTINE.

With respect to the movement in the other colonies, the lessons of the insurrections in Afghanistan and Palestine must be especially emphasised.

The movement against Amanullah, headed by Baha-Sakao, developed at first not without the active support of English imperialism. The English agents skilfully exploited the dissatisfaction of the peasant masses. It must be remembered that at this time the taxes were increased four or five-fold. This is no accidental phenomenon, since at the present time capitalism in the colonial countries can develop by means of foreign credits or by the exploitation of the peasantry. The young native capitalism, deprived of the help of the capitalist Powers, could only develop at the expense of the Afghan peasantry. In this respect even Amanullah's reform policy possessed its anti-peasant and reactionary aspect. Hence the movement led by Baha was obliged to exceed the confines laid down for it by Lawrence of Arabia. Some of our foreign comrades failed, however, to observe the class character of this movement. Almost up to the end they regarded it as an exclusively reactionary movement, initiated by the clergy and the feudal lords.

The same error may be observed in the estimate made of the events in Palestine. When the Bedouins were driven from their fertile lands, when about two million hectares were taken from them and given to the Jewish colonists, the first stage of the Bedouin insurgent movement took the form of massacres of the Jews. Here again there were some comrades who regarded this movement as reactionary, as an anti-Semitic pogrom, although only one or two days later the Arabs fought heroically against the English occupation troops, and occupied parts of some towns. The lesson which we must draw from the events both in Afghanistan and in Palestine is to discern behind the external forms of the movement in the colonies its class content. We must realise that in the backward colonies we shall not find a crystal-clear form of colonial movement without any foreign admixture. This admixture is composed of the influence of the reactionary clergy on the masses of the working population, of the imperialist intrigues surrounding

such a movement, and of religious, national, social, and other prejudices. The tasks of the Communists in the colonies consists not only of pointing out the revolutionary significance of the movement, but in sweeping away all the excrescences which distort its real class content, and in raising the movement to such a level that every worker taking part in it can comprehend its general class tasks.

#### SOUTH AFRICA.

There has been Negro unrest in South Africa on former occasions, but the movement taking place at Port Natal (Durban) in June of last year, was of an intensity, and assumed an organisational form, hitherto unknown to such a firmly established capitalist dominion of England as South Africa.

The exploitation of the Negro population, in South Africa, has reached the utmost limits. The native peasant population have been robbed of their land, and more and more of them are obliged to take refuge in the towns. The Negro worker finds extremely difficult conditions in the towns. To give only one example: in the mines 320,000 Negroes received the same sum in wages as 20—22,000 white workers. The law forbids Negroes to take part in economic conflicts, and delivers them over to the arbitrary will of the employer. There are several hundreds of thousands of Negroes on the farms of the whites who are actually slaves.

The Nationalist Government, headed by Herzog, the representative of the large land-owners, recently submitted to parliament a whole series of Bills directed against the Negroes. These laws are to deprive the Negroes of the last possibility of economic development and organisation, and will rob them of their political rights, including the passive franchise, possessed up till now by 160,000 Negroes, out of a total of 4.5 millions.

The reply to this policy, and to the unbearable taxes, was the unrest in Durban.

Death and ruin threaten English imperialism on all sides. And it must further not be forgotten that this movement, as also that in Palestine, has taken place at a time when the Labour Party is in power in Great Britain. Every new day brings facts which confirm the theses of the Tenth Plenum, that the Labour Government will not only be a Government of capitalist rationalisation and war preparations, but one of the most brutal of governments, differing in nothing from the traditional methods of colonial repression pursued by the Tories.

#### THE CONCEALED OPPORTUNISM WHICH BECOMES OPEN OPPORTUNISM.

In now pass to the question of the Right opportunist deviation in the Comintern. What is there new to record here since the Tenth Plenum?

At the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. we spoke of that special form of opportunism known as "concealed opportunism". This has existed for years in our sections. To all outward appearance it has agreed with the decisions the VI World Congress, and has swallowed, if sourly, the "Third Period". It resigned itself to the formulas of the Third Period in the belief that whilst we were talking about the impending revolutionary struggles of the working class, after the manner of the old Socialist Party, it—opportunism—would be able, even in the Third Period, by means of beauraucratic evasions of the course pursued by the Comintern, to survive any revolutionary storms and tempests.

What is new since the Tenth Plenum is the fact that concealed opportunism is now appearing everywhere like an eruption. We are attacking it from all sides.

Recently we attacked it in the Swedish question. The Swedish opportunists, led by Kilbom and Samuelson, voted in the course of many years literally for every resolution, signed every document, voted for all expulsions of opportunists from the other parties of the Comintern. At the Tenth Plenum, Flyg and Samuelson voted for the resolution condemning Comrade Bukharin's errors. What more could be required of such convinced and disciplined people? But in the Swedish Party they pursued a policy differing fundamentally from the line of the Comintern. The resolutions of the Comintern were pigeon-holed. At the Tenth Plenum the Communist International demanded from Samuelson and Kilbom a clear answer in all decisive question of Party policy.

What is the actual character of Swedish imperialism, is

Sweden a semi-colony or a young imperialist state fighting for its place in the system of imperialist powers? The reply to these questions must decide the tactical attitude of the Party. Was it permissible for the Communist fraction to bring in Social Democratic "disarmament drafts" encouraging among the workers the illusion of the peace loving nature of the Swedish bourgeoisie? Were the methods of Communists who formed blocs with Social Democrats, and whose tactics were evidenced in the notorious incident of the calling off of the May Day demonstration in Stockholm, in accordance with the decisions of the Comintern? Were the capitulatory proposals made by Kilbom's adherents in the T.U. question compatible with the line of the Comintern? With all these questions we pressed the Swedish opportunists to the wall. And the Swedish opportunists "unmasked themselves"; they came forward openly like the Brandlerists in Germany.

We must also remember the rôle played by 1st August in the exposure of concealed opportunism. Here the question was put so unequivocally that it had to be replied to not with general phrases, but in deeds. The policy of the direct reply proved correct. In France for instance, at the Congress of the C.G.T.U., it helped us to unmask the concealed opportunism which had maintained silence for many years. It had opposed itself not only to the 1st August, but to the attitude taken by the Communist Party in the question of capitalist rationalisation, to the leading rôle played by the Communist Party in the trade union movement, etc. Finally, the "rebellion" of the town councils against the policy of the Party must also be remembered. Every year the Party delegated the same people to the communal administrations, and these carried on a communal policy entirely uncontrolled by the Party. The methods of our communist councillors differed but little from those of the socialists and petty-bourgeois democrats. They formed a species of last resort for opportunism. And this was the barrier which our Communist Party had to conquer. It had to investigate the communist communal policy on the basis of two principles: a) in the communal administrative bodies, as in other spheres, the Communist Party must break

with the traditions of legalism, and its methods must overstep the bounds of bourgeois law; b) the communal policy of the communists must serve as a concrete example showing the workers what the communists would do, if they had the whole apparatus of power in their hands.

All these processes contributing to the exposure of concealed opportunism have been overlooked and not clearly understood by some of our young comrades. They speak of concealed opportunism as if all these facts did not exist. They fail to take into account the changes which have taken place since the 10th Plenum. Hence they place the struggle against concealed opportunism in the foreground, as a task of paramount importance.

What danger lies in such formulations. They divert the attention of the Communist Parties from that actual opportunist danger which has not been set aside and overcome by the new fighting front. In the C.P.S.U. there have even been attempts to replace the struggle against opportunism by fresh slogans, such as that of the struggle against "business acumen" etc. Such formulations are at the same time liable to cause the political struggle to be replaced by psychological hair splitting and the like.

Finally, these formulations form a special danger for young comrades, for they distract attention from our urgently necessary change of course. This change signifies that our young comrades must overcome their fear of the masses, a fear evidenced at the present time in a tendency to debating society bureaucracy, pettiness, etc. The fear of the masses is by no means to be counted to the Left virtues. It is a species of opportunism, but not a concealed one, rather a fairly open and candid one.

In view of all these considerations we do not find that our aims will be served by including in the resolutions, after the 10th Plenum, such tasks as are likely to blur the definite lines of our central task, — the struggle against opportunism in whatever form it may appear. We have no occasion to strike this central task from our agenda.

## II. The Course towards the Masses and towards Self-Criticism.

Comrades, The second part of my report will be devoted to the manner in which the Parties are at the present time realising the decisions of the 10th Plenum, or rather to the manner in which our Parties are putting these decisions into practice with a certain lack of determination. I shall begin with that fundamental question of the utmost importance for the development of mass work, the question of Self-Criticism.

Self-criticism is a normal function of inner-Party democracy. Without self-criticism no inner Party democracy exists; it forms a necessary constituent of this. In the history of our Party we have restricted self-criticism when obliged to do so by the state of war prevailing; when we were forced to talk the language of machine guns to Koltchak and Denikin, we could not devote much thought to self-criticism, and inner-Party democracy, too, found restrictions imposed on it at that time. In normal times, and during the period of a rising wave of revolution, no Communist Party can dispense with self-criticism, neither the Communist Party which has realised the proletarian dictatorship, nor the Party fighting for it. It is solely with the aid of self-criticism that Party cadres can be trained.

What other means can be employed to set broad strata of the working class in motion, if you will not teach them to follow the right line of struggle, learnt by an inexorable criticism of the their leaders' errors and their own, and founded on the many sided experience gained in the labour movement? Self-criticism is the fundamental element of the decisions of the 10th Plenum, and the realisation of these decisions is impossible without self-criticism.

The first condition required for the realisation of self-criticism is: fewer declamations on self-criticism, and more purposeful criticism of our errors and shortcomings. Lenin's words on self-criticism are exceedingly opportune:

"The attitude of a political party towards its errors" — writes Lenin in the "Infantile Diseases" — "is one of the most important and certain criteria for the earnestness of a party, and for the actual fulfilment of its duties towards its

class and towards the working masses. To admit an error openly, to discover its causes, to analyse thoroughly the circumstances which have brought it about, to test fundamentally the means for eliminating the error — this is characteristic of an earnest party, that is, of its fulfilment of its duties, the education and training of the class, and then of the mass\*\*).

The second condition required by self-criticism is: Self-criticism, both its development and its leadership, must be taken in hand by the Central Committee of the Party. Otherwise self-criticism will be converted into an elementary tidal wave.

The third condition is: self-criticism must be combined with the establishment of a system of political responsibility from the top to the bottom.

We have Parties in which the C. C. has not advanced a hand's breadth in winning the masses, and in which it never occurs to any member to ask such a C. C. why the Parties led by such a C. C. do not develop. We are carrying on the most determined and inexorable class war on earth, demanding the highest degree of feeling of responsibility from both the "commanders" and the rank and file; but in reality there is an utter lack of concern among us with regard to the feeling of responsibility. Let us take the imperialist wars of the bourgeoisie — if any general loses a battle, he loses his position. But among us half the Communist Party may be lost — the members of the C. C. retain their posts. We need a system of political responsibility, in which the Party calls the "heads" to account after every failure, keeps a sharp control over the activities of the leaders, and declares a determined war against any tendency towards nepotism, towards the habit of mutually concealing one another's errors and shortcomings. Unless such a system of responsibility is established, we shall have no hardy Bolshevik Parties.

Finally, the fourth condition of self-criticism: self-criticism must be bound up with the active will of the Party to abolish defects. The Belgian Party, for instance, has addressed an

\* ) Lenin, Complete Works. Vol. 25, p. 243, German ed.

open letter to all the Party members, subjecting the political line of the Party, and the methods of its activities, to ruthless criticism. But if such a letter as this is not followed by the elimination of the errors in actual practice, or by any change in working methods, or by an altered course towards the masses in deeds and not in words, and if the Belgian Party remains on the same level as before, then — I ask — what is the use of this self-criticism? Self-criticism of this nature will be useless: it will be a hash of phrases, but no self-criticism. And this hash will only serve to demoralise the Party, to cultivate in its ranks a derisive attitude towards the slogan of self-criticism, and to accustom it to an irresponsible standpoint towards the words of the Party. Self-criticism is too expensive and valuable a weapon to be employed in so frivolous a manner.

### THE STATUS OF THE Y. C. I. AND ITS SECTIONS.

I now pass to the questions of the Young Communist International, the most important questions of this Plenum.

Comrades, if there is any organisation in which we have been especially late in taking up self-criticism, it is indubitably the Y. C. I., and for this not only the Y. C. I. itself is to blame, but the Communist International.

It must be openly admitted that instead of giving really useful aid to the Y. C. I., we have heaped praise on our youth. Often this praise has not been unmerited. When we remember the positive part played by the Y. C. I., during the ten years of its existence, in the struggle against the opportunist deviations, we must freely admit that you have been a pillar of strength to the Comintern here, and that your active help has enabled us to the Communist Party from the Augean stables of opportunism. Your help is very apparent in Sweden at the present time. We are delighted to acknowledge this service on the part of the Y. C. I. But at the same time it is true that we have frequently overlooked those shortcomings inherent for years in the activities of the Y. C. I. On the other hand, we have left the Young Communists too much to themselves. Guidance from the Comintern has been but slight, and this fact is conspicuously observable in all Sections of the Y. C. I.

An extremely crass example of this was given at the last Congress held by the Young Communists in France. The president of the Polbureau did not attend the Y. C. I. Congress. He only put in an appearance to read the report (which, by the way, did not satisfy the Congress), and then cleared off, without taking part in the discussion or giving a concluding speech. This Congress passed off without any guidance from the Party.

The first conclusion which we must draw from this is: such practices must be eliminated from the methods of our Parties. The guidance of the activities of the Young Communists by the Young Communist International does not mean that this latter is to insist on enforcing its will, but that older comrades are to give active assistance to the Y. C. I. in its difficult work. It must cease to be a mere general phrase.

As recently as two years ago, when many of us suggested that something was not in order in the work of the Y. C. I., the comrades of the Y. C. I. responded with considerable irritation to this criticism. To them it appeared at best a lack of good will towards the Y. C. I., and at worst a kind of concealed opportunism. But in spite of this many of us realised, taught by a certain experience, that your work in the Y. C. I. is by no means perfect. But it required the facts of the last few months — the obvious shrinkage of membership in the organisations of the Young Communists in Czechoslovakia, England, and Norway, before our criticism could obtain a hearing.

Comrades, I do not wish to make the present leaders of the Y. C. I. responsible for these errors. I am of the opinion that the present leaders are suffering for the sins of many of the former leaders of the Y. C. I. Those working methods which we join with you in criticising to-day did not spring into being either to-day or yesterday. They have developed in the course of years; but it is Comrades Chitarov, Fürnberg, Nassonov, and others, who are now obliged to draw the balance of these methods. Is it for instance purely accidental that the former leaders of the Y. C. I. published, in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" articles which they were subsequently obliged to repudiate. Was it by accident that

Comrade Lazar Schatzkin wrote an article attempting to oppose to the collective will of the Party the will of the "critically superior" personality? Was it by accident that Comrade Schatzkin designated the faithfulness and devotion of the functionaries of our Party, holding determinedly together both against Trotskyism and against the Right deviation, as a partisan petty bourgeois attitude? Was it by accident, on the other hand, that at the last Conference of the Y. C. I. a group of former leaders proposed to extend the confines of the organisation of the rural poor, thus actually urging the Party objectively to the formation of a Peasants' league? Is it by accident that among us elements are observable towards the formation of a group in opposition to the Party? No, this is no accident. We are aware that the Y. C. I. has taken a stand against these deviations. But they did not take this stand until the Party had spoken. Why, comrades of the Young Communist International, did you not take the initiative yourselves when these articles first appeared, and protest yourselves against Comrade Schatzkin's errors? Why? In many questions you take the initiative. Supposing one of us committed an error, I am convinced that the comrades of the Y. C. I., astutely following events and ready to pounce upon an error, would seize the initiative, and would not even shrink from accusing the C. C. of concealing this error. Why then is your attitude less resolute towards the former leaders of the Young Communists?

What causes us to put the question of the Young Communist International so bluntly? Our reason lies in the situation which has arisen in the Sections of the Y. C. I.

We passed a resolution that our whole energies were now to be devoted to the works and factories. But what has been accomplished in this direction? In our best Y. C. I. — in Germany — there were 1250 youth comrades in works nuclei in January 1928, out of a membership of 22,000. But by March 1929 there were only about 900 left. And how many are there now, German comrades?

In France the dynamics of the Young Communist factory nuclei are as follows: June 1928 — 80 nuclei, March 1929 — 89, September 1929 — 39. In Czechoslovakia 1926 — 142, 1927 — 119, 1928 — 140, March 1929 — 49.

It is superfluous to write of the conquest of the majority of the working class, or of the penetration of the Party in to the works and factories, if we have to present such figures to the present Plenum.

This, comrades, is a state of affairs forcing us all to serious consideration.

Let us now take a glance at the situation in the camp opposing us, the bourgeois camp. The question which concerns us is not that of the organisation of bourgeois youth and Fascist divisions. We are concerned with the organisation of our class youth, our proletarian youth, which is crowding into the bourgeois organisations.

In Germany, for instance the young Catholics league has a membership of 1,500,000, whilst nine reformist trade unions comprise 850,000. 57,000 are organised in two socialist unions. In France the sport organisations have 4 million members. The railwaymen's clubs comprise 60,000; the membership of the young people's clubs in the Wendel heavy industrial undertakings numbers 80,000.

In the course of one year 72 millions attended the sports grounds in the U.S.A. In Germany the sport organisations have 6 million members.

### WORK IN THE MASS ORGANISATIONS.

These figures, comrades, face us not only with the problem of the Y. C. I., but with the problems of the youth question, and of the revolution, in their fullest extent. Is it possible to speak seriously of revolution if we ignore the problem of the rising generation, which has not experienced the horrors of imperialist war? Do you believe that in the present Italian Fascist state, where hundreds of thousands of proletarian children are being educated in the Fascist spirit in the schools, and where the juvenile workers join the Fascist organisations —, do you believe that you will find it so easy to win over these young people? Compare this system of education with that of the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union we are passing millions of workers' and peasants' children through

the factory of our socialist reconstruction; we are educating them in the ideas of socialist work, of love for the socialist revolution. We are creating a new race of men. No reaction will be powerful enough to cope with the youthful battalions which are now springing up out of the earth. And do you suppose that the Fascist states are not performing their work as efficiently? The leaders of the bourgeoisie are one and all well aware of the importance of the rising generation, and the bourgeois states are creating mighty organisations into which they are drawing the working youth.

And now our small organisations stand face to face with these millions. A monstrous infernal machine is organised against us, and with its aid the bourgeoisie seizes upon the minds of the youth of the working class.

The Third Period is characterised not only by the growth of the trusts and combines, but by the greater rôle played by the class State of the bourgeoisie. This State is penetrating at the present time into every pore of social, economic, political, and cultural conditions. The capitalist State is interwoven with the trusts and cartels. The State itself assumes the attributes of a big capitalist and banker. It has at its disposal a gigantic, centralised administrative, military, and police apparatus. It has subordinated the reformist "labour" organisations to it, and has converted all political parties, with the exception of the Communist into its tools and agents.

But in spite of all this, and in spite of this widely ramified apparatus, the bourgeois State gathers around it all manner of auxiliary organisations, with whose aid it endeavours to subject the rising generation of workers to its influence. It is not content with the schools, churches, police, justice and army, in order to bridle the working millions. It creates ever fresh forms of "free" and "non-party" organisations, supplementing its pressure on the consciousness of the working class. Whilst the trusts and cartels secure the body of the worker, the capitalist State of to-day seeks to secure even his soul with the aid of its especially adapted organisations. Those 80,000 youthful workers comprised in the organisations of the king of French heavy industry — Wendel — have been robbed of their proletarian souls.

And what do we oppose to this carefully elaborated machinery of corruption, of demoralisation of the oppressed classes?

Nothing but our Young Communist Organisations.

Do you not yourselves feel that this is insufficient, that we must oppose to the whole system of suppression practised against the young workers by the capitalist State our whole extensive network, our "auxiliary organisations", in order to paralyse the bourgeois influence? We must reply to the methods of our class opponent with methods carefully thought out, and tried and tested in the struggle for the working youth.

But, comrades, if we are absolutely unafraid of being demoralised, and enter the imperialist army in order to disintegrate it, if we join such organs of the Fascist state as the Fascist trade unions, in order to rend them apart from within and to draw over to our side the workers whom they have seized upon — why then have you not yet asked yourselves the question of the necessity of entering those bourgeois organisations in which there are young workers, in order to destroy these organisations to rescue from them the sincerely proletarian elements and to take over the guidance of these? Let us take France as an example. Eight months ago a Catholic organisation was founded in this country, and in the course of these eight months it has attained a membership of 44,000, all recruited from the ranks of young working people. The Catholic clergy refuse to allow the sons of the bourgeoisie to join this organisation. With subtle demagoguery they admit solely the sons of the workers, and have drawn up a programme of partial demands resembling in many points the programme of partial demands laid down by our Young Communist International. And how many young comrades are there Communists whose task it should be to save these young workers from the influence of the clergy? Where are they? In Italy Fascism is endeavouring to exterminate our Communist Party, our communist youth. There hundreds and thousands are incarcerated, innumerable trials are held, ending in long sentences of penal servitude. Under these conditions one of the most fundamental tasks of the Italian Young Communist organisation is the utmost possible penetration of the Italian comrades into those organisations which are the sole ones

permitted to exist legally in Fascist Italy; and yet you declare that you do not fear the masses, although you do not join these organisations? Has your attitude anything in common with the policy of the Russian Bolsheviks in the years of reaction, when they joined the societies against illiteracy, the total abstinence societies, the evening classes, the musical and theatrical clubs, and took a part everywhere where workers were to be found. Have you done anything like this? Up to the V. Congress you had not decided whether your youth sections should be kept up in the trade unions. It was not until the V. Congress that you resolved upon this. But tell me how many new youth sections have you formed in accordance with the decision of the V. Congress? I maintain that your chief malady is fear of the masses, and in this direction a concentrated blow must be dealt. This is the source of all your weaknesses. We have no intention of de-politising you; what we want to do is to wean you of the disastrous circle politics and to politise you by obliging you to carry on a well-thought-out mass policy.

This is the task set us at this Plenum. Had we any idea of de-politising you when we proposed that you should take an active part in the campaign of 1st August? We said to you, comrades of the Y. C. Leagues, on the eve of the 1st August, when the bourgeoisie was mobilising the whole of its forces to crush the demonstration against war, when it was spreading the report that the Comintern had appointed the 1st August as the day of the world revolution, organise many street demonstrations on this day, destroy the forces of the enemy, give him no pause for breath. Did you respond to this appeal, you who declaim about de-politisation, did you make such demonstrations in the different countries — with the exception of a few diffident attempts in Germany? On the eve of the 1st August we said to you: Young Communist comrades, call up your reserves in the struggle against imperialist war, mobilise your sport associations for street demonstrations on 1st August. But now tell me what part was played by the Y. C. I. in inducing the sport associations to take part in the 1st August demonstration? We further said to you: increased activity in the imperialist armies is now necessary in conjunction with 1st August. Here our Parties evince the greatest passivity, show the greatest legalism. And how did you take up the matter? Your work among the soldiers was even worse than at ordinary times. You forgot the fundamental decisions of the World Congress on this question. Among the conditions of admission to the Communist International formulated by Lenin we find the following:

"9. Every party desirous of joining the Communist International must carry on systematic communist work in the trade unions, the workers' and factory councils, the co-operative societies, and other mass organisations of the workers. It is necessary to organise communist cells within these organisations, for the purpose of winning over the trade unions, etc., by means of steady and persevering work, for the cause of communism. It is the duty of these nuclei to expose every where, in their daily work, the treachery of the social patriots and the vacillation of the "centre". The communist cells must be completely subordinate to the whole Party."

To demand from you the fulfilment of this condition — does this mean to de-politise you? But this is what we were accused of when we raised the question of the necessity of utilising the mass organisations for the purpose of reaching working youth.

Let us take your last resolution. This resolution is again a sign of fear of the masses. You change your direction, you speak of the necessity of directing your course towards the masses. But at the same moment you thrust forward a dozen reservations safeguarding you from any political work in mass organisations. You place general restrictions on this work in advance. You have the idea that to turn to the masses is opportunism, and involves de-politisation. But what has such an attitude in common with our Bolshevik standpoint towards the masses? We have here a misrepresentation truly worthy of Kautsky; the characteristic feature of Kautsky's famous discussion with Rosa Luxemburg before the war was precisely his contempt of the "politically immature" masses; only what Kautsky hid behind this was his opportunism, whilst you are hiding your sectarianism. Bolshevism has invariably combated such a conception of the masses.

## THE NON-FULFILMENT OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE V. CONGRESS OF THE Y. C. I.

Your draft resolution is the weakening of a very excellent resolution drawn up by you at the V. Congress. In the matter of a change of course in ideological methods, you said all that there was to be said about this at the V. Congress, and your present resolution simply repeats what was laid down in the resolution of the V. Congress.

Comrades, the following passages are to be found in the resolution passed by your V. Congress:

a) "The partial substitution of mass work by talk of mass work, the deficient political activity of the leagues, especially with respect to the defence of the general interests of working youth.

b) The inadequate working methods of the leagues with respect to the young workers; the imitation of the Parties; superficial agitational phrases . . . .

c) Insufficient concentration upon work in the shops and factories and in the mass organisations: especially the unallowably slack work in the trade unions and sport organisations.

d) The failure to apply the system of auxiliary organisations (secondary organisations)."

From this the V. World Congress drew the following conclusion:

"1. Revival of inner-organisational life, rendering it more interesting and attractive to the young workers, and thus lessening the fluctuation in the ranks of the league.

2. Improvement of our mass agitation and propaganda, rendering it more comprehensible and attractive, and better adapted to the mentality of young people.

3. . . . Formation of a Youth section and a Youth commission, in the trade unions, and in the military and semi-military organisations, of cultural organisations (sport, free thought, rambling clubs, etc.) . . . Formation of Youth sections in the peasant associations . . . legal organisations in illegal countries."

In a word, it cannot be better expressed. An excellent resolution. But now will you have the kindness, you who are gathered together here from so many countries, to relate what you have undertaken towards the realisation of this resolution? Tell us what you have accomplished, since this resolution was passed, towards the winning of the young workers in the bourgeois sport and other organisations. Perhaps one of you will tell us this. I shall be pleased to let him have the time allotted to me for my speech. Tell us, how many nuclei have you established in these organisations? How many new Youth sections have you founded in the trade unions? Do not be so retiring, comrade — how many new nuclei have you organised in the great industrial undertakings, in response to the demands of the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I.? Show us, comrade, if you please, where the members of your organisations are working actively in the sport associations. Perhaps the American comrades will report how a sport association numbering 8000 members was organised without their participation. What new auxiliary organisations have you formed since the V. Congress?

What has your new resolution to say beyond the old worlds on the change of course? But would it not be better if, instead of repeating your resolution of the V. Congress, you were to show by actual example how the work should be accomplished, how good methods are to be popularised and bad ones condemned, and would educate your cadres politically in this manner.

We hear of opportunism in actual practice, and this is truly the most striking example of it. What else than opportunism in actual practice is the fact that all of you who are gathered together here have not carried out either the decisions of the V. Congress, nor of the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I. This makes you opportunists in actual practice. You declaim much about winning over the majority of the working class, and about the approach of decisive struggles; you swear by the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the E. C. C. I.; but up to now you have not taken one step to put these decisions into execution. In words you stand for the Third Period, but your practice is still that of the Second. Does the Third Period

exclude, for instance, the application of the united front tactics in their new forms?

Have you exposed all these errors ruthlessly to the members of the Young Communist organisations? Have you organised a discussion on the change of course, basing it on some such concrete example? Have you stated clearly and definitely what has to be done in each nucleus towards the accomplishment of the changed course? Here again the best answer to these questions is a graphic example from your actual practice.

In Berlin, for instance, there is a great industrial undertaking—the Siemens Works. In this undertaking the Y. C. nucleus raised the question of the tasks of the nucleus, and another question—the election of the representatives to the delegates' conference.

Your fear of the masses corresponds to the inner structure of your organisations, with your absorption in the petty details of their business, with your exclusiveness. In the works and factories the Y. C. comrades move in a special circle, develop a certain caste spirit. They feel themselves superior to the masses of the other young workers. In what are you equal to us, the "elect", the "children of the sun"? Instead of mass work—"we" and "they". Clique psychology in the place of a Bolshevik determination to reach the unorganised young workers.

## ENLIVENMENT IN THE WORKING METHODS OF THE Y. C. I.

The Young Communist Leagues must form a broader organisation than the Communist Party. At one of the Party Congresses the reporter from the E. C. C. I. drew the following pyramid: at the top the Party—next a broader organisation—the Y. C. L.; then the trade unions. In real practice, however, this pyramid is reversed—the Y. C. L. with its narrow organisational basis is at the apex, the Party beneath it, and then the trade unions.

In order to illustrate the narrowness of the basis of the Y. C. I., it suffices to compare a few of the data relating to the membership of the Party and the Young Communist Leagues in the different countries. The number of members in the German C. P. is 130,000, in the Y. C. L. 22,000; in the French C. P. 50,000, in the Y. C. L. 6000; in the Czech C. P. 60,000, in the Y. C. L. 6000, etc. Is it permissible to regard such a state of affairs as normal?

The Young Communist International has never of itself raised the questions of its mass work. It is a good thing that the Y. C. I. has been in concord with the Comintern in all political questions, but it is not at all a good thing that in the matter of mass work it has never shown initiative on any single occasion. You have formed the second young Party after the Communist International, but on a narrower basis. The Young Communist International has copied the Parties in everything. To-day the Comintern resolves to form anti-Fascist committees—to-morrow you make the same resolve; to-day we issue the slogan of the shop stewards—and at the same moment you seize upon the same slogan.

The working methods of the Y. C. I. are much too rigid, the resolutions are correct in principle and not badly drawn up, but their style can be digested only by politically mature persons; it is too difficult for young people.

Hence there exists among us a disproportion between the "heads" and the "party masses". At the top you have excellent politicians, but at the bottom masses essentially de-politised, who do not read your resolutions, and who leave the Young Communist organisations because their life fails to satisfy the working youth.

Let us take further the struggle against the deviations in your organisations. The Y. C. I. has always maintained an excellent struggle against the right deviations, and no-one has any right to reproach you in any way in this respect. The same cannot, however, be said of your struggle against the "Left" deviations. Here you have committed faults in the past, and are continuing to do this in the present. These faults must be liquidated at this Plenum. But deviations are one thing, and separate errors another. An error is not a deviation until people persist in it and an ordinary error cannot be used as a pretext for drawing conclusions of an organisational nature, in the Y. C. associations, against those who have committed it. And yet you often do this much too hastily,

without even definitely nailing the errors, whilst in reality the task set you is to educate the young people, and not to take organisational measures. You are severer than the Parties towards ordinary errors. Let us take for instance the last Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., a Party which has never distinguished itself by tolerance towards deviations. Did we remove Comrades Rykov and Tomsky from the Political Bureau at the last Plenary Session? It was clear enough that these comrades had not only committed a number of serious political errors, but represented at the same time the Right deviation in the C. P. S. U. And when our Party, in spite of this, permitted Comrades Rykov and Tomsky to retain their positions in the leading institutions of the Party, this was by no means a sign of tolerance towards the Right deviation, but for the reason that the complete bankruptcy of the whole system of views held by the Right deviators had been revealed to the broad masses of the Party, and the Party, strengthened by this complete victory, preferred to give the possibility, to those already beginning to be conscious of their errors, of rectifying these. And if the Party at the head of the proletarian dictatorship of the largest country in the world acts thus towards its cadres when straightening out its line, then the Y. C. I. must do so in an even greater degree, in consideration of the fact that it has to deal with young and politically inexperienced material. If a Young Communist comrade says something politically foolish, then correct him; correct him so that the others hear it, and learn by this error to expose the errors of others; but correct without wounding, without irritating, without hurting the armour proper of youth; endeavour to elucidate, before resorting to organisational measures.

In conclusion a few words on another fault of your work — its shop window character. On paper everything is going on beautifully, nothing but successes, but a closer glance reveals a different aspect. In a report from one of the organisations of the German Young Communists we read for instance: 20 new nuclei have been founded. There seems to be nothing to object to in this, it is surely worthy only of praise; but as a matter of fact 18 old nuclei were lost at the same time, without the report mentioning this by a word. A determined stand must be taken against this system of strewing sand in the eyes, of self-deception. We need the truth, the plain Bolshevik truth, and we must look this truth in the face.

The conclusions, comrades? It is time to put an end to "philosophising" on the change of course, on what you understand by it, and how you propose to put it into practice. Organisational directives must be worked out, showing the young workers how they must work if no movement among working youth is to pass the Young Communist organisation by. Work in the shops and factories must occupy the central position; you must seek out the sport organisations gathering together the young workers, and conquer these for communism. It is imperative that a system be worked out furnishing the Young Communist Leagues with organisations enabling an energetic initiative to be developed in this direction. The working methods must be altered, our methods of agitation and propaganda among young people must be livened up, the type of organisation itself must undergo a change, and must be placed on a broader basis by the participation of the Young Communist organisations in mass work. This is the first task of the present Plenum of the Young Communist International.

### THE NEW FORMS OF UNITED FRONT TACTICS.

The unhealthy symptoms observable in some sections of the Y. C. I. are closely bound up with the abnormal condition of the corresponding Communist Parties. These unsound symptoms are only reflected more clearly in the Young Communist International. Hence we are conscious at the present time of both the faults and the weaknesses of the Comintern. When criticising the exclusive circle tendency of the Y. C. I., and in calling upon you to correct your line, we criticise at the same time the Sections of the Comintern, which often suffer from the same weaknesses, and which have not yet grasped the art of Bolshevik mass work. In the sections of the Y. C. I. this fault differs from the open opportunism in the Communist Parties by being concealed behind "Left" phrases.

We write resolutions on the Third Period, on the rise of a fresh wave of revolution, on the upsurge of the masses, on the radicalisation of the working class. But in England, for

instance, in spite of the fact that the MacDonald government reveals itself in its true colours more clearly every day, the Communist Party is steadily losing members. What is the reason of this? The reason lies in the weaknesses inherent in that crisis which may be named the crisis of growth. The history of the C. P. S. U. has experienced not a few such crises, even during the period of proletarian dictatorship, and after the crisis was past the influence of our Party has been greater than before over the broad masses of the workers, and the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union has stood more firmly than ever. It suffices to remember our latest difficulties, which threw the Right deviators into such panic. Such "crises" generally signify to the Communist Parties the necessity of their political re-orientation, and the need of fresh working methods. They indicate that at the fresh stage now reached the methods hitherto employed to cope with the fundamental tasks of the Party are out-of-date, and that the Party must reorganise in accordance with the needs of the labour movement. But during the time that the Party is carrying out this re-orientation, its relations to the masses undergo a change which can only be overcome in proportion to the rapidity and energy with which the Party goes over to the new line. This applies to all the Parties of the Comintern undergoing a narrowing down of their organisational basis, but above all to England. The movement of the English Minority Movement is the best proof of the correctness of this diagnosis.

The last Minority Movement Congress in England (two years ago this movement had about one million adherents) kept marking time on one spot, and showed a certain amount of embarrassment in looking for fresh forms of organisation. We feel that the Party is seeking for fresh methods of approaching the masses. It is well aware that the old organisational formlessness of the Minority Movement must be liquidated, but with regard to fresh forms, with regard to the question of what the Minority Movement must be — vagueness prevails.

What is the significance of the proposal made by the Communist Party of Germany — our best Section in the Comintern, and naturally leading the way in the accomplishment of the united front tactics — with regard to the creation of shop stewards? This Party already possessing a strong hold on the masses, realises that at the present time it cannot take one further step forward for the firmer establishment of this hold, unless it conceives and realises such methods as these for winning over the masses — methods enabling it to reach every stratum of the working class in sympathy with it. In England the Minority Movement must become such an organisational form, enabling the working masses to be reached by the English Communist Party. We are groping after fresh forms of united front tactics. The revolutionary competition is one of these forms. This method has not yet been sufficiently studied or thought out. We have as yet no experience of its application, but it is a new form of united front tactics ensuring mighty results, if approached properly. At the present time our revolutionary competitions are being taken up by the Parties, the trade unions, the Young Communist organisations. This is not bad, but it is not enough. Broader strata of the working class must be induced to participate in the revolutionary competitions — those proletarian reserves which have hitherto kept beyond our influence. With the aid of revolutionary competition we may succeed in establishing factory nuclei in places where none have hitherto existed. For this it is necessary that the working masses of the factories enter into revolutionary competition with one another. Factory with factory, this is what may become the basis of the new forms of united front tactics. Here the idea of proletarian class solidarity, disrupted by the reformists and social democrats, may be reformed.

When we have gained wide experience in revolutionary competition among the works and factories, then a determined and inflexible pursuance of our aims will enable us to attain a firmly rooted contact between the proletariat of the Soviet Union and the workers of foreign countries, such as could never be attained by any "Anglo Russian Unity Committee".

### THE CAPTURE OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

The crisis of growth through which we are passing affects not only the crisis of the united front tactics, but at the same time the crisis of the organisational forms. It is an incontestable fact that the trade unions have been, and continue

to be, the chief form in which the masses are reached. The capture of the trade unions continues to be our most important task.

We should, however, be shortsighted were we to fail to observe the rapid changes taking place of late. Reformist bureaucracy evokes splits wherever we approach the capture of the majority, expels us in scores where we are in the minority. The reformists have learnt something from the defeat of the Russian Mensheviks. The policy pursued by the reformists threatens to cut us off from the trade unions unless we take measures in self-defence. We must recognise the trend of events and be ready for any emergency. Further we can no longer tolerate the disunited condition of our revolutionary opposition in the trade unions, for this only makes the reformist struggle against us the easier. Is it only by accident that the German comrades are now stressing the necessity of an organisational grasp of the revolutionary opposition? This disunity is extremely dangerous. The results of the organisational disunity of the English Minority Movement in the past show what it costs us. A comparison between the organisational control which we possess of our forces and our political influence obliges us to admit a vast disproportion. It is not permissible to free ourselves of this task by falling back on the impermissibility of responding to the provocations of the reformists who are anxious for a pretext to expel us from the trade unions.

The problem of the organisational forms best fitted to reach the masses is made the more complicated by the fact, that unorganised masses are drawn into the movement, and the movement of the unemployed develops outside the confines of the trade unions. True, it is no pleasant task for a revolutionist and communist to induce the unorganised workers to enter the reformist trade unions. Certainly it is much more desirable to bring this stratum of workers awakening to class activity, as also the unemployed into our own organisation. There are many temptations in this direction, but it is one in which a policy of "experiment" is especially dangerous — a policy attempting to accomplish the task without first gaining sufficient experience, without soberly considering our own forces and the forces of the enemy.

We are seeking unwearyingly for new organisational forms for reaching the masses, but until we feel firm ground beneath our feet we must not abandon the line we have adopted. We must fight to the utmost for every position in the reformist trade unions and not abandon these without a struggle. But the simplified tactics are liable to lead those who are in favour of a definite "either-or" to precisely this abandonment. The conditions imposed by the transition period force us to combine various forms of our own mass organisations with persistent work within the reformist trade unions themselves. This dualism is no invention of ours, but arises from the actual situation existing to-day. But, comrades, though we may not yet have to hasten with the formation of new trade unions, still in such places where fate has willed that we possess our own unions, we must hold to these new unions by all available means. Here every force in the working class must be concentrated on supporting our movement, organised by these trade unions. The maintenance of these new trade unions is a question of honour for the vanguard of the working class. The working class does not learn from books but from the experience won in revolutionary struggle. It tests our new unions too under the fire of the struggle. When we take up strike struggles, we must show in actual practice that our revolutionary fighting tactics secure greater success for the workers than the tactics of the reformists. We must not respond to the provocations of the employers; we must consider in advance all changes for and against the strike at the given moment, but, once having started the struggle, we must exert every effort to end it victoriously.

We know that under present conditions, when the reformist and employers' organisations are coalescing with the apparatus of the capitalist state to form one whole, the difficulties encountered by the working class in its struggle are very great. Often we shall conduct strikes which bring no result, or end in defeat. But this is no reason to conclude that every strike merely aims at education towards revolution, and that its practical success is secondary.

Try the experiment of telling a worker that under present conditions no strike can end in victory, since the apparatus of the capitalist State, of the employers' organisations etc., is too strong for us, but that in spite of this we call upon him to take

up the struggle. And hear the reply which you will receive: Wonderful people these communists, how they see everything beforehand. But why should I take part in a strike condemned inevitably to failure; I shall wait for better times, or for the last decisive struggle." This was the trend of feeling which might be observed during the struggle of the French railway men. It must not be ignored.

And now, when drawing the balance of the plumbers' strike, we must declare plainly and clearly that the German Party, in spite of all endeavours on the part of its leaders, did not grasp the significance of this strike, and did not do its utmost in support of it. This was the decisive fault with regard to the plumbers' strike.

#### FOR THE REALISATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE 10TH PLENUM.

I now pass to the question of how the decisions of the 10th Plenum are to be realised above all to the question of the winning of the majority of the working class as set by the 10th Plenum. Here a few facts and figures are necessary.

The Czech Party is one of the greatest mass parties working for the conquest of the majority of the working class. At the last elections there was a loss of communist votes in the most important industrial centres. It is naturally ridiculous to fly into a panic on this account. We lose comrades who are frightened away by the class struggle. We lose through the liquidation of the old opportunist course of the Party, and gain by the new Bolshevik course. This is the fundamental fact, and it is a pity that the Party has not yet penetrated far enough into the masses with this Bolshevik course. The results of the elections would have been very different. And it is a pity, a great pity, that our Party has suffered losses in the works and factories, whilst the Fascists are growing. For this there is no other explanation than the passivity of the Party. At the sick insurance elections among the miners of Moravian Ostrau, the Party lost 1800 of the 13,000 votes which it had gained at the last election, whilst the Fascists more than doubled their votes. And yet we said at the 10th Plenum that the Czechoslovakian Party was attacking with its utmost power the work of conquering the majority of the working class. If the Czech comrades continued to win over the works and factories at this pace, they will not only fail to gain the majority, but lose what they have already gained.

And how have the decisions of the 10th Plenum with regard to the political mass strike been carried out? On 1st August all our Parties were given the opportunity of proving their readiness to carry out this decision of the 10th Plenum. But with the exception of Greece and France, where an attempt was made to hold a political strike on 1st August, no single country showed any earnest indications of trying to organise even a one-hour general strike. Or let us take the question of the defence corps. Many resolutions have been written, many speeches made — but the deeds have been few.

We have spoken much of the necessity of the international education of the proletariat. A wave of hunger strikes is sweeping the prisons of Europe — in Budapest, in Rumania, in Lithuania, in Finland, everywhere where the champions of the working class are incarcerated.

Our comrades, practically left to their fate by us, throw themselves individually into the struggle. Have we done everything possible to mobilise the masses in support of such hunger strikes? And in the question of the Terror in Yugoslavia? Have our Parties shown sufficient internationalism? Why has the silence of the tomb closed over the victims of Yugoslavian Terror? Hundreds of Communists are confined in the prisons; they are subjected to the cruellest mediaeval tortures, their nails are torn out, their bones broken, their eyes pierced, their teeth broken. Where is the working class? Does it not hear this? Why do the largest Sections of the Comintern not react to it? Even though it be only in the form of small demonstrations, a movement must be aroused, the Communist Parties must reply to such facts. Is it really necessary to introduce a 22nd condition of admission to the Communist International, in order to awaken the Communist Parties out of their lethargy? The Communist Parties must educate their cadres to revolution, and must train the working class in such a spirit that every martyrdom suffered by the champions of our army perishing miserably in the dungeons of Rumania, on the barren islands of Italy, and in the citadels

of Warsaw evokes a response in the working class as if they were connected by a thousand electric wires.

It will be seen by these few examples how far we are from realising the decisions of the X. Plenum. To throw the searchlight of self-criticism upon our weaknesses and faults signifies a firm step forward toward their removal. The Five-Year Plan of socialist reconstruction now being victoriously carried through, and the pending international economic crisis, are already shaking the building of capitalism, and to-morrow its very foundations will tremble. In many countries we are on the eve of mighty historical revolutionary struggles, which may perhaps bear a decisive character.

This does not, however, relieve us of the duty of carrying forward the detailed work needed to-day in order to gather together the forces of the proletariat, and especially to gather together the youth of the proletariat. We are not syndicalists, setting our hopes solely upon the spontaneity of the move-

ment; we do not wait for the revolution with folded arms, we must work unceasingly for its organisation and preparation. Your generation—that is the fortunate generation which will not only perform the daily work preparing the way, and fight upon the barricades, but will be able to go forward to building up socialism all over the world. With our joint forces we shall overcome our common faults and infantile diseases. We shall make the Young Communist International a broad mass organisation of proletarian youth, for we are fighters and revolutionists, soldiers of the revolution, not its poets and romanticists; we are people of the masses, not heroes of isolation. It is to this preparatory detail work for the winning of the masses of proletarian youth, work to be based on the wide experience gained by the Communist International, and especially by its most important Section, the C. P. S. U., that the E. C. of the Comintern calls your Plenum of the Y. C. I., which must begin, not in words but in deeds, to convert the Y. C. I. into a mass organisation of the proletarian youth.

## The Position of the Young Communist International and the Turn towards Mass Work.

Comrade K h i t a r o v's Report.

Comrades!

We are living at a time when all internal and external contradictions of capitalism, of the disintegration of capitalist stabilisation, are becoming more accentuated, when the war danger and the class struggles are becoming more serious in all countries. We are living in an epoch which witnesses the beginning of a new revolutionary wave, in an epoch when the working class is beginning to go from defensive to offensive.

We have already declared at our V. World Congress that the youth problem has become one of the decisive problems of the present period. The correctness of this was fully confirmed last year. We can see that the role of the youth in the process of production, as well as in the class struggle, has gained in importance, and we can also see that the activity of the mass of young workers is growing and that the bourgeoisie, in its concern for this youth, is using all possible means to catch it in the net of its policy and to prepare it for the tasks connected with war preparation and defeat of the revolutionary proletariat.

### THE GROWING ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN THE PROCESS OF PRODUCTION.

If we turn our attention to the participation of the youth in the process of production, we can say that a series of statistics confirm the tendencies to which our World Congress drew attention, namely the growth of the role of the Youth in the process of production. We can see that in the last 20 years the following development has taken place in Germany. There have been two statistical inquiries in Germany: In 1907 and in 1925. In the course of these 18 years, the total number of workers in industry has grown by 24.8%. But the total number of young workers has grown by 40% (by young workers we mean those between the age of 14 and 25). Regarding the subsequent years, we have the following figures: If we make a comparison between 1926 and 1927, we find that in this period the number of young workers in big enterprises has increased by 0.14%, and in small and medium enterprises by 0.86%. There are several drastic examples, for instance in a leather factory. In this factory the distribution of the workers was as follows: in 1915, workers over 21 constituted 79.8%, youngsters 5.4%, women workers 14.8% of the total number of workers. In 1928, in the same factory, adult workers constituted 26.4% of the total number of workers, young workers 8.7%, women workers 64.7%. This is an

example of the tendency of capitalism to use cheap labour power.

There are even more telling facts regarding other countries. According to information sent by our comrades in Poland, in the metal industry young workers constitute on an average 41% of the total number of workers, and in the textile industry 40%.

In small industries, such as confectionary, book-binding and the wood industry, more young than adult workers are employed. In connection with rationalisation, the number of young unemployed is decreasing. In some districts, for instance, Dombrova, there is no longer unemployment among young workers. Young workers displace the adults in the factories. Unemployment among the youth cannot of course disappear altogether, young unemployed are still very numerous and suffer, as we know, even more than the adults. (See for instance the recent legislation re unemployment benefit in Germany.)

In a colliery district in Moravian Ostrau (Czechoslovakia) the following development has, for instance, taken place.

The number of adult workers, if one takes the figure 100 for 1922, amounted 3 years later only to 75.5. But if one takes young workers designating them with the figure 100 for 1922, their number amounted to 144 in 1925. It is also very significant that side by side with the growing number of young workers in industry, their output has also considerably increased. The output per head and shift in this colliery district in Moravian Ostrau was 3 years ago 23.93 and in 1928, 29.20. Moreover, not only the number of young workers in industry, but also their exploitation has grown. Comrades, there are in countries such as Great Britain and America whole branches of industry employing almost entirely young workers. Even whole youth industries have sprung up, for instance, the hosiery and radio industry. Moreover, in some factories young workers are concentrated in special departments, because this seems more profitable to the capitalists. Thus we see that owing to rationalisation the number of young workers employed in industry is growing, that there is a concentration of the workers in the factories, and that the exploitation of young workers is also monstrously growing.

If we take the labour process, we can say that a levelling process is going on between young and adult workers. Formerly, a great difference existed between adult and young workers regarding their output and the quality of that output. The young worker was either an apprentice or certainly

someone who had to be taught; he played occasionally also the role of an assistant. We witness now an almost complete equalisation, and sometimes a hundred percent equalisation of young and adult workers. The demands made on young workers by the rationalised capitalist industry have increased enormously, and young workers are much more exploited now than before. If we turn our attention to young workers' wages, we find a general tendency to reduce them.

Rationalisation has also a considerable effect on the vocational training of the youth. We said already at the V World Congress that the apprentice of the old type is gradually disappearing from the process of production, and that he is becoming more rare in the big industry. Statistical proof can be produced for this. For instance, attendance in continuation schools in Vienna has developed as follows: while the number of pupils in these schools was 48,000 in 1922/23, it was only 29,000 in 1928/29. We hear from our comrades in France that nine-tenths of the total number of young workers employed in industry receive no training at all, and that employers select only a thin stratum of less than 10 % of the total number of young workers to whom they give certain technical training and from whose ranks they subsequently recruit a highly skilled stratum of the labour aristocracy. Side by side with this, we have witnessed in the last years in regard to the apprenticeship system a number of reactionary efforts to make the position of apprentices—which was always bad enough—even more intolerable. The last years have produced a whole series of reactionary Acts and Bills, which are to enslave apprentices to a still greater extent.

If we turn our attention to the effects of all this on the working youth as a whole, we must say that it has been the cause of far reaching changes in the life of the working youth. Rationalisation is changing completely the complexion of the working youth. Let us consider the development since the war; during the war the proletarian youth played a very important role in the class struggle. This was not entirely due to the fact that socialist youth organisations adopted a correct attitude and played a vanguard role in the war against war. It was also due to the share of the youth in production (a very enormous share) during the war. Adult workers were sent to the front, and young workers and women had to take their place. After the war we witness an opposite tendency. The workers who returned from the fronts, displaced again the young workers from the big factories, they had to rest content with handicraft. In the last years, since the beginning of capitalist rationalisation, we witness yet another tendency, namely, the steady growth of the number of young workers in big enterprises and of their role in production, and accordingly also in the class struggle and in public life. We notice that youth struggles are becoming more and more frequent, that on many occasions these struggles develop into struggles of all the workers, just as this was the case during the war, and sometimes even to a greater extent. We have examples from a whole series of countries showing that young workers begin struggles which subsequently develop into struggles of all the workers.

One of the decisive consequences of rationalisation is the growth of radical currents among the Youth, its development to the left. We have had many examples of this radicalisation in the course of the last year. Radicalisation has a remarkable effect upon the working youth. It brings into active participation in the class struggle sections of young workers which were formerly untouched. This year has witnessed the active participation of the youth in general strikes. Such was the case during the general strike in Lodz, in the great Ruhr lockout and in many other strikes carried through by the workers of various countries. But even more drastic are the examples of Youth Strikes. They break out spontaneously, without any leadership, and are directed not only against the Triple Alliance—employers, police ridden state and reformists—but frequently also against the lack of understanding and the indifference of adult workers. Such youth strikes are now an everyday occurrence in capitalist countries. There was a whole series of youth strikes in the course of this year.

Regarding these youth strikes we can say that, as a rule, the trade unions do nothing to give them a lead, to defend the young workers' interests, and that adult workers frequently fail to understand that the struggle of the youth is their own struggle and that they have to support it with all the means at their disposal. Needless to say that among adult workers and even our own Party members we still come across the

prejudice that apprentices should not go on strike and should not participate in the general struggles of the working class, because they are supposed to occupy a "special position" with regard to the employers. This utterly false ideology is still widely spread. But in spite of this, apprentices are fighting for their own interests and demands, whereas we are for the time being doing very little to organise and lead these struggles.

### THE ACTIVITY OF OPPONENT ORGANISATIONS.

Comrades, I am coming now to the activity of our Opponents among the working youth. I won't say much about avowedly fascist organisations which bring forward a clear programme of fascism and militarisation of the youth, and are endeavouring, with the display of considerable skill and great persistence and perseverance, to capture the youth. We must however admit that lately the fascist youth organisations have grown considerably. Our Italian comrades tell us of the growth of all fascist organisations. In other countries too, especially in Germany, we witness a revival of the fascist movement. In Germany, the national-socialist movement is particularly energetic, and we must on no account underestimate the importance of this opponent—avowed fascists. With the help of demagoguery, these people know how to catch the youth, and struggle against them is not so simple that the formula "beat the fascists wherever you come across them" could be considered sufficient. This slogan by itself is not enough in the struggle against fascists.

But the bourgeoisie does not rest content with avowed fascist organisations for the fascisation and militarisation of the youth. The bourgeoisie is working now under the slogan: "The whole State a citadel." "We must create a military nation." These slogans are issued publicly, and they are the clear ideological expression of the war preparations of the bourgeoisie. To this war preparation, the bourgeoisie subordinates now the whole school system and all organisations which are influenced by it in some way or another. The entire bourgeois literature, art and especially the cinema, as well as all other forces including the church, have been put into motion, in order to capture the youth for military aims.

We see moreover that the bourgeoisie is doing its utmost to centralise work among the youth. We drew attention to this tendency already at the V World Congress. It has made further progress in the course of the last year. The nationalisation of the entire so-called "youth welfare" is contemplated, and this is to take place through the bourgeois state assuming control over the whole work carried on among the mass of the youth. For this purpose, special central institutions, central organisations are established which are to superintend, coordinate and lead the youth work. For this purpose, all the existing bourgeois and social-democratic youth organisations are coordinated, and this cartellation of all youth organisations has the object of maximum nationalisation of youth work.

It is characteristic of the work of the bourgeoisie among the youth that it uses the most varied means to capture the youth. Some people are perhaps surprised that the bourgeoisie has such a multitude of organisations, political as well as neutral organisations which are to satisfy the various cultural requirements of the youth. The meaning of this method is perfectly clear. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to make use of every possible requirement, in order to arouse the interest of the young workers and draw them into its organisations. At present, the bourgeoisie is going to the length of drawing up militant economic programmes for the youth, of forming organisations in factories which are supposed to defend the interests of young factory workers. For instance, the Christian Youth League in Belgium and France has issued the slogan "formation of factory nuclei". They are probably copying us, but they work in this direction much more energetically than our organisations.

### THE SOCIAL FASCIST YOUTH INTERNATIONAL.

Let us turn our attention now to an auxiliary force of the bourgeoisie among the youth which has special significance for us. This is the socialist or rather the Social Fascist Youth International. What has been lately the development in the ranks of the Y.S.I.? The Y.S.I. was hitherto known by its culture-swindle, its phraseology about the "new man", "education for socialism", "realisation of socialism", etc. This talk about culture is well-known to all of us, and the Y.S.I. is

going on with it, because it is endeavouring to divert the youth from the class struggle in this manner. Here is another example of this. When they met for the social democratic international youth day last summer in Vienna, the organs of the Young Socialist International wrote in the following strain:

"You are certainly not satisfied with the programme pure simple, you want to climb and ramble. . . it would not be a trip to the Alpine districts of Austria, if you could not tell afterwards to your admiring and astounded fellow men that you undertook climbing expeditions the daring of which terrified even the mountains themselves."

"But what about the poor delegates? They are bombarded with hundreds of questions: how much a trip to the Rax costs, what the individual contribution is and why it couldn't be cheaper, if a passport is required, and what about travelling at reduced fares?"

Of course, the "poor delegates" are probably in a sad plight, but for other reasons. However, side by side with this antiquated phraseology, we witness in the course of the last year a development in the Y.S.I. which has a quite different aspect. Just as the whole II. International, the Y.S.I. has entered upon the path of social-fascism. We have already sufficient proof of this. In Germany, the S.A. J. has supported the defence-programme of the German Social Democracy. At the Youth Day and Youth Congress held by the Y.S.I. in summer we noticed clear signs of a social-fascist and nationalist development in the Y.S.I. Certainly, many of the youth contingents carried red banners in the processions, but the official gatherings of the Y.S.I., especially the congress, were conspicuous by their display of national colours.

But more significant still is the following statement taken from the "Jugendvorwärts" of June 30, 1929:

"The Young Socialist International cannot carry on the struggle against Bolshevism and fascism by itself, but it will have to make clear once more in Vienna that it is always on the side of the adult workers of the whole world when it is a question of paving the way to democracy and socialism also in countries with a dictatorial regime."

Not only are Bolshevism and fascism spoken of here together, as equal enemies, Bolshevism is even given first place. The Y.S.I. Congress passed a resolution which contains the following statement:

"The Congress expresses its indignation at the fact that not only fascist-reactionary dictatorships in Italy, Lithuania and elsewhere continue to oppress in the most brutal manner the struggling socialist youth of these countries, but that the Soviet Government too is not relaxing the persecution of the Russian and Georgian Socialist youth."

We know that this is not true. There is no socialist youth to oppress in Russia and Georgia. The youth, insofar as it is a socialist youth, has every opportunity of free development, such as does not exist in other countries. It is constructing socialism here. We know that the social-democratic youth organisations have long ago disappeared in Russia and Georgia. They no longer exist. But why does the Y.S.I. want this resolution? Only to work up young workers who are under its influence and leadership against the Soviet Union, and support in this manner the war preparations of the bourgeoisie. A Russian Menshevik of the name of Sapler expressed clearly such views dealing with the Y.C.I. programme.

How does the Y.S.I. fight against war? Well, it carried through last year a great campaign against war, it participated namely in the petition-swindle. Social Democratic Party and youth organisations collected throughout the world signatures of people who appeal to the League of Nations to abolish war. These signatures were taken to Geneva, and their bulk filled several rooms. The employees in the League of Nations complained of the enormous quantity of paper which is probably being put now to a better use there.—Such was the anti-war campaign of the Y.S.I.

What is the present attitude of the Y.S.I. to the economic struggles of the working youth? Formerly it endeavoured not to deal with these questions at all, to divert the youth from them, but it is working now under the slogan of industrial peace and

economic democracy, and is frequently playing a blacklegging role in young workers' strikes. Its members and functionaries act frequently as blacklegs during youth strikes. The "Left" has completely capitulated before the official policy of the social-democrats, these Left elements are beginning to differ less and less from their other colleagues, even regarding phraseology. But one should not run away with the idea that these people lack radical phrases. They are even now prepared to make use of radical phraseology, because they can see that the youth is becoming radicalised. We have noticed signs of this radicalisation even at this Y.S.I. Youth Day and Congress which was so carefully prepared by the social-democrats. Groups of S.A. J. members turned up there with posters, songs and slogans which were certainly out of tune with the official arrangements of the Y.S.I.

Several responsible Y.S.I. functionaries from Great Britain and Bulgaria spoke at the conference and criticised the social-democratic policy. The British delegate said that a united front should be formed with the Communists, and that there should be opposition to the baiting of the Soviet Union. They speak in this strain because they feel the pressure of the members and see the radicalisation process of the workers and in the ranks of their own organisations. It is all the more incumbent on us to give an impetus to our struggle also against the "Left" elements, because they are particularly dangerous at the present juncture. As the radicalisation of the working youth is growing, they try to counteract these moods and to make the youth again subservient to them. We must also take into consideration that the II International is also mobilising now the entire trade union apparatus. It is endeavouring to help the Y.S.I. to strengthen and develop its organisation. The work is carried on under the slogan "Coordination of the entire socialist youth work". This is nothing but transference of the bourgeois youth welfare to the ranks of the proletarian youth, a monopolist position of the Y.S.I. among the youth in the trade union and other labour organisations. It is intended to bring the members of these organisations under the influence of the Y.S.I. by force. Some new methods are also used, partly taken over from us, such as the Red Falcons, uniforms, outward discipline. It is also by such means that attempts are made to add interest to the work of the S.A. Y. Through the energetic mobilisation of the Party and trade union apparatus, it has been to a certain extent possible to stay the retrogression of the Y.S.I. in some countries.

There is no doubt whatever that the proletarian youth which is still under its influence, will turn its back on it as soon as it realises its true character. This depends on our ability to make use of these oppositional moods within the S.A. Y. and to win these young people for our organisations. We must fight in our own ranks against the wrong notion that the S.A. Y. is an unimportant opponent. This is not so. The S.A. Y. is the agent of reformism in the ranks of the working youth. Behind the S.A. Y. is the whole social-democratic party, the II International, the powerful trade union apparatus, etc. The S.A. Y. is becoming more and more ambitious. At its Vienna congress, it decided to form sections in Asia, especially in India, and also in America. The reformists are sure to do their utmost to strengthen these social-fascist youth organisations. We must bear this in mind and fight this opponent with all our strength.

#### THE SITUATION IN THE Y. C. I.

What was the development of the Y.C.I. in the course of the last year? We have had certain successes. We have energetically supported the line of the Comintern, the Y.C.I. as a whole and our sections in the individual countries. Sweden is a clear enough example of this. It shows what great revolutionary strength is in the Y.C.I., and it also shows that we were right in asserting that we have a correct political line. We have energetically supported the Comintern line also in France, China and Mongolia where a complete change in leadership has taken place as a result of our criticism regarding the Executive of the revolutionary youth League at the time of the V World Congress. We have seen in Poland that our youth league has played an important political role in the consolidation of the Party and in the struggle against Right deviations. We have also examples of the active participation of our Leagues in the general struggles of the working class, for instance, in the Lodz and Ruhr strikes. We had brilliant

examples of militant work during the May Days in Berlin where our comrades fought bravely against the Zörgiebel police and the bourgeois state.

We have extended in this period our international organisation to new countries and even continents. We established above all in Latin America new strong positions for our movement. Immediately after the V World Congress, an illegal Young Communist League was established in **Brazil** which, according to the reports of our representative, is strong and brave. We have had in this period a favourable development in **Argentina**. A new Y.C.L. has been established after the V World Congress in the **Philippines**. We have also established certain relations in **Indo-China**, and have already taken steps for a better connection with **India**.

Comrades, we must enumerate these Y.C.I. successes when summing up the work of the last year. They must not be overlooked, and we must above all bear in mind that the Y.C.I. as a whole has stood firm politically, that this year when the Comintern had to carry on such a sharp struggle against the Right and the conciliators, **there have been no vacillations in the Executive of the Y.C.I.**, the latter as a whole being able to give adequate support to the Comintern. This has been put to the credit of the Y.C.I. also by the Comintern, and has been mentioned in the decisions of the X Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

But side by side with this, we have to record many weak points and defects in our last year's work. First of all, there have been **considerable political vacillations in a number of our sections**. Such was the case in **Germany** where the C.C. of our League took up immediately after the World Congress a wrong attitude regarding the Wittorf Affair which developed into a question of the entire policy of the Party. We were then compelled to intervene from the Y.C.I., but the C.C. of the German League would not admit its mistake for a long time. Even after the political leader of the League, Comrade **Blenkle**, member of our Executive, had been replaced by another comrade, the vacillations in the Executive of the German Y.C.I. did not cease. They were particularly strong in the Berlin organisation and were not repudiated energetically enough by the C.C. We witnessed a certain estrangement between the Executive of the Party and the Y.C.I. as a result of this politically, vague attitude of the Y.C.I. Though the C.C. of the League has never supported the conciliators openly, it did not give sufficient support to the Party in the struggle against the Right and the conciliators, and the German Y.C.I. was quite right in getting rid of this Executive and replacing it by another which has the full confidence of the Party and the Y.C.I.

We had considerable political vacillations in **Great Britain and Czechoslovakia**. In both countries, the Executive of the League proved to be very weak, and not only organisationally, but above all politically. We had in the **United States** a state of affairs when leadership of the League was a considerable time in the hands of the Lovestone group which tried in every possible way to use it for its anti-Communist purposes. In **Italy**, we had considerable vacillations in the Executive of our League, we were able to ascertain that the Italian League had taken up a conciliatory attitude regarding the Right in the German League. It is only in the last months that our comrades have admitted their mistake. In **Austria**, a number of leading comrades took up a vacillating attitude. The Executive of our Swiss League has certainly acted in a conciliatory manner. Finally, we have even in **France**, a country where the League has helped a great deal with the renovation of the Party and in the struggle against opportunists, a state of affairs in the last months when strong opportunist tendencies have made their appearance. Even leading comrades had opportunist moods.

Such political vacillations in the leadership of almost all our important Sections speak for themselves. Only the sharpening of the class struggle in the course of the last year and our struggle against reformism and the Right danger have brought these vacillations completely to the surface. Side by side with these political vacillations regarding general questions, we have **an enormous lagging behind of our leagues compared with the growing activity of the mass of young workers**. A number of youth strikes, one can even say most of them, went past our Leagues without even touching them and arousing their interest. The organisation and result of

all our campaigns were also unsatisfactory. On this point, I agree with Comrade **Manuilsky's** criticism of our August 1st campaign. The same can be applied also to our other campaigns: the Youth Day, the X. Anniversary campaign and so on.

What about our **organisational development** in this period? One must say on the whole that stagnation is continuing. But even this is not enough, because one must add that serious reverses have been experienced in several countries. In a period of revolutionary revival, we must admit the regrettable fact that Young Communist organisations are retrogressing. We have had serious reverses in Czechoslovakia and Great Britain, we have stagnation in most other Leagues, including Germany. Hardly anywhere can we boast of organisational progress. Wherever we see growth, it is not the result of organised effort on our part, but merely chance.

The illegal Leagues are also in a bad state. But they are, generally speaking, better than the legal, because they are of a more decisive, militant character and because they have to work under conditions when such a sloppy state of affairs as in the legal Leagues is impossible. However, the position of the illegal Leagues is also unsatisfactory.

## THE GROWTH OF THE L. Y. C. L. OF THE SOVIET UNION.

Contrary to this unfavourable development of the Y.C.I. in the capitalist countries, we have the satisfaction of being able to say that the development of the **L. Y. C. L. of the Soviet Union** has been **truly remarkable** in the last year. The League has considerably developed its political activity. While prior to the V World Congress, at the time of the VIII Congress of the League, we were justified in saying that the L.Y.C.L. had not yet quite discovered correct forms and methods for the coordination of the mass of the youth and for the furtherance of its activity commensurate with the requirements of the reconstruction period, we can say now, a year later, that it has developed at all fronts a splendid activity using new forms and working methods. This activity began with a cultural campaign which the League organised, in order to strengthen cultural work in the factory, next came the organisation of the harvest campaign. The L.Y.C.L. mobilised its best forces and sent them to the villages, to effect there by all possible means and through the organisation of the poor and middle peasantry better harvest results and a more satisfactory collection of the available cereals.

Then came the **socialist competition**. Our Y.C.L. initiated the competition in the socialised industry. It was the first to organise it according to Lenin's instructions. You know that this socialist competition has already produced brilliant results. As a consequence of the socialist competition, the cost of production has already been lowered, the quality of the output has been considerably improved, the influence of the League among young workers employed in factories has grown, wide sections of the non-Party youth are being drawn into the shock brigades which are to give an impetus to our socialist production.

Side by side with this, the League fought bureaucracy. It organised "light cavalry" detachments which helped our Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, the Party and Soviet organs to fight this evil. These "light cavalry" detachments have achieved great results and have helped to raise the activity of the League and of the mass of the working youth.

Thus, we have today in our Leninist Young Communist League a considerable increase of political activity and progress in all the domains such as the League has never known before. This entire activity the League is developing on the basis of the realisation of the Five-Year Plan, inclusion of the youth Leagues in the socialist Reconstruction in the building up in accordance with the Five Year Plan. This great work, these achievements of the League must become the common property of the whole C.C.I. We have not been popularising these achievements with sufficient energy. It is wrong when some comrades think that this experiment can only be applied in the Soviet Union, only under conditions of proletarian dictatorship. Such experiments are of incalculable value also to the Y.C.I. I remind you only of the competition slogan which has taken on also in the capitalist countries, because it is of enormous importance to our work in all countries. We do not only strengthen our influence by popularising the gains of the proletariat in the Soviet country, these gains help us to work better and fight better.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DECISIONS OF THE V WORLD CONGRESS OF THE Y. C. I.

Comrades, the resolution of the V World Congress which Com. Manuilsky has praised so much today, declares that, generally speaking, the position of the Y. C. I. is unsatisfactory. The resolution also went into the causes of this situation, it said that the line given by the II Congress was, on the whole, correct and should be pursued, but that a few corrections must be made with regard to it. These corrections were connected with the youthlike character of the work, the question of auxiliary organisations, reorganisation and work in the colonies.

The resolution demanded a decisive turn in the work of all Leagues and said that this turn consisted in every member being prepared for Bolshevik mass work in view of the big political problems which are confronting us. A whole series of further conclusions were drawn from this, and instructions were given. We must therefore say that the V Congress brought up the question of the position of the Y. C. I. and of the necessary turn, on the whole, correctly, and its decision was also correct, though some questions could not be raised with the same precision as now, after a whole year. This declaration is absolutely necessary, because it is the only correct way of bringing up questions connected with the turn. If there is therefore an inclination to detract from the importance of the V Congress in this respect or to deny it altogether, if comrades try to assert that it is the fault of the V Congress that the question of the turn was not brought up correctly, such attempts must certainly be energetically opposed.

In this respect, I have to argue against Com. Knittel, who spoke at the Congress of the German League and declared there that the V World Congress had not made clear the question of the turn. As a proof of this, he gave a quotation from the speech of "a comrade" made at a functionaries' meeting in Moscow concerning the results of the V World Congress. This was my speech.

As the affair appeared in the press, I have to take up this question. I have found the number of the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" which contains the report made by me to the functionaries of the Moscow Young Communist League on the results of the V World Congress. The newspaper is over a year old. It is a newspaper report and not a stenogram. Nevertheless, one can see by this report that Com. Knittel has not seen, or did not want to see this matter correctly.

I think that it is wrong to say that the V Congress did not bring up the questions of the turn correctly. It would be also wrong to say that there was a clear notion of all questions already at the V World Congress. It is perfectly clear that we have learned a great deal in the course of this year, and have seen many questions clearer than before. I am going to quote from my speech in which I gave, immediately after the World Congress, at the presidium session, an appraisal of the work of the World Congress. It has been published in the pamphlet "Why a Turn?" I take from it the following statement:

"... I consider it as one of our defects that we have not dealt with the necessary emphasis and clarity with the situation and tasks of our big Leagues."

"... Another defect which came to light at the World Congress, and which has detracted from its decisions, is the fact that we still know too little about the position of the working youth, and especially, about the position of the peasant youth. That is why our decisions are not precise enough and not thoroughly commensurate with the actual situation."

"... And not only that, for we have not a very clear idea also of the situation in the Leagues. I therefore think that the analysis which we gave in our decisions in the political resolution, though no doubt correct in general—I am convinced of this—is nevertheless inadequate. There are still points which we can develop only in the course of further activity, on the line of the World Congress, on the basis of the experiences which it has welded together. There is much to be retrieved. The analysis of the World Congress is, on the whole, correct but a considerable part of our decisions is inadequate."

I am giving this quotation to show that though we adopted a correct line at the World Congress and dealt with the question of the turn correctly from the political point of view,

we found immediately after the World Congress that our decisions regarding this question are inadequate and must be supplemented, that the analysis must be continued and must clear up points which have not been made quite clear.

What was the fate of the decisions of the V World Congress? One can say without exaggeration that not a single League has correctly interpreted the decisions of the Congress, not to mention that none of them made an attempt to carry them out. We heard from the representatives of a number of important Leagues expressions of opinion such as this: "The World Congress has not given us after all anything new." This was said in Germany by the representatives of the old Executive of the League, this was even said by some very good Polish comrades, this was also the view of many comrades in other Leagues who did not speak up because it is better not to say such things. Thus it happened that the decisions were hardly popularised at all among the members, and that they were not understood by the bulk of our members and functionaries.

We write a good many theses; they are usually very long but no one takes much heed of them afterwards. People generally forget all about them the day after they have been written. And yet, they should be acted upon, and we have to concentrate on this. Moreover, the bourgeoisie reads our decisions more assiduously than ourselves. In Germany, the decisions of the V World Congress were confiscated as soon as they were published. This shows that the bourgeoisie has read these decisions. But how many of our comrades in Germany and also in other countries have read them? The result was that the decisions were not understood and that the necessary premises for their application were not created.

## OUR NEW EXPERIENCES SINCE THE V WORLD CONGRESS.

Comrades, we have had many new experiences since the V World Congress which we must examine and make full use of at this Plenum. What are our most important experiences? First of all, we have had the experience in this period of the Right danger in the youth movement. We have certainly already spoken of Right dangers in the youth movement in the past, but only in general and the formulations of the World Congress were also on quite general lines. This year, since the V Congress, the Right dangers have been, so to speak, brought home to us, and we can speak about them much more clearly. We have made the acquaintance of open Right dangers, and also of opportunism, in practice. We must examine both phenomena, because this is one of the most important premises of a clear understanding of the question of the turn.

I will deal first of all with the open Right danger. What is the platform of the Right regarding youth questions? Such a platform exists already in a fairly definite form, and one must say that the Right elements are already stating their views with great clarity. It has become perfectly clear that there are programmatic differences between us and the Right. It is not an ordinary deviation, it is a whole theory diametrically opposed to our view of the role and tasks of the Communist youth movement.

The most important points of the conception of the Right regarding the youth question are:

(1) Their idea of the role of the Young Communist League differs from ours. They do not want the Y.C.L. to take upon itself leadership in the political and economic struggles of the working youth, they do not want the Y.C.L. to be the actual leader and organiser of the working youth. They are in favour of a cultural organisation with a slightly Communist complexion. The Right aims above all at the depoliticisation of the Y.C.L.

(2) They deny the radicalisation of the working youth and the effect of rationalisation on that youth, as we understand and see it.

(3) They are against the fighting forms and tactic applied by us. They are above all against fighting forms commensurate with the present situation. They are particularly against apprentices' participation in the struggles of the working class, against them being drawn into the general struggles.

(4) The Right elements are against the accentuation of our struggle against reformism, they are trying by every possible means to dispute the fact that social democracy and the S.A.Y. have developed into social fascism. They are

spreading all sorts of reformist illusions, and impede thereby the struggle against reformism.

(5) They are against the bolshevik system of work of the Y. C. L., they fail to understand the importance of work in factories and of the turn towards mass work.

(6) Finally, the Right elements are trying to set the Young Communist League against the Party as a hostile force. They dispute the leading role of the Party in the youth movement, and want at the same time to make use of the Y. C. L. in the struggle against the Party.

Such are the most important viewpoints and theories which the Right is publishing in its leaflets, and is advocating side by side with the general views of the Right renegades.

Another form of the Right danger in our midst is **opportunism in practice**. We should speak of opportunism in practice, and not of the "surreptitious" variety. In this respect, Comrade Manuilsky is quite right. After serious consideration, we have come to the conclusion that we must speak of opportunism in practice. When we speak of opportunism in practice, we must unfortunately admit that it is a widely spread phenomenon in our ranks, that it is an everyday occurrence in our organisations. One could almost say that it is the rule with us to vote for resolutions, to pay lip service to them, and do nothing or very little in practice to carry through these resolutions. **Fine words alone cannot of course help us. We must see deeds and must not shrink from calling those who do not carry through what they have themselves advocated, opportunists in practice.**

### THE CADRE PROBLEM IN THE Y. C. L.

In this respect, the situation in our ranks is very serious, and we must say above all that our cadres, our leading circles are strongly imbued with this practical opportunism. Here again I must say that this question was not fully understood by us at the V. World Congress. We saw the situation in a much more favourable light than was warranted. I will give you now by way of "self-criticism" a quotation from my speech. In my report at the V. World Congress I said:

"We can boast that we have been able in the meantime, as Y. C. L., to create strong executives in all Young Communist Leagues. More than that, in nearly all the Leagues new cadres of active workers and functionaries have developed."

Practice has shown that this was not so, that is was a superficial and therefore a wrong appraisal. Practice showed already in the first weeks after the World Congress that our cadres are anything but strong and reliable, that they are full of opportunist elements. The situation in our executive could also serve as an example of this.

Comrades, the question of our cadres is a political question. These cadres have, namely, developed under conditions of the second period. For years they have worked under conditions when class struggle was not as sharp as now, when no big class struggles took place, when the working class was on the defensive and capitalism on the offensive. They have forgotten how to apply an offensive Communist tactic.

**In this period opportunist and conservative elements have been filling our functionary cadres, and we must get rid of these elements as quickly as possible.** We must therefore look upon this question as a political question. These cadres cannot cope with the sharper situation which has arisen, neither can we rely on them when it comes to decisive struggles.

There are comrades who dispute the fact that we have social democratic traditions in our organisations. But unfortunately it is a fact that social democratic traditions are very strong also in YCL's. Firstly, we have taken over these traditions from the old Young Socialist Leagues. The people are different, but traditions go from one generation to the other. This is not only a question of human material, but of inherited habits in the work we are doing. On the other hand, our comrades are working under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, in an environment of bourgeois and social democratic youth and Party organisations, trade unions and sport organisations. It is from them that our comrades take over methods of work, they think that the Young Communist League can work in the same manner as a social democratic organisation. But this is a serious mistake. It comes home to roost because we cannot possibly make any progress with such methods of work, with these traditions which are very strong among us. We

have allowed our cadres to work and do as they like, we have not interfered with them. But we must develop ideological ruthlessness with regard to them. **Ruthlessness is a fine Bolshevik virtue. We need it in the youth movement just as much as in the Party, and we can educate our youth only in the spirit of this ruthlessness.** We can therefore not say that our chief problem is that of education, that we must educate and persuade the cadres and not replace them immediately by others. True, we are an educational organisation, but our leading functionaries are certainly those who have to educate, they are the pedagogues and not those who have to be educated.

They have to educate the masses, the mass of the members and the wide masses of the working youth, and if we deal with these people who have to educate only from the educational standpoint, we will not get very far, we will suffer shipwreck with these cadres. Comrade Manuilsky thought that we should decide here on a whole series of definite organisational measures regarding the carrying through of the turn, and that we should actually carry it through, instead of passing resolutions. But who is to carry out these decisions, these "organisational measures"? The cadres which are at our disposal today, are not able to do so. Unfortunately, this is so not because they do not understand us and have not understood what tasks are to be carried through — this we can explain to them —, but there are elements who do not want to understand, who cannot understand because they have already sunk too deep into the opportunist morass. Perhaps if they could be transferred to the Party, they would develop on healthier lines. If they were perhaps removed from responsible functions they could acquire a Communist "rejuvenation". But we cannot do with them as leaders, they are no longer of any use to us as props and pillars of our movement.

As I have already said we can see that the question of our cadres is much more serious than we had an inkling of at the V. Congress. This is one of the most important lessons which we must draw from this year's experiences. This year, we have learned to know our Leagues much better than ever before. When taking into consideration the entire position of the Leagues, we must also come to the conclusion that our situation is much more serious than we thought. It is more serious, because our political tasks have grown, and the political situation has become much sharper.

We have also learned to formulate questions of detail better than before. We understand them better. Let us take, for instance the **fluctuation question**. The idea prevailed for a time that fluctuation is a special problem in the youth movement which must be healed by means of special prescriptions. Now, everyone understands that the problem of fluctuation is a problem concerned with our entire work. It is not only a question of new methods or something of that sort, it is a question of the whole turn in the work, the activation of all members on the basis of the new line.

I am coming now to another question. We spoke formerly a great deal about disproportion between our organisational strength and our political influence. We said that our influence is much greater than our organisational strength and that this is an evil which has to be remedied. Now we can see that the question must be considered from quite another viewpoint. **We have ascertained a much greater disproportion between the activity of our leagues and that of the masses,** between our influence and the struggle of the masses, between the tasks confronting us and the actual performance of the Leagues. This difference is much more considerable than the other, and it is on this that we must concentrate our attention, though we must not of course ignore the fact that we are not consolidating organisationally the whole of our political influence.

**Re the question of "new methods".** This question was also not made quite clear at the V. World Congress. One cannot, of course, say it was raised incorrectly; the decisions do not contain wrong formulations. But we have failed to see with the necessary clearness the connection which exists between the various questions. There was an idea that the new methods are a panacea for all evils, that our work can be improved simply by using such methods, that the new methods are, so to speak, already the turn. Today we can see that the new methods are only a component part of the turn in our work.

In this connection, we must consider the question of the

relation between politics and culture. Are we against cultural work in general? No, we are for it. We want our Leagues to do a certain amount of cultural work, in order to promote culture among the mass of the working youth, but **this work must not be allowed to take the upper hand in the organisation.** And yet, this cultural work is taking at present first place in our legal Leagues. Most of their activity is not devoted to political and economic questions, not to leadership of the masses of young workers in factories and mass organisations, but to the organisation of lectures, rambles, social evenings, sport, games, etc. This is a fact. There are of course Leagues where even this is not done. There are organisations which rest content with meeting once a month, listening to an administrative-technical report and going home. This is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. But in most of our Leagues, cultural work takes the upper hand. **We must put into practice the thesis that the Young Communist League is a political organisation which has to turn its attention above all to political and economic questions and has to carry on also cultural work but only in connection with and in support of the political work.** At the World Congress, Com. Leibrand, the reporter, dealt with this question as follows: the young worker who comes to us does not only demand representation of his political and economic interests, but also entertainment, sport, games and dancing, and we have to reckon with this demand. I think that this is a wrong way of dealing with this question. One cannot place these things on the same level. The young worker comes to us because the Young Communist League defends his class interests, because it conducts political and economic struggles. In the process of our militant work, for its better development and for a better coordination of the mass of young workers who are under our leadership, we must also apply cultural methods of work.

We are not going to dispute the necessity of such methods. But they must not take the upper hand. There is however, a tendency to give them first place. This is what I wanted to say regarding our experiences since the V. World Congress.

#### WHY WAS THE TURN NOT CARRIED THROUGH AFTER THE V. CONGRESS?

When we examine the present situation in the Y. C. I. from this viewpoint, we can see much clearer the reasons of our present shortcomings with regard to the turn. Why has the Y. C. I. not carried through the turn towards mass work? Because we **do not apply the line of the Party for which we vote and stand up with sufficient energy in the youth movement itself.** This shows that the mass of our members have not yet understood the Party line, that we have still many functionaries who do not understand the line and do not want to apply it. This shows also that the social composition of our membership is unsatisfactory. We are still recruiting our members mostly in small and medium factories. In some countries, there is also a strong petty bourgeois percentage among the new recruits. Such is the case in Czechoslovakia and the United States where petty bourgeois elements constitute 30 — 40 % of our movement. What form does the failure to understand the Party line take in the youth movement? It takes the form of **failure to understand the role of the Young Communist League, of fear of mass work, of attaching more importance to propaganda than to militant work.** In the best case, the Leagues are content with general propaganda, they have not yet learned to develop this propaganda into mass struggles. In legal countries it takes the form of cultural work taking the upper hand. The failure to understand the Party line takes also the form of failure to understand the role of our opponents, of not paying sufficient attention to the social democratic youth.

It takes also the form of considerable sections, if not the majority, of our members, considering for the time being the Y. C. L. as an aim in itself. There is an inclination to think that one has done one's duty if one attends meetings from time to time (and even that not every assiduously) and if one participates in the general demonstrations of the League and the Party. There is failure to understand that a **Communist is only worthy of his name if he works among the masses as a Communist.** We have not yet reached this point in the Leagues. We cannot yet call them fighting organisations in this sense, they are merely "leisure" organisations. Instead of working and fighting at the place of employment, they are "organisations after work", namely, leisure organisations.

**Absence of a Communist youth policy** is another form which the failure to understand the Party line takes. The only justification of the existence of the Young Communist League is — when, apart from the general work under the slogans of the Party, it makes itself responsible for definite youth work with regard to the special interests and demands of young workers in the political, economic and cultural domain. But we still find in the Young Communist Leagues, at least in most of them, repetition of Party slogans and no special youth policy. Lack of proper understanding leads also to the retention of the old system of work. The Leagues work mostly on the old basis. Their work does not go deep enough, it is superficial. They do not study the processes which go on in the ranks of the working youth. **The factory is not the centre of their work.** **Self-criticism** is not yet applied in the Leagues as a regular, method of work which would help them to get rid of their shortcomings. Leadership in our Leagues is unsatisfactory all through. The cadres are very narrow and are full of useless elements. Such are the main points regarding the failure to understand the Party line. This being so, the Leagues are unable to pursue the Party line correctly. Comrades, I must mention, last not least, that we get no help or support from the Parties. The Comintern is beginning to show more interest in the Y. C. I. This is to be welcomed. But it would have been better if this increased interest in us had been shown already at the V World Congress.

It is due to this situation that we experience great difficulties, and even a crisis in some of our Sections, and that there is also the danger of a general crisis in the Y. C. I. Sections in capitalist countries, unless something is done quickly.

And now the question.

#### WHAT DO WE MEAN BY TURN?

How do we formulate now the question of the turn? In the spirit of the decisions of the V. World Congress and on the basis of recent experiences, we say that **the turn means the way to the capture of the majority of the working youth the application of the new offensive-tactic of the Comintern to the youth, the realisation of the leading role of the Young Communist League with regard to the working youth, an end to sectarianism and work on purely social and cultural lines which prevails now in our leagues, an end to khvostism, lagging behind the political development. The turn means a "big factory" and "mass organisation" orientation, accentuation of our struggle for the youth and against all opponent organisations.**

What does the turn mean in practice? Firstly, Y. C. I. fight in its own ranks for the line of the Party, guarantee of the Party line in the Young Communist League, and realisation of the leading role of the Party within the Y. C. I. Hence, the necessity of ruthless struggle against all Right and Left deviations, and expulsion from our staff of functionaries who are bearers of such dangers.

Secondly, the turn demands development of a broad Communist youth policy, i. e. defence of the interests of the working youth in all domains, and leadership of its struggles.

Thirdly, the turn demands a fundamental change in the whole system of work of our Leagues. The premise for the carrying through of the turn is self-criticism on a large scale, self-criticism of the masses, including also the unorganised. We have certainly made a beginning with self-criticism, but it proceeded mainly from the top. We must have self-criticism from below.

By giving this formulation to questions connected with the turn, we can see that such formulation is of course much more precise than the formulation of the V. World Congress, and that these questions must be formulated as political questions and not as a limited organisational problem. We must energetically oppose all attempts to distort the question of the turn and its character. Such attempts are being made where the turn is considered from a narrow organisational standpoint. This has been already the case among us. For instance, **Comrade Gorkic**, has made quite a reputation for himself in this respect in our Sections. **He has made use of such formulae and has written articles expressing wrong views concerning the turn.** Comrade Gorkic is certainly denying this fact, but one has only to read his articles to see that it is, or at least was, really the case. I will give you a few quotations from these articles. First of all, a paragraph from the article where

Com. Gorkic is supposed to try to explain the political importance of the turn:

"The turn is above all a change in the methods and system of work of our organisation from the top to the bottom. But this is not the only meaning nor the only important point of the turn, because the turn is also a pre-eminently political question. To put the turn into practice in the work of our Leagues, we must understand its political meaning."

This formulation too is wrong, because it says that the turn is above all a question of the system of work, and that it is also a political question. As if the question of the system of work is not a political question, and as if the question of the system of work could be separated from the political questions. But how does Com. Gorkic explain the political meaning of the turn? He says:

"The turn is the most important component part of the preparation of the Young Communist Leagues for the forthcoming decisive struggles. Its political importance and meaning lie precisely in this."

This too is wrong. The turn is not the most important component for the preparation of the decisive struggles, but the preparation. There can be no other outside it. The turn includes all political tasks which are confronting us now in the third period. Com Gorkic goes on to say:

"There is not and cannot be a formula of the turn which could be correct and appropriate everywhere."

This too is of course also wrong. We can and must give and are giving a general formulation regarding the turn. We will lay it down with the utmost clarity at this Plenum. Then he says that one can nevertheless indicate a few of the most important points of this turn, and formulates:

"The four most important and indissoluble component parts of the turn in all Leagues are:

1. Initiation of serious self-criticism on a large scale which must permeate the whole organism of our Leagues from top to bottom and must divulge all weak points, shortcomings and mistakes.

2. Bona fide inclusion of the whole rank and file of the Party into the direct mass work of the League . . .

3. Substitution of inadequate leadership based on mass production of general circular letters by adequate energetic leadership . . .

4. Reorganisation of the Leagues on a factory nucleus basis and a genuine course towards the capture of big enterprises."

Thus, only the points of self-criticism, activation of members, adequate leadership of factory nuclei. The class struggle of the working youth is left out entirely. Where is it in this formulation? Where is the struggle of the working youth for its own demands? And where is the struggle for the Party line? We must therefore say that such a formulation of the turn, when published in a responsible article which bears the title "The Turn", an article written in our ranks on the basis of the reports of the Leagues, is wrong and must be repudiated. This is a non-political opportunist conception of the turn, because it leads the Leagues to depolitisation, and Com. Gorki has made this error even more serious by taking up a politically wrong attitude also to the cadre question. He said:

"We witness in the Young Communist Leagues the development of the process of a serious preparation for the decisive struggles in other forms than those adopted in the Communist Parties. Without going into all the peculiarities of this process, we must however draw attention to the most important: while the cleaning process in the Communist Parties means, as a rule, not only application of the new tactic (economic struggles, struggle against reformists, class against class, election tactic, etc.), but above all also elimination of all elements who impede the carrying through of this turn, this process consists in the Young Communist Leagues mostly in a fundamental change of the system of work."

Thus, a change of the system of work, and no change of people. He has done with the whole question by changing the system. But who is to change the system? How are the

people who have worked on wrong lines in the past, capable of changing this system of work? This question is not answered. Comrade Gorkic's wrong formulation was justly repudiated by our comrades in the Leagues. It has also been repudiated in our presidium. Though Comrade Gorkic has declared at the last session of our presidium that he admits that these formulations were wrong, he has not dissociated himself with sufficient clarity from his former mistakes. He has still been trying to find excuses for these formulations, has given all sorts of reasons for bringing forward these formulations among others, and his statement in the presidium cannot be therefore considered satisfactory.

In this explanation he has even gone to the other extreme. He said that we must of course have a cleaning of our cadres, and even more than that, also a cleaning of our membership ranks. We must remove elements who indulge in opportunist practice not only from the functionary staff but also from the organisation. We do not agree with this. We cannot possibly look upon the Young Communist League as an elite organisation which consists only of hundred percent Communists. True, the composition of our Leagues is unsatisfactory, and we absolutely must replenish our ranks from the big enterprises. But there are and are bound to be also in future many elements in our ranks with no clear political views who have to be educated to political clarity; only stupid incorrigible opportunists and decidedly Right elements must be removed, whereas the whole membership requires no cleaning process. For this reason, we must condemn Com. Gorkic's mistakes, and discuss them here freely. This does not mean a charge of opportunism against Com. Gorkic. I am against Gorkic-baiting, against him being represented as the leader of all opportunist elements in the Y.C.L. He has still full opportunity to make good his mistakes, especially at this Plenum. But as Com. Gorkic is one of the leading comrades in the Y.C.L., his mistakes are all the more serious, and that is why they were so severely condemned by our Leagues. A similar mistake cropped up also in a proposal of the old C.C. of the German League which was laid before the XI. Congress of the League, where it was clearly said that the whole matter is only a question of the system of work. We had therefore to refuse to have anything to do with these theses.

But there is also another form of misinterpreting the turn. We have seen this in Czechoslovakia. An artificial attempt was made there to set the political side of the turn against the organisational side. It was said that the most important side of the turn is the political, that the organisational is bound to come, and because the Y.C.I. had not said so in the resolution, the then majority of the bureau of the Czech C.C. opposed our resolution. This is also wrong, and we could not allow the political side to be separated from the organisational, for the organisational measures too have a very definite political meaning, and the turn cannot be carried through without them.

If we give a general formula of the change, this does not mean that the turn will be carried through in the same manner in all the Leagues. The carrying through of the turn will assume different forms according to the position of and situation in the individual organisations, but the character of the turn remains the same in all Leagues.

### THE DISCUSSION ON THE TURN.

Comrades, I will deal now briefly with the discussion which has taken place regarding the turn. We laid great emphasis on this question after we had invited the most important European Leagues to report on their work to the presidium. We could judge by the reports that an unsatisfactory situation exists in all the Leagues, and that a fundamental change seems necessary. We had to say that our Sections had not understood the meaning of the decisions of the V. Congress regarding the turn. Resolutions to this effect were passed by us. This was the beginning of the discussion on the turn. A certain development has been gone through by us since then. We have discussed this question several times in the Executive. We had a full discussion of it in the presidium at the time of the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Points of view were made clear in the course of it. Then the discussion was transferred to the Leagues. But not much has been done there as yet.

In this respect, we have done best in Germany. The German Leagues has made up its mind to get rid of the old

executive which was quite bankrupt politically, as well as regarding youth work. The XI. Congress of the German League in September 1929, passed unanimously a non-confidence vote against the old executive, appointed a new executive which enjoys our full confidence and is willing to carry out the line of the Y.C.I. and the Party. We welcome this change in the League and have done our share towards the acceleration of this change.

The Congress of the German League was not only a success for the German League but for the whole Y.C.I., and its enormous international importance consists in the fact that the question of the turn was very fully discussed there and was made much clearer than before. The Congress of the German League has helped us to bring up many questions clearly and sharply, and it has shown, through the removal of the old executive how one must act and what premises must be created, if the turn is to be really accomplished. Therefore, the new Central Committee appointed by this congress has the full confidence of the executive. We want to support it by every possible means for we are doubly interested here, not only from the standpoint of the German League and its further development, but also because the efforts of the German League to put the turn into practice will be of enormous international importance. It is therefore incumbent on us to help this new C.C. Does this mean that we will ignore or not criticise the weak points and mistakes of this C.C.? Certainly not. We think, on the contrary, that self-criticism on our part regarding the C.C. of the German League is essential, and that only such self-criticism can help the German League and its Central Committee.

The C.C. of the German League has difficult tasks to fulfil, it has great responsibilities. It cannot do justice to its tasks, unless it exercises severe self-criticism in its own ranks, unless it shows up ruthlessly its own shortcomings and those of the League, and unless it works in close contact and agreement with the Y.C.I. It must therefore remove all obstacles which could interfere with the development of self-criticism, it must nip such moods in the bud and must work in full agreement with the E.C.Y.C.I.

Comrades, as I have already said, we have created in Germany — at least as far as the C.C. of the League is concerned — the premises for the carrying through of the turn. That there too a big struggle is in store for us in the whole cadre of the League, in everyone of its organisations, is a matter of course. But in other countries we have, unfortunately, not yet reached this stage, for instance, in France. The proceedings at the last French Congress were quite unsatisfactory, not to mention that the Congress was very badly organised and conducted. The French comrades have exhibited in this respect the classical inability to work under conditions of sharp reaction. But also in the political sphere, deviations have made their appearance. Apart from legalist conceptions, of which I have already spoken here, some French comrades thought that in France the turn means mainly struggle for legality. Such a formula is certainly indicative of a total failure to understand what is going on. It shows that in France the question of the turn will have to be thoroughly explained.

Much more still will have to be done in **Great Britain**, to arrive at clarity there. The British League is confronted with enormous tasks. Our situation there is particularly difficult because the Party is going through a crisis, because it has not yet been able to adopt fully the tactic of the Comintern. Our League must develop an enormous political activity, must fight the political errors of the Party, and must help it to remedy its mistakes and to develop mass work. This the League can only do, if it applies in its own ranks the correct line of the Y.C.I. and Comintern. Unfortunately, this has not been hitherto the case: our British League has been conspicuous by all-round inertia. It has been politically inactive, very remiss regarding its organisational work, with the result that it has lost since the V. World Congress nearly all its members. This was also due to the fact that leadership in the British League, political and organisational alike, has been hitherto very inadequate in every respect. If we want to bring about a turn in the League, we must — apart from dealing continually with questions connected with the turn in the League and apart from strengthening its activity regarding

Party questions — also strengthen and renovate the leadership of the League, so as to enable it to do justice to the tasks which are confronting it.

I am speaking about the three Leagues, about which not enough was said at the V. World Congress. I think that we must speak about these Leagues above all, because they are the most important of our legal Leagues.

The discussion on the turn is only beginning. It must be continued, and we have not said the last word in this discussion by far, though we have already reached a stage in the development of this discussion when we can give a clear formulation of the general question of the change. However, it is not yet quite clear how the turn is to be brought about, and we must discuss very energetically these questions in every League.

### THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Comrades, we have been able to report progress in the work of the Executive since the V. World Congress. Firstly, it is a fact that our executive has been united politically. There may have been vacillations and doubts among some comrades, but the presidium as a whole was united and has energetically supported the Comintern line. But up and above this, regarding youth questions, we have shown, as an executive, that we have taken the decisions of the V. World Congress seriously, that we have not treated them merely as a scrap of paper, as this has been the case in the Leagues. We have taken the initiative in bringing the question of the turn to the notice of all Leagues, and that very forcibly. The initiative regarding the turn, and the discussion came from the Executive, and we can and must record this here, as it is our most important achievement in this period.

We have also made some progress in the practical activity of the executive. We have made use of a few new forms, as, for instance, reports from the Leagues through specially invited delegations. This was not the custom formerly. These reports have proved a brilliant success, they are an excellent means of giving international leadership a concrete form, of giving a direct lead to the Leagues. We have organised international departmental conferences. They were not always successful, but they have after all given us something. As a method, they have certainly proved useful. We have also applied for the first time practical instructing. We have established for the first time an international school, and on the strength of the experience with this school, we can say that it is proving satisfactory.

But have we already made enough progress in our work? Certainly not. There are still many weak points in the work of the executive committee which we must certainly expose. We still do not know our Leagues sufficiently, our leadership of the Leagues is frequently not concrete enough and much too general. The work done in the Executive is frequently superficial. We do not go deeply enough and with sufficient earnestness into individual questions. In this respect, our work is not thorough enough. The experiences of the various Leagues are not sufficiently coordinated and utilised for the entire Y.C.I. We have not sufficiently encouraged the development of new forces, and we do want them if there is to be an improvement in our work. Finally, we must say that the apparatus of the Executive is still working very inadequately, it is still very clumsy and much remains to be done if it is to be improved. We must admit these shortcomings of ours, and their removal is one of the premises for the realisation of the turn.

### THE TURN IN PRACTICE.

Comrades, I am coming now to a part of my report which I would like to call the "turn in practice". I think that at this Plenum we must speak not only about the historical process of the turn, about its general significance and meaning, we must also try to indicate **practical ways** for the realisation of this turn. I cannot speak within the framework of my report on all questions, or even on the most important, in great detail. I must limit myself to a general exposition of our tasks. This is due to the fact that we have not yet sufficient practical experience to speak about all questions as concretely as the situation requires.

The first point is the

# **STRUGGLE FOR THE LINE OF THE PARTY IN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND LEADERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE BY THE PARTY.**

To us it goes without saying that our entire work must be carried on on the basis of the line laid down by the Comintern, especially on the line of the X. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., that we shall have to adapt our whole work and tactic to the present period, the period of revolutionary revival, of the beginning of the offensive of the working class, of organisation of its political mass struggles, the period of accentuated struggle against the Right danger and all deviations in our ranks, the period when our Parties have come to the stage when they will have to capture the majority of the working class.

We, as Y. C. L.'s, must capture within the framework of this general struggle of the Communist Parties the majority of the working youth and the mass of the peasant youth. **We can do justice to this task only as a political fighting organisation.** We must therefore maintain the political character of our organisation, and must endeavour to strengthen and develop the political activity of our Leagues. I think that in this connection it is essential to give a definition of "political activity". This question is frequently misunderstood, and even in international decision there have been erroneous definitions in this respect. For instance the **IV. World Congress of the Y. C. I.** formulated this question as follows: the political activity of the Y. C. L. consists of 1. in participation in the Party life, 2. in participation in the general struggles of the working class, 3. political educational work.

It is clear to us that this formulation is not correct. Firstly, educational work is not part of the political activity. It is certainly connected with it, but is not the expression of political activity. Secondly, the struggle of the working youth is entirely left out. But is it possible to look upon political activity as a separate task? It is certainly not a special and separate task of the Young Communist League. Political activity is the character and meaning of its whole work. This is the meaning of its right to exist, and if this is to be the character of our entire activity, it is clear that we must divide the political activity into the following three points: **1. Participation in the general struggles of the working class; 2. Participation in Party life, in the development within the Party; 3. Leadership of the struggle of the working youth, representation of its interests in all domains and realisation of the leading role of the Y. C. L. in regard to it.** These three points constitute "political activity". If we give this definition to political activity, and look upon its steady development as the most important task of our Leagues, we must endeavour to rouse the whole membership for this purpose. We must not have a repetition of the state of affairs in Great Britain and Czechoslovakia where the Leagues did not take an interest in the position of the Party. Neither must there be a repetition of what has been going on in most countries.—that only a small number of functionaries paid attention to Party questions. All the members must be drawn into the discussion, the problems of the development of the Party must be brought to the notice of the whole membership. Up and above this, we must make clear the connection between the development of the Party and that of the Young Communist League, between the Party and the Y. C. L. line. We must give prominence to the role of the League in the solution of Party tasks. **We must fight Right as well as so-called "Left" deviations which make their appearance in the Y. C. L.,** regardless if they show themselves openly or take the form of opportunism in practice. In our struggle against these deviations, we must follow the same line as in the struggle against the deviations in the Party. Insofar as they are represented by certain functionaries, these functionaries must be removed from their posts and replaced by new fresh elements. **Following a politically wrong line cannot help leading to removal from the ranks of the League.**

It is in this connection, that the problem of leadership of the Youth League through the Party must be raised. In this respect, the situation was hitherto very unsatisfactory. I have already said on various occasions that the Party and also the Comintern have paid hitherto very little attention to us. There was no regular connection, no interest in the Parties, and no leadership on their part. The Young Communist League was frequently made use of for unimportant tasks, it was frequently misused for opportunist purposes of some fraction or group in the Party.

We witness frequently in the Parties, especially on the part of their opportunist elements, a lack of understanding regarding the role of the Young Communist League, a depoliticisation tendency regarding the Y. C. L., because they do not want it to be too active in the political domain. We also sometimes witness a criminal neglect of the Young Communist League by the Party. A classical example is France which Comrade Manuilsky has already mentioned. We must, however, admit that there have been lately signs of improvement in this direction. The Comintern is beginning to show more interest in the Y. C. I.

With regard to the last Congress of the German League, and the recent development in its ranks, the German Party has shown great interest in the League. It sent a very authoritative delegation to the Congress of the League, and members of the C. C. of the Party are now paying full and serious attention to Y. C. L. questions. This is certainly a great step forward. But we must see that other Parties should follow suit, that they should take upon themselves leadership in the domain of youth work. The principle laid down in our programme that the Party is to lead the Y. C. L. was not adhered to anywhere except in the Soviet Union. But we must make a beginning with this, because the development of the class struggle makes it absolutely necessary, and the development of the Young Communist League is impossible without energetic support on the part of the Party. Party organisations must establish a **regular connection** with the Y. C. L., must exercise continuous control over its work. They must supervise and guide the work of the Y. C. L. through mutual representation and regular reports by the representatives of the Y. C. L. in the Party organisation. **Support of the Y. C. L. must be thorough, must extend to all its organisations.** It is of paramount importance that Party functionaries should make use of their positions in the factories and trade unions for the development of youth work. It is for instance usual in the Soviet Union to instruct a certain number of members in every Party organisation, in the nucleus, to keep in regular contact with the youth organisation, to supervise and support its work. Efforts should be made to do this also in other countries.

Finally, we have the question of the **Party nucleus in the Youth League.** At present this nucleus is very narrow, and sometimes there is none at all, which means that the number of Party members in the Y. C. L. is very small, and that these comrades are not coordinated and led through the Party. On an average, the Party nucleus constitutes not more than 3—5%. And yet, it is after all the main channel of influencing the Y. C. L. (on the part of the Party), and we must see that at least all our functionaries should join the Party and should work as Party representatives in the Y. C. L. The situation is, of course, different in illegal countries. It is, as a rule, impossible there for comrades to be organised in two organisations at the same time. Conspirative considerations are against this. But also in illegal countries it can be managed that functionaries of the Y. C. L. keep in some way or other in touch with the Party. The work they are doing is practically Party work, and they must be led and controlled as Party members. It is also essential to organise more efficiently **transference of Y. C. L. members to the Party.**

The transferences to the Party must be organised regularly. This will also help to make our work more youthlike, because we will give up old functionaries who are impeding the development of the youth, who are not longer able to work in a youthlike manner.

The second chapter is

## **OUR ECONOMIC MILITANT WORK.**

For our economic militant work in the present period, we must have above all a **programme of militant demands against capitalist rationalisation.** We must admit that for the time being we do not have such a programme either on an international or a national scale. We have certainly a few demands, for instance, regarding intervals or reduced rapidity of the conveyor, etc. But we have not yet worked out concretely enough demands against capitalist rationalisation. We must also bring forward demands regarding vocational training of the youth, inclusion of apprentices in economic struggles apprentices' right to have their say regarding the regulation of apprenticeship conditions. Regarding economic work, the

main thing is **genuine leadership** in young workers' struggles, **genuine leadership** especially during strikes. Hitherto our leadership was usually limited to issuing a strike manifesto or distributing leaflets. But this is merely journalistic-propagandist activity, we must make up our minds to become the real leaders of young workers' struggles. We must make full use of the concentration of the youth in certain industries and factory departments.\* We must apply the offensive-tactic, we must make clear to young workers the connection between their demands and the demands of the whole working class. Hereby we will be able to develop young workers' small partial struggles into political struggles, and we must get all the workers to support these struggles. We must link up these struggles of the youth with the struggles of the unemployed and the dismissed adult workers whose places have been taken by young workers. When the struggle is over, we must keep up the connection with the young workers who were under our influence during the struggle.

What **fighting forms** must we apply? There is first of all the **young workers' committee of action** which we must elect during the struggle and which, in contact with the general fighting organ of the workers, must lead the special struggles of the youth. Committees of action must be elected on the broadest possible basis, namely, at young workers' factory meetings and conferences. But this is only for the duration of the struggles. For the organisation and proper utilisation of the struggles, as well as for regular work in the factories, we must have a **permanent body of youth delegates in the factories**. Through them organised and also unorganised young workers will have to be influenced and coordinated. These youth delegates must also be elected at the general young workers' factory meetings, they must be regularly coordinated and must have a committee of action. These delegates must become the most important basis of our work in the factories. Also in our trade union work we must, as we have already often said, make these delegates the basis of **youth sections in the trade unions**. To achieve this, these delegates must be active in the unions, they must go to the trade union youth sections and demand their reorganisation in accordance with the demands of the mass of young workers in the factories. We must demand that the youth delegates, insofar as they are members of trade unions, be recognised by the latter as their representatives, and we must endeavour to get all youth delegates into the unions, in order to strengthen the revolutionary opposition. If we succeed in forming youth sections in trade unions, they must work on a factory delegates basis, otherwise they will not be fighting organs, but will degenerate into educational leagues. The object of such work in the unions is the **formation of a revolutionary trade union youth opposition**. It must have its basis in the factories. One must have material support for such extensive work by the delegates. It will be therefore quite all right for delegates to take up collections in the factories and establish factory funds, as proposed by the German comrades in order to finance the work of the delegates. It is not at all out of the question that under certain conditions special economic youth organisations will spring up on the basis of such a delegate system. This will be necessary wherever young workers are not allowed to join trade unions, or in places where trade unions do not exist. In such cases, a more solid form of coordination will be necessary for the youth. Thus, they would be one of the auxiliary forms for the work of the Y. C. L.

### ANTI-MILITARIST WORK.

It must be generally admitted that this question is entirely under-estimated by our Leagues. In the present period of acute war danger, war against imperialist war must be our chief concern. One can say that not a single League is doing serious anti-militarist work. Not even in France which some time ago was setting an example to other Leagues in this respect.

Much is yet to be done in this domain. This work must be conducted as a **big mass action**. We have made such an attempt, we have made a beginning with this work in the Anti-Imperialist League, and have tried to establish relations with organisations which pretend to fight against war. The Youth Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League was a failure because it was badly organised, because the Leagues have entirely underestimated the importance of this work and also

because certain political mistakes were made in connection with the organisation of this congress. Nothing was done in the colonies to produce a mass movement for this congress. But in spite of this failure, we must continue working in the League and establish youth secretariats and sections in the various countries. As I have already said, we must continue this work with and in the League, but must avoid a repetition of the old mistakes, in order to prevent the League becoming a leader-organisation.

We must of course negotiate with the pacifists, because this is necessary for their exposure before the masses. The strength of these organisations does not matter so much as the fact that pacifism is still firmly established among the working youth. If we want to expose the pacifists, we must have intercourse and arguments with them. This does not go against Communist principles. But we must, above all, endeavour to create for this anti-imperialist movement an atmosphere and basis among the masses, to call anti-imperialist conferences on the basis of the factories and mass organisations of the workers, to form anti-imperialist committees and committees of action also based on a **genuine mass movement** and not in the form of a body of leaders.

With regard to special work in the imperialist armies and navies, it has been very inadequate indeed. It generally happens that the Communist is lost to us when he enters the army. And yet as a Communist, he should do his duty also in the army. Finally we have to penetrate also into military youth organisations established by the bourgeoisie, organisations of preliminary military training, fascist and semi-fascist organisations, because considerable numbers of youngsters are organised there, and because we have to work there, in order to disintegrate and break up these organisations from inside.

It is in this connection that we must also look upon **work in the war industry**. The enterprises of the war industry play a very important role for the bourgeoisie, this is one of their sorest spots, but we have not done anything in these enterprises and have no footing there.

### WORK IN OPPONENT AND NON-PARTY MASS ORGANISATIONS.

We declared already at the V World Congress that this work is neglected, and since then the state of affairs, far from improving, has become worse. Work against and in the socialist youth organisations, in trade unions and sport organisations, in fact, everywhere our activity is very inadequate. But as I have already said, we have in this domain splendid opportunities, in view of the radicalisation of the masses, for the development of a labour opposition, a young workers' opposition in these organisations. We must take up this work energetically and by all possible means. Our work must be directed against state youth welfare, against the militarisation and fascisation of the youth which goes on in various forms, against the depoliticisation of social youth work and against S. A. J. influence in the mass organisation of the proletariat. **This work must be mass work, and should not devolve on individual comrades put in charge of this work.** It frequently happens that we are supporting an opposition which is only directed against the leaders, and not against the organisation as such. This sort of thing must stop. We must fully support the labour opposition in such opponent organisations, but we also must imbue it with a correct ideology of revolutionary struggle, which is just the opposite of what its own organisation advocates and does. This work cannot be successful unless we have our own fractions in these organisations.

We must pay special attention to **sport organisations which coordinate hundreds of thousands and even millions of young workers**, and in which there is great scope for our work.

### THE QUESTION OF MASS ORGANISATIONS.

We have been talking a great deal on this subject since the V. World Congress, but what has been done to build up such organisations? What auxiliary organisations are there? There are not many. But the **question of auxiliary organisations is a decisive question for us**. We must understand that under capitalist conditions not every youngster will come direct to the Young Communist League. We know that work in the Y. C. L. demands privations and sacrifices, that it requires a fairly high degree of class consciousness. Till a young person

has reached this stage, he or she must go through certain stages of development, and for this purpose we must have broad organisations which can serve as a reservoir for the Y. C. L., in which young people are coordinated on a more primitive basis.

Through these organisations, we can exercise our influence over the mass of the working youth and can bring it into the League. We must therefore break down the conservatism which still exists in our ranks regarding auxiliary organisations. We must not be afraid of them becoming rivals of the Y. C. L.

### THE QUESTION OF FACTORY NUCLEUS WORK.

We have already declared that the work of factory nuclei has been very unsatisfactory and has still more retrogressed in the last year. The existing factory nuclei are anything but satisfactory. That is why we have to reorganise maximum attention, must devote our best forces and most of our time to them. **Certainly, the main thing is that the factory nucleus exercises real influence over the young workers employed there and organises their struggles. It must formulate and popularise the demands of the young workers and must represent their interests.**

With this object in view, we must also draw on the experiences which we have already had in our factory nuclei. Firstly, we must understand that **factory nuclei must be always illegal, even in the legal countries.** On the other hand, they must not be illegal to the extent that no one knows of their existence. They must exercise a leading influence on the youth through their agitation, above all through the factory newspapers which must be published. In aid of this they can also apply certain auxiliary forms, formation of legal circles or societies in the factories. We must also be able to coordinate the young workers who come to us, and above all, to keep them in our ranks. We have frequently seen that we could not keep these young people with us owing to the inactivity of the factory nuclei.

Comrades, I will deal now with three important spheres of work which we have hitherto neglected. This is first of all

### WORK IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

What work have we done hitherto, as Young Communist Leagues, in the rural districts? Hardly any. A few attempts in this direction have been made in our Polish, Bulgarian and Chinese Leagues. There have been enough resolutions on this subject, but they were not acted upon. We must make a serious beginning with work in rural districts, especially among agricultural labourers and the poor peasant youth. That we have splendid opportunities in this respect, is shown by the agricultural labourers' strike in Slovakia. The strikers fought stubbornly and victoriously with a great display of perseverance and heroism, and many young labourers participated in these struggles. Agriculture is of colossal importance to the colonies. But even there very little is done.

I am coming now to another sphere, namely,

### WORK AMONG YOUNG WOMEN WORKERS.

Hitherto work among girls was almost entirely neglected, with the result that we have hardly any experience in this domain. I hardly know of what concrete experience I could tell you here: let us hope that the girls' commission which has been appointed today, will help us in this respect. For the present, we must limit ourselves to the general declaration that the number of young women workers in industry is considerable and that we must also turn our attention to this sphere of work.

Then there is the question of

### OUR CHILDREN'S ORGANISATIONS.

Comrades, regarding the children's movement we have, as Y. C. L., been guilty of a crime. We have allowed this movement to languish. Our children's movement exists already since 1920—21.

Just think, if since then we had shown any ability to create a wide, powerful Communist children's movement and to educate these children in a true spirit of Communism, we would have had now a mass reservoir for the Young Communist Leagues. These members would be now in our ranks. They could play an important role in the Y. C. L.'s, but they are not in our ranks, because we have neglected this domain.

We must establish and develop children's organisations. They must not be children's care-organisations, but militant children's organisations which coordinate children on the basis of class struggle. But we must take into consideration the mentality of the children, there must be no exaggerations regarding "pure politics", for such exaggerations are among the mistakes which we have made. We give the children too big a dose of "dry" politics.

Then we must also take care not to engage for children's work—as this was hitherto the case—elements who are of no use anywhere else, casual elements. This work must be entrusted to efficient comrades. We must alter the methods of work of the children's organisations, we must adapt them to the requirements and the mentality of children, and must develop them into militant organisations. If we do this, the children's organisations will be a reservoir for our ranks.

Comrades, one of the most important premises for the success of our work is

### THE QUESTION OF QUALITY AND LEADERSHIP.

Already at the V. Congress, we brought forward the question of quality and leadership. We said already then that leadership must be thorough and concrete, it must be based on a sense of responsibility and must be closely allied with the masses. All our work must have a purpose, we cannot have a state of affairs when the Executive goes on making decisions, passing resolutions, issuing instructions and nothing gets done, because these resolutions and decisions get hung up somewhere. One must know the masses, one must be connected with them, one must have come out of their midst to be able to work properly as an Executive. Knowledge of the situation and the factories, such is the foremost premise.

**Re concretisation of leadership.** I would like to say a few more words. There is, namely, also the danger of "concretisation-bureaucratism". There can be various forms of concrete leadership. The general forms are **theses and resolutions passed, let us say, at some congress.** On the strength of these resolutions, the C. C. issues **definite instructions** to the lower organisations, which should be done on the basis of the resolutions. On the strength of these instructions the lower organisation let us say district, must give definitive work to do to the local groups which have to carry out these instructions. Thus there are certain gradations: **resolution, instruction, definite work.**

In accordance with this, there are also certain gradations in the organisation. A C. C. does not only work with resolutions, but above all with instructions and direct tasks. A district executive should avoid writing resolutions, and should give few general instructions, but more definite work to do. A local group should not, as a rule, issue resolutions and general instructions, but should give, on the strength of the existing resolutions and instructions, definite work to do to individual nuclei and members. This should not, however, preclude local groups, nuclei and districts to consider general questions and to make decisions on general problems. This must also take place. But there must be a definite difference in the work of the various organs. A C. C. cannot, for instance, decide on resolutions and instructions, and at the same time set also all the concrete tasks to the various sub-organisations and groups. This would lead to an impossible state of affairs.

It would mean stifling the initiative of the members. "Concretisation" of leadership cannot be carried to such an extreme. If a C. C. or a district committee issues a long circular dealing concretely with all possibilities, eventualities and cases which might turn up, this would be bureaucracy which cannot be tolerated. It would certainly not be concrete leadership. It would be perversion of concrete leadership. Control must be exercised over the carrying through of decisions, and then the lower organisation can be taken to account.

**Reports by the lower organisations to the higher,** to the Central Committee for instance, are of paramount importance. But such reports must be properly prepared.

Of considerable importance is the **composition of the executive.** At present our executives are frequently composed of casual elements; this cannot be tolerated. The factory youth must be drawn into the executives, elements who have shown what they are worth in the class struggle, who have proved to be intrepid class fighters and not people who can only talk and write well, etc. Of considerable importance is also division of labour in the executive, simplification of procedure. In Czechoslovakia, for instance, we have a multitude of authorities.

Even in regions where we have only 100—150 members, there is a regional, a district and several local executives, etc., i. e. almost more executives than members. This is an impossible state of affairs. What we want is simplification of procedure and thereby better leadership!

### THE QUESTION OF OUR CADRES.

is closely connected with this. We are very late in bringing up this question, this must be admitted. It is for the first time that we are attempting to deal thoroughly with it. Hitherto we had no system for the formation, education, attraction and reshuffling of our cadre of active workers. In this cadre which is moreover very narrow we have people who are overburdened with work and people with no work at all who have a function only in name and do nothing to do it justice. We must remove all useless elements from our cadres, we must freshen them up and extend them through the introduction of new elements. The question of cadres is therefore a question of activation of our entire membership. **Every member of the Young Communist League must be educated into an activist.** The best means towards this is, of course, **self-criticism from below.** We must also be bolder regarding the freshening up of our cadres, we must not be afraid to promote new elements to responsible posts, we must even issue definite instructions as to the number of functionaries for this and that work the organisation has to produce by such and such a time. The formation of cadres must be systematic, and they must also be systematically trained. We must create a new type of functionaries, activists who are in touch with the masses, have a clear notion of our political tasks and firmly believe in the ultimate victory of the proletariat, functionaries truly devoted to our cause who will fight to the end, as functionaries of the Young Communist movement must fight. We must therefore put every functionary to the test, must set him definite tasks and must control him, so as to make him feel that he is all the time under the control of the higher and lower authorities.

### POLITICO-EDUCATIONAL WORK.

Comrades, according to our statistics, 5 to 10 % of our membership—in the best case—receive systematic training and education. Over 90 % receive no such training and education. They certainly listen to lectures and speeches, read newspapers—even that not always—but this is not enough. **We must organise a system of politico-educational work under which every member has to go through a definite grade of politico-educational work.** Hitherto our educational work was mostly abstract, it did not provide the functionaries with a proper equipment for their work.

Our **Y. C. L. press** is inadequately organised in all our Leagues. Our papers have small editions, hardly beyond the number of members, which means that there are members who do not even take in and read their own newspaper, for a certain number of our newspaper is also sold elsewhere. Our methods of circulation are old-fashioned and quite social-democratic. There are agents who receive and distribute the newspapers, but their mass dissemination, especially in factories, is not organised. Moreover, the contents of our newspapers is unsatisfactory, boring and not adapted to the youth; it does not reflect the life of the working youth, pays not enough attention to current events.

Our press has no **mass character** either in the illegal or legal Leagues, it does not encourage self-criticism.

What are newspapers meant to do? They must get into the factories, must get in touch with the masses, must create a net work of worker correspondents, coordinating them systematically, our newspapers must be interesting, they must deal with current events, must give more news about the youth and its struggles, about the Soviet Union and its achievements regarding socialist construction in the S. U. and about the gains of the youth there.

A few words about **youth-like methods**: as a youth organisation, we must not neglect the psychological peculiarities of the youth, but our chief concern must be that even for the psychology of young workers the basis must be their position in the process of production and in society, their class position in fact. If we lose this class standpoint we are bound to drift into the domain of bourgeois idealistic psychology which can be of no use to us. To a young worker political and

economic questions are the main thing. They must be our point of departure, it is for them that we must arouse his interest. But the right connection for these political and economic questions must be found, so as to bring them to his notice in an understandable form. Young workers are only beginning to develop mentally and spiritually. They think and reason with what constitutes their immediate environment, what has a direct effect on them. Their trend of thought is pictorial, and this must be taken into consideration. But they are at the same time very receptive for general questions, for abstract ideas such as: why is society such as it is, how can it be altered, what will future society be like? For such questions the youth can work up much enthusiasm. But we pay far too little attention to them. We speak far too little about the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union and the future socialist society. Young people have more courage, enthusiasm and also romanticism than adults, this must be taken into consideration. They must not be approached with a "dry" method of work and brought immediately face to face with great problems; bureaucratic methods must be avoided, because they are particularly repulsive to the youth. We must take into consideration the age of those with whom we have to do: young people of 16 are different to young people of 23. All this must be taken into consideration, in order to bring the necessary changes into our agitation and propaganda and adapt them to the mentality of the youth. **But this must be done without the least weakening of our political standard, our political work.**

Comrades! All the tasks about which I have spoken, apply to all countries, but of course with certain variations. But regarding

### ILLEGAL LEAGUES.

I must say a few more words. The **Y. C. I.** and its Sections are exposed to illegality and persecution. And yet, we have not yet learned how to work illegally and at the same time effectively. We are not equipped for this either politically or organisationally. Apart from the general weaknesses and defects from which the **Y. C. I.** and its Sections are suffering, we have specific diseases in the illegal Leagues. We have there special deviations. Firstly, **legalism.** Especially in countries where the Young Communist League is prohibited but where it is possible to organise the youth on other lines. We must say that in such countries the illegal **Y. C. L.**, has been neglected, and this is legalism. This leads to the liquidation of the illegal League. On the other hand, we have **sectarianism, a sectarian attitude.** This is very strongly developed in countries where only fascist organisations can exist legally, and where we have hardly any opportunities for legal activity. These deviations too, i. e. neglect of all legal work, even work in fascist organisations, lead to a shrinking of our Leagues.

Finally, conspirative methods and centralisation are neglected in almost all our illegal Leagues. Neglect of conspirative methods exists everywhere. We also witness in the illegal Leagues renunciation of mass work for fear of persecution, it is generally said: we have a small solid organisation and determined comrades ready for anything. If we start mass work, they will be persecuted and will lose many.

This is of course a very wrong attitude which must be fought energetically. It should be also pointed out that terrorist moods make their appearance in our Leagues, especially when they totally neglect the possibilities of legal work, and take refuge in the illegal organisation. In the illegal Leagues, the turn can be effected only through struggle against these deviations.

Just a word about **preparation for illegality in legal Leagues.** This work has been thoroughly neglected. We have drastic examples of this in France and Czechoslovakia. Preparation for illegality is above all a political question, a question of our firm establishment among the masses. Certain organisational measures must, of course, also be taken, to prepare the Leagues for illegality. Conspiracy rules must be observed also in legal Leagues. This has been hardly done hitherto. For instance, for no valid reason, our comrades publish sometimes their names, and even whole lists of **C. C.** members. This must not take place. In every country, we must reckon with the possibility of illegality, and now more than ever before.

Before I come to a conclusion, a special word about

## INDIA.

You know that a wide revolutionary movement is going on in India. The youth has taken an active part lately in this revolutionary movement. There are many youth organisations in India. Most of them are under bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership. Their ideology is not clear, but they are more revolutionary than the official leadership of the bourgeois-national movement. Very oppositional speeches are frequently made in these youth organisations against the official leadership of the adults who conclude compromises with the imperialists, and drastic decisions are carried.

There are also organisations there which have almost entirely adopted the Communist programme, and speak openly about their sympathy for the Soviet Union and the Communist movement. An All-Indian Youth Congress will be held this year in December, in addition to a whole series of youth congresses. The All-Indian Youth Congress is visualised as year in December, in addition to a whole series of youth a winding up of the other congresses to which all youth organisations existing in India are to send their representatives. In connection with this youth congress, we want to address to the congress and the entire working youth of India a manifesto in the name of the Y. C. I., dealing in it clearly with the questions which are confronting today the Indian working class and peasantry and the working class of the whole world. We will say in this manifesto that only under the banner of Communism and in the ranks of the Y. C. I. genuine representation of the interests of the Indian youth is possible. But our chief concern must be that in the Young Communist League which is to be established, petty-bourgeois influence be fought and eliminated from the start.

In conclusion, a few words about

## INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND EDUCATION.

I have already spoken of the work of the Executive. We must strengthen our international leadership. We must above all endeavour to give it a much more concrete form, to support the Leagues directly. We must endeavour to encourage an exchange of experiences between the various Leagues and in the entire Y. C. I. We must try to establish a closer con-

nection between the individual Sections, above all between the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union and our Sections in capitalist countries; but also between the Sections of the capitalist countries. With this object in view, every possible encouragement should be given to **international revolutionary competition**, a form of work which has stood the test brilliantly, though it is only in its beginning. We must also prepare much better the delegations to the Soviet Union, their selection must be done more carefully. This preparation must be every time developed into a mass campaign. It is by such measures that we must encourage the international education of our members and of the mass of the working youth. We must unfortunately confess that we are still afflicted with a certain amount of nationalism. We do not yet fully understand the importance of international struggles, we do not always understand the meaning which the struggle of workers in another country has for us. In the present situation, we want militant internationalism, and it is for such internationalism that we must educate our youth.

## MAXIMUM EFFORTS FOR THE REALISATION OF THE TURN.

Comrades, in my very full report, I have endeavoured to deal with questions of the turn as they have confronted us in the course of this year, as they confront us now and as, we think, they will have to be raised in the coming period.

From this description, one can see that we are confronted with important tasks, that we must carry through a thorough change in all domains, that we must learn to work quite differently than in the past, that we must accelerate the tempo of our work. By acceleration of the tempo we do not mean merely a quantitative acceleration, namely, quicker work, we mean above all that better work should be done, that work should be taken up in domains hitherto untouched by us. We must accelerate the tempo of our work because time is short, because the class struggle is getting sharper every day, because the role of the youth and its fighting capacity is growing. In this situation, the Y. C. I., true to its revolutionary traditions, must do its utmost to carry through the turn and to do hereby justice to its historical task, assigned to it by the Communist International.

## Comrade Khitarov's Concluding Speech.

Comrades, the discussion on the two reports was very protracted. Sixty-three speakers took part in it, and as to the whole character of the discussion, one must say that, in many respects, it means progress regarding our international sessions. Contrary to former usage, most speakers dealt not only with their own country, but also with the general problems of the Y. C. I. One could also see that the leading functionaries of our Leagues, or at least most of them, are beginning to understand and raise correctly the question of the turn, and that this question is already so mature that it is high time to bring it forcibly to the fore, that we were right when we laid lately special emphasis on this question in the Leagues.

But this discussion had also many defects. Firstly the question of the turn was mostly dealt with from the theoretical standpoint. Very little was said about practical questions connected with the turn. There was very little exchange of practical experience regarding the form of the realisation of the turn. I can also say precisely the same regarding the whole trend of the Plenum: there were very few attempts to deal with the question from a practical standpoint. Practical experience regarding the realisation of the turn is for the time being infinitesimal. We must unfortunately admit that very little in this respect was done also at the Plenum. I must also say that this discussion divulged the fact that there is still lack of clarity regarding the turn. In my concluding remarks. I will endeavour to go a little deeper into the various questions. One can say in general that we have learned much by this discussion, and that we go on learning much through the work

of the Plenum, in addition to what we said and knew formerly about the turn. This is the best proof that the discussion on the turn must not be considered finished, but that we must develop it further.

## WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE TURN TO THE Y. C. I.?

The first big question which we must ask ourselves is—what the turn means to us. Is it our strategy or our tactic? This question has been mainly raised by our French comrades. They said that they have recognised their mistake, namely, they raised formerly the question of the turn as a question of tactic. They can see now that the turn is strategy, and are raising now tactical questions differently. On the other hand, Comrade Konevski makes the peculiar assertion that the turn is not tactic but policy. To set a policy against tactic is certainly paradoxical, and everyone can see that such an idea cannot be taken seriously. Thus we can see that there is lack of clarity regarding this question.

This means that we must first of all clear up the problem: what is our strategy, and what is our tactic at the present juncture? We refer in this respect to Comrade Stalin who, as you all know, has dealt with the question of strategy and tactic in greater detail than anyone else. He said:

"Strategy means laying down the direction of the chief attack of the proletariat in the respective revolutionary phase, it means elaboration of a corresponding plan for the distribution of revolutionary forces (the main and

secondary reserves), it means struggle for the carrying out of this plan throughout the respective revolutionary phase."

And further on:

"Strategy concerns itself with the most important forces of the revolution and their reserves. It undergoes a change as revolution goes from one phase to another, but remains unchanged in its foundations throughout the period of the respective phase."

As an example for these phases of the revolution, Comrade Stalin mentions from the history of the Russian Revolution the following: the period from about 1903 to March 1917. This is above all the phase of the struggle against the autocracy of the Tsar till the destruction of the Tsarist regime, i. e. the phase of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The second phase, March 1917 to October 1917, is the phase of the preparation and carrying through of the proletarian revolution, overthrow of imperialism, establishment of proletarian dictatorship. The third phase begins with the October Revolution and is still going on. It is the phase of the realisation of proletarian dictatorship and construction of socialism. If we make this point of view our point of departure, how must we deal with the question of strategy? It is perfectly clear that since the end of the war and up to now, we have in the advanced capitalist countries one phase, the phase of preparation of proletarian revolution. For this epoch we have in the capitalist countries a definite strategical plan. Thus, if we speak of the capitalist countries generally, we must say that the present Y. C. I. strategy there is: capture of the majority of the worker and of the mass of the peasant youth and their inclusion in the front which fights for world revolution, whereas the backward countries will have first to go through the phase of bourgeois-democratic revolution. If this is our strategy, what then is our tactic? Let us once more go to Comrade Stalin and hear what he says about tactic:

"Tactic means laying down the line of conduct of the proletariat for the relatively short period of the ebbing and flowing tide of the movement, of the ascent and descent of the revolution: the struggle for the carrying through of this line conducted through the substitution of the old forms of struggle and organisation, of the old slogans by new, through linking up these forms, etc. The tactic is a part of strategy, its subordinate and servant. Tactic changes in accord with the flowing or ebbing tide."

And further on:

"Tactic concerns itself with the forms of struggle and the organisation of the proletariat, with its changes and combinations. On the basis of the given phase of revolution, the tactic can change several times in accord with the flowing or ebbing tide, the ascent or descent of revolution."

What does a correct revolutionary tactic demand? It demands firstly:

"Preeminence of fighting forms and organisations most commensurate with the conditions of the given ascending or descending movement and capable of drawing the masses into the revolutionary positions, into the revolutionary front, and of facilitating and guaranteeing their distribution in this front."

Secondly, a correct tactic requires:

"Discovery of the special link in the general chain of processes to get hold of which guarantees the possession of the whole chain and the preparations for the achievement of strategical success."

Comrades, if we take this definition of tactic as our starting point, we will understand that tactic is to us in this period of the revolution, namely, in the third period, the period of another high tide of revolution, what we designate now as turn, the turn which we carry through on the basis of the general line of the Comintern laid down for this period, a line which means to us application of new forms of struggle, subordination of our whole work to these tactical tasks. On the other hand, this tactic demands that we know how to see every time in the process of this turn a definite point which will require our greatest efforts, the link of the chain which we must absolutely get hold of, in order to pull the whole chain. This is how we

must answer the question how the turn must be considered from the standpoint of our strategy and tactic.

The question seen thus, it is clear that our French comrades were wrong when they said the turn is strategy, and when they wanted to reduce the tactic in their Party and League to struggle for the slogan of legal existence of Communist organisations. In not a single case can one say that struggle for legality in France is the tactic of the Party, what our French comrades tried to prove. The whole tactic of the Party cannot be possibly built up on this slogan for the whole revolutionary period. But does this mean that this slogan is altogether a wrong slogan? Certainly not! It is admissible in a certain situation, such as we have now in France, but one must take care that this slogan be only a definite link of the chain which the Party has to get hold of at the definite moment, in order to mobilise the masses. One should understand the specific circumstances under which this slogan originates one should realise that there is a time limit to it, one should also see its dangers and therefore one cannot assert that this slogan is the foundation and basis of our entire activity at present in France, as our French comrades would have it.

But if we raise in addition the question what this link of the chain will be in the turn, if we can point, internationally, to a link of the chain which our organisation could get hold of in order to pull the whole chain, to be able to fulfill also the other tasks of the turn, I am of the opinion that it would be wrong to try to pull out now one component part of the turn and say: this is the main thing, and everything else will come of itself. One cannot say, for instance, that cultural work is the main thing, because it is very inadequate. One cannot say that the system of work is the main thing, neither can one say that the political side is the main thing, as the Czech comrades used to say. Neither can one safely say that the strike is the chief link which we must get hold of. Firstly, the turn must be carried through also where there are no strikes, and secondly, if one is to raise the question of strike, one must also raise the question how to prepare and carry through the strike, under what leadership, etc., this brings to the fore the question of the entire work of the League.

But it seems to me that we must draw attention to one of the most important links of the chain, to something which, seen internationally, is in fact one of the most important premises for the carrying through of the turn. I mean the question of our cadre of functionaries. One must not run away with the idea that to raise such a question is an "organisational question", that this is not a political way of dealing with the turn, and therefore a wrong way. The question of cadres is a question of political leadership of our Leagues. It goes without saying that the turn will set in as political leadership in our leagues improves, is corrected and, where necessary, changed. And this will lead to our cadres being submitted to very minute examination from the beginning of the discussion on the turn, the useless elements being removed and replaced by fresh proletarian forces. It is not for nothing that the German League began the turn with a thorough cleaning of its leadership, and this will be inevitably the case in every League: the question of the turn will first of all raise the question of the leadership of the Leagues. For this is the first premise to be created, if the League means to bring about the turn. From an international point of view, this is, as I have already said, one of the most important links of the chain which we must get hold of in the immediate future.

## WAS THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE Y. C. I. CORRECT?

I am coming now to the question of the political line of the Y. C. I. and its Leagues. If we take the Y. C. I. as a whole and take into consideration the decisions of our congresses and plenary sessions, as well as the line of the presidium of the Executive, we must say that it was on the whole a correct line. That we have not succeeded in carrying through this line as the situation demanded, is quite another question. That we have not done everything for the practical application of the line, that our activity in this respect has been inadequate, is another question. But we must say nevertheless that the line laid down by the V. World Congress of the Y. C. I. which the Presidium followed in the

intervening period, was on the whole correct. I do not want to say by this that the line was **perfectly** correct. I have already said in my report that there are some questions which we did not see clearly enough at the V. World Congress, that in this direction, too, we must rectify the line which we have hitherto followed. Also at this Plenum we will have to introduce definite corrections to our old line, but I will speak more fully about this later on. Now I must say that our general line was correct, that we have correctly seen the most decisive points.

### WHAT ABOUT THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE LEAGUES IN THIS RESPECT?

It would be a too sweeping statement to say that the line followed by our Leagues is erroneous. In a number of countries, we have adopted a correct line commensurate with the requirements of the moment. But in regard to the majority of the Leagues, we must say that their "correct" line has remained a dead letter, that they have done hardly anything to put this line into practice. One cannot therefore consider the political line and leadership of these Leagues satisfactory. One must say that sometimes this line was quite erroneous, because it was set against the line of the V. World Congress, and because the leaders of the respective Leagues were guilty of vacillations regarding the tactic of the Party and also regarding youth work. This was the case in the German League under the old leadership, in the Czech and British Leagues, and to a great extent also in the French League.

### THE NECESSITY OF STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS.

I am not going to repeat what I said in the report on the defects of our old conception, and especially on the line of the V. World Congress. These matters are well-known and have not been disputed by anyone in principle. But another question is cropping up in regard to which we must frankly admit our weakness. I mean the question of **struggles on two fronts**. Comrades, you know that a Communist Party and also a Young Communist League have always to fight on two fronts in the struggle for the correct line, i. e. to the right and to the left, that attacks on the correct line of the Party and Y.C.L. are made from two sides, by the Right opportunists who give way to the pressure of the enemy and want to arrive at compromises with him, who want to draw us into the morass of social-democracy, who lag behind the mass movement, etc.; and on the other hand, by the so-called "Left" — in inverted commas of course — because this Leftism is conditional, (no one can be more Left than a Communist Party); but they are Left phrasemongers who want to be "quite Left", whose policy aims at isolating our organisation from the masses, at carrying on a sectarian policy, a policy of "revolutionary" — in inverted commas — purity, for they want to be always quite radical, bring forward Left demands without reckoning with the objective situation, the strength of our forces, etc. You know that in the course of its history the Comintern has waged big battles on these two fronts.

The fight on two fronts has never ceased and will not cease as long as these hostile forces exist. But in every definite period, at every definite historical moment, one or the other of these dangers predominates. We all of us know that at present — as stated by the Comintern already at its VI. Congress and reiterated at the X. Plenum — the greatest danger to the Communist movement is the Right danger. The correctness of this thesis has been proved a thousand times in the course of these 18 months. The correctness of this thesis has also been proved for the Young Communist Leagues, also for us as a Section of the Comintern, as an indissoluble component part of the Communist world movement, of the Communist International. **The Right danger is the main danger at present and in the immediate future.** To this we must adhere, this must determine our policy, and we have said this all along. But we must admit at the same time that we have hitherto under-estimated the other front, the other danger, the danger of the "Left" petty-bourgeois radicalism. We have failed to see its magnitude, we have not sufficiently exposed and fought it.

This is a charge also against ourselves as an Executive. We have not raised this question sharply and concretely

enough, and I think that we must make up now for our past shortcomings. As a result of the deliberations of the Plenum, we must get clarity as to the form in which the "Left" danger makes its appearance in our ranks, I will enumerate some of the most important forms.

All of you know that there is in our ranks the idea that the Young Communist League is an **elite organisation**, an organisation only for the select, the better, the more progressive elements, an organisation which is to embrace only the leaders of the masses, whereas the masses themselves are to be coordinated in other organisations. Such a theory has been emphatically advocated at the V. World Congress, in the programme commission by a French comrade when the programme was discussed. According to the French comrades, such conceptions still exist in the League. It is as clear as daylight that such a theory is a clear indication of a sectarian frame of mind. As our Leagues are mostly small organisations embracing, in fact, only the more advanced elements, organisations which have not yet attracted the masses, it is clear how dangerous such a theory is to us. We have in our illegal Leagues all sorts of varieties of the same theory regarding the elite organisation. Among our comrades in the illegal countries who have to carry on the struggle under very difficult conditions, we witness an ideology that they should be a small select circle of revolutionists, that they have to watch over the revolutionary purity of their ranks, that the militant character of this organisation would run great risks through the inclusion of wide masses. Hence, the sectarian isolation of the Leagues of which we have already often spoken, but without defining it properly. On the basis of such an ideology, terrorist moods spring up in the illegal Leagues, and even whole theories according to which terrorism is a correct policy under certain circumstances. We have had such cases lately in Yugoslavia.

This is an utterly wrong and dangerous theory which can isolate us from the masses completely and can destroy our movement. It should be pointed out that this very radical attitude goes very often to the other extreme — liquidatorship: Comrades lose faith in the strength of our movement and of the masses, which of course must lead to liquidatorship.

Another form of "Left" moods is the well-known **vanguardism**. It is the idea which we still find among our comrades, though to a lesser extent than before, the theory that the Young Communist League is more revolutionary than the Party, that the youth is more revolutionary in general than the adults. The principle which was at one time formulated in our Berlin programme: "The working youth is the most revolutionary section of the working class" has still its advocates, the idea still prevails that the Young Communist League must lead the Party and correct its mistakes. Thus, a complete reversal of the relation between Y.C.L. and Party. Another form of the "Left" danger in our ranks is the desire to be radical where this is not at all suitable. Radical phraseology is widely spread among us. We must frankly admit that the inactivity of the Leagues, their dissociation from the masses lead to opportunism, frequently disguised by radical phrases. This is a frequent phenomenon and a great danger, for behind these radical phrases there is nothing but opportunism and we know very well that the final result of "Left" as well as Right deviations, in the Party and also in the League, is the same, namely, betrayal of our class interests, capitulation before the enemy.

"Left" as well as Right moods are an indication of the pressure of the class enemy on our ranks, and an expression of petty-bourgeois moods. Therefore, this "radicalism" is a petty-bourgeois phenomenon which must be eliminated. These are the most important forms of the "Left" danger in our youth movement. We must admit that these phenomena are fairly frequent, that they do not only crop up here and there, and that it is impossible to apportion the "Left" danger geographically, to say that in these countries we have and in those Right dangers. One must say that side by side with the Right danger as the main danger, "Left" dangers exist everywhere in all the links of the organisation, that we bear these "Left" dangers in us, insofar as we do not know how to carry on mass work. **If we want to effect the turn, we must above all put an end to seclusion from the masses which exists in our ranks.** This "revolutionary" seclusion is

the rule with us. This is the case in almost all our Leagues and organisations, with a very few exceptions. We must overcome this seclusion. We must fight "Left" deviations with the utmost energy, and must make good as rapidly as possible our sin of omission regarding this question. This is the only way to mass work, and this is what the turn means. We must therefore take up a definite attitude to all "Left" danger phenomena, which have had their representatives also at our Plenum.

Comrade Konetzki has made a speech which was full of such "Left" errors. I have already mentioned his erroneous attitude to the question of the turn: setting policy against tactic. How does Comrade Konetzki visualise policy dissociated from tactic? The other question mentioned by him was that of the Italian League. Our Presidium is going to consider the situation in the Italian League very seriously, but I will deal with one question only that of the "Dopo Lavora". Comrade Konetzki has accused the Italian comrades of joining the "Dopo Lavora". He says this is a wrong step which goes against our former principles. I must say that precisely the opposite is the case. We should blame our Italian comrades for not having hitherto worked in the fascist organisations, especially in the "Dopo Lavora".

We must demand that they should join this organisation in considerable numbers. This does not mean that they should as the Young Communist League, invite all young workers, to join the "Dopo Lavora". But they must join this organisation because the masses are there and they can do a useful piece of work.

The third question taken up by Comrade Konetzki is the Czech question. Regarding this question, Comrade Konetzki tried to belittle matters such as strikes or application of the united front. Moreover, Comrade Konetzki has not appraised the position of the Czech Party correctly. In this respect he has been, no doubt, guilty of exaggeration, just as our Czech comrades, especially Comrade Synek. Comrade Synek has even said that there are in our Party not only opportunist but social fascist deviations, an utterly inadmissible assertion. What does he mean by "social-fascist" deviations in our ranks? True, opportunist deviations are strong. But one should not go in this matter to the length of ignoring the great positive achievements of the Czech Party in the struggle against opportunism, and try to cast a shadow on the majority of the C.C. by wanting to create the impression that it vacillates politically and is not firm enough in its attitude to the Right. Comrade Konetzki supports this viewpoint and insists that these deviations which are very strong in the Czech Party, are not sufficiently repudiated in the C.C., that the C.C. has taken up a wrong attitude. Comrade Konetzki's conception must be emphatically repudiated, and we draw attention to his mistakes, because we must also recognise such forms of "Left" danger. We must show it up ruthlessly wherever it makes its appearance.

I will bring to your notice yet another form of "Left" danger which made its appearance at our Plenum. I mean the speech of Comrade Rust who said that the slogan "Hundred percent of the working youth into trade unions", or the demand to work above all in trade unions, or the other demand: "Form youth sections in the trade unions", i. e. our attitude to trade union work is no longer applicable, that we do not want it any longer. Comrade Rust said that instead of this we must attach much greater importance to the economic youth organisations.

I think that such a conception is utterly erroneous. On no account can we allow a renunciation of trade union work. The Y. C. I. which has done so little in the trade unions though they offer us such splendid opportunities for work, must at last begin to form youth sections, especially revolutionary youth sections in trade unions. It is wrong to set this question against the establishment of economic organisations and to say that the one is necessary, whereas the other has ceased to be necessary. I think that Comrade Rust has made here a mistake which must be corrected. I have tried to discuss the question of "Left" danger more fully, because I think that we have much to remedy in this respect. We must certainly pay more attention to this question in the decisions, and especially in the theses.

## THE WORK OF THE EXECUTIVE.

And now a few words on the work of the Executive. I will say once more that the general line of the Executive was correct. I reiterate this because some comrades made in the discussion an attempt to dispute this. In their criticism of the Executive they went to the length of expressing doubt also concerning the correctness of the political line of the Executive. Comrade Gorkic was also wrong when he said that though the line was correct, this is not decisive. No, Comrade Gorkic, the fact that we have endeavoured — certainly rather late and not with sufficient energy — to bring the question of the turn to the notice of the Leagues, is decisive. (Interjection by Gorkic: this is outside the discussion). I say once more that there were doubtlessly many defects in our work. When I speak here about corrections to our political line, this applies also to the Executive. We must recognise these errors and correct them. We must also admit that we were rather late in bringing the question of the turn to the notice of the Leagues and that our work in this period had many practical defects. But, comrades, one cannot certainly go to the length of trying to put the whole blame for the non-application of the turn on the Executive. Some comrades have done this.

## QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE VARIOUS LEAGUES.

Comrades! I will deal now with individual Leagues, first of all with the German League. The German comrades have complained in the discussion that my criticism of their activity was not up to the mark. They had expected a more political, a higher critique. Well, comrades, as to the political activity of the German League and its leaders I have said enough on this subject in my report I have rather sharply criticised the defects of our Leagues and all I said on this question applied also to a great extent to Germany. Moreover I have also dealt specially with Germany. Regarding leadership, I think I have sufficiently condemned the old leadership of the German League, saying that the new Central Committee was formed with our support, that we have full confidence in it, that it has a correct idea of the question of the turn and that we believe that it will fight for the carrying through of the turn. The existence of the new Central Committee is much too short to be able to speak about results. There is no reason for the time being to attack it politically. It is possible that some mistakes were made, but they are not of a decisive nature. I have shown up a few mistakes made by the new C.C. in its practical activity, which are fairly serious. I think that there is one more thing which we must tell the German comrades. One should above all take care not to overestimate the importance of what has already been achieved. What has happened in the German League is naturally of considerable political importance. A fundamental premise has been created for the accomplishment of the turn but this is only the first step, the beginning. To think already at the beginning that the most important difficult task has already been accomplished is wrong. That is why the C.C. of the German League must above all take care not to over-estimate the already achieved, it must, on the contrary make clear to the whole membership that the turn is still to be accomplished. Moreover, the discussion on the turn has not yet come to an end in the German League, generally, as well as in every single organisation. It is precisely in the German League that it must be linked up with its practical realisation, this is the main thing. I reiterate, comrades, that what has happened in Germany is a success for the Y. C. L., it is the correct way which all our Leagues must follow, if they want to make the turn a reality. They must ruthlessly discard old errors and weaknesses.

Re France. We cannot help saying that serious opportunist dangers have again sprung up in the French League. Comrade Raymond has told us in a very interesting speech that a solid group is already being formed in the League which represents opportunist ideas. The main support of this group is the Paris district, the most important district of the League. The Central Committee of the Paris district tends towards opportunism. Just as this was the case in Berlin or perhaps even to a greater extent. The Paris district has had in the last years the reputation of steady retrogression. It has even now a reputation of extraordi-

nary passivity. It has happened that this district has refused to organise a demonstration in connection with the sentence passed on Comrade Conteillas. Legalist illusions are rife there. This is a great danger, being particularly in an important district such as Paris. But we have opportunist deviations also in the Bureau of the C.C. The Org. Secretary of the League represents an opportunist line; he holds the view that the sport federation should be liquidated, because it is impossible to work there under present conditions. An opportunist group is being formed in the French League. The French comrades are right in saying that they have greatly under-estimated the opportunist danger in the Y.C.L. itself. They had the illusion that the League could stand like a solid block in the struggle against opportunism in the Party. This was a wrong idea. One could see that this „block“ was eaten up by opportunist dangers in its own ranks. These dangers are making themselves felt more and more, because the struggles are much sharper, and reprisals are becoming more ruthless from day to day, etc. We are therefore bound to say that our French comrades have not correctly understood the line of the decisions of the World Congress, and the turn either, and I believe that this is still the case. In view of such a lagging behind of the League in the face of the requirements of the political situation and the whole Y.C.L. — questions of the turn have made more progress in general than this is the case in the French League. In the face of this, we must draw the attention of our comrades to this danger in a very comradely manner. We can see that they have the best intentions, that they want to make their own the experience gained by the Y.C.I. Our connection with the French League has never been satisfactory. The comrades have always under-estimated the importance of international experience and leadership. This comes now home to roost. A change is therefore necessary: close connection with the Y.C.I. as a whole as well as with the international leadership. This is absolutely necessary if the work of the League is to be successful.

I will deal now with the **Swedish League**. Comrades, I have been blamed—and justly so—for having said very little about the Swedish League in my report. There is no doubt whatever that the Swedish League deserves much more attention on our part owing to its important role in the youth movement. We must make it perfectly clear here that we associate ourselves completely with the attitude of our **Swedish League** and the line which it is following in the struggle against the Swedish opportunists and renegades. We must express here, through a decision of our Plenum, our complete solidarity with the Swedish comrades, we must also express our abhorrence and contempt for the Right renegades of the Kilbom, Samuelson and Flyg type who were formerly in the ranks of our youth movement, and are now among the renegades. We must declare that the renegade organisation, which these people want to set up against our Communist League, has nothing in common with the Young Communist movement, that it is an organisation which will be at the service of the bourgeoisie. We must declare that the leaders of our Swedish League have our full confidence, and the League shall have our full support. We must judge correctly the great positive work done now by the League. But we must at the same time not be blind to its mistakes. I think that we must remind our Swedish comrades that when this period of acute struggle against the Right renegades will be over, the weak points in the mass work of the Swedish League will make themselves felt again: lagging behind the activity of the masses, which Comrade Bengtson, also mentioned here. The Swedish League is confronted with the problems of mass work and of the turn, just like the other Leagues. We must therefore give prominence to these questions also in the Swedish League. I agree that the Swedish League should have a paragraph of its own in the theses.

**Italy.** I have already said that we will deal with our Italian League in greater detail when the Italian Commission will have got through its work. I will merely go into one question, the former mistakes of the League. Comrade Markucci admits that the leaders of the Italian League have not been firm regarding the struggle against the Right and the conciliators, and that the criticism of the Y.C.I. was deserved. But he has also tried to have, so to speak, his „revanche“ regarding some former

mistakes. This is what I mean; about eighteen months or two years ago, I think in the beginning of 1928, the question of democratic demands was discussed in our Italian League. Our Italian comrades were wondering if democratic demands should be brought forward in fascist Italy, for instance, self-government in municipalities and communes, free election of mayors instead of those who were appointed, as this is customary in Italy, and such like matters. The League did not agree with this and went against the Party. We condemned at that time the attitude of the League and said that such demands are quite admissible in fascist Italy, because they help us to mobilise the masses, that we must therefore bring forward such demands without renouncing our fundamental demands. This has nothing to do with the wrong idea that a democratic phase is in store in Italy, that Italy must first go through the period of a „democratic government“. We corrected these mistakes of the Italian League at the time, and there is no reason to revise our views regarding these questions.

It is satisfactory that the Czech League has become more active, that it has given up its neutral attitude to Party questions. But we must warn our Czech comrades against exaggerations. The present political activity should not be over-estimated. The idea might spring up that since the League has become more active regarding Party questions, its political activity is all that it should be. This activity is still inadequate, even regarding Party questions, and no proof that the League has become politically more active on the whole. On the other hand, one must not exaggerate criticism of the Party. I have already drawn attention in the first part of my speech to mistakes made by Comrade Sinek. It is not admissible to attack the Party, in this manner and to undermine the authority of the Party leadership. The Central Committee of the Party has the confidence and support of the Comintern, and the leaders of our League can work only in close agreement with the Party Executive.

**Re the Polish League.** The political successes of the Polish League are incontestable. It has helped the Party to fight and liquidate the Right danger. But we cannot be blind to its weaknesses. We must repeat what was already said at the V. World Congress, that there has been a certain amount of exaggeration on the part of the Polish comrades and the Central Committee of the Polish League in the following direction: it took up partly a too fractional attitude in the Party discussion; and just in the organisations where the fractional spirit had been particularly fanned, the position of our organisation is worse than anywhere else, and our reverses, the most serious. We must also say that our Polish comrades did not understand the question of the turn from the start. They were partly under the impression that the turn had nothing to do with the Polish League, that the V. Congress of the Y.C.I. had said nothing new in this respect for Poland. But we have seen that the League has experienced organisational reverses — no matter how big or how small — in the industrial districts, where its position was strongest. This is due to the political defects in the activity of the League which did not develop its work sufficiently in a number of spheres. These defects must be shown up and the Central Committee of the Polish League, which has recognised these mistakes, must do its utmost to remedy them.

The **Austrian** representative complained about lack of attention on the part of the Executive. Events in Austria deserve the greatest attention, and I am prepared to admit that we have done too little to help the Austrian League. We must take note of the serious position of our Austrian League. It is retrogressing in a situation of very sharp class struggles and revolutionary revival, when we are probably on the eve of an acute revolutionary situation. This matter must give us to think. We must in future pay more attention to the Austrian League.

The **Rumanian** League has made itself heard here through a representative. I must say it is a feather in our cap to have once more a League in Rumania. It had been almost entirely destroyed by the fierce persecution which set in a year ago. The organisation has been re-established with the support of the Party; it had proved itself a fighting organisation already on various occasions. It has also worked against opportunist dangers in the Party, but in this respect, we cannot help agreeing with the representative of the Rumanian

League when he says that the League has failed to recognise the seriousness of the same dangers in its own ranks. This state of affairs must be remedied.

And now a few words about our **Chinese League**. Comrade **Massie** was quite right when he said that the turn is not only a European problem, but concerns also the Leagues in the East just as much as all other Leagues. But in China this matter has a specific form. The turn was decided and begun there already before the V. World Congress, at the V. Congress of the Chinese League. The latter has made more progress along this path than all other Leagues, because the situation there was different. The question of the turn arose in the Chinese League with considerable sharpness already last year, because the Chinese revolution had suffered a defeat and the forms of struggle had to be entirely changed, if the movement were to continue to exist and develop. But one must say that certain questions are in a bad way in the Chinese League: the social composition which is very bad, the cadres which still consist mostly of non-proletarian elements. We shall have to insist on improvement in this respect as soon as possible. The Chinese comrades agree with us on this point.

The **Japanese** comrade said here that we must pay much more attention to the movement in Japan. We can be proud of the heroism of our Japanese comrades in their struggles, of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of the energy with which they build up and develop the movement in Japan, though their numbers and forces are small and persecution very acute. We are delighted with the successes of the Japanese League. But we must say that the Japanese League is also suffering very severely of complaints from which all our other Leagues, which have to work illegally, are suffering, and that the disease of sectarianism is particularly strongly developed in the Japanese League.

Several representatives of our movement in **Latin America** have spoken here. We are certainly beginning to make progress on the Latin American Continent. Though we have certain successes to our credit, we are still very weak considering the extraordinary revolutionary possibilities we have in these countries. Our organisation in Latin America consists in some countries, such as Argentina and Uruguay, of small Leagues which have no connection with the masses and do hardly any militant mass work. We have in other countries, such as Brazil, Leagues which are obliged to work illegally, are ruthlessly persecuted. For these reasons, they lead a sectarian existence and do not know how to develop mass work on a large scale.

Another disease of the Leagues in Latin America, is their dissociation from the Y. C. I. And yet, they cannot progress, unless they keep in close touch with the entire Young Communist International.

Finally, a few words about the **United States**. Comrade **Harvey** is quite right when he says that we are all very pleased that the American question is no longer a factional question. We can say that this pleases us very much, for the old factional struggles, which made themselves felt also at international sessions, were extremely disagreeable and harmful. In this respect, the American League has made enormous progress, but one cannot help seeing at the same time the enormous weaknesses of the League regarding its social composition, its cadre of active workers. Regarding its every-day work, the League is very weak indeed, unconnected with the masses and not all prepared for mass work.

**Re Work Among Girls.** Many comrades have dealt with this question here, but I cannot say that many practical proposals have been made. I hope that the Girl Commission, which we have appointed will give us more in this respect. The proposals made here deserve of course our support. Drawing girls into responsible work, training and educating them, are matters which can be accomplished. Also utilisation of women's delegate conferences, organisation of such conferences for young women workers, drawing girls into organisations

such as the Anti-Fascist Young Guards, but above all, drawing them into strikes, — all these questions will have to receive our attention in future.

Just another word to **Gorkic**. Comrade Gorkic has admitted his mistakes. He has done so in his speech, a rather belated admission: it has come just at the last minute, and should have come sooner. Nevertheless one must say that he is aware of his political mistakes. All of us can make mistakes. But mistakes must be recognised and made good at the right time. We cannot of course believe a mere statement, people have to show by deeds that they have overcome their errors.

Comrade Gorkic will have every opportunity of showing that he has really recognised his mistake.

### LET US PUT THE TURN INTO PRACTICE

We have set ourselves enormous tasks at this Plenum. Big and difficult struggles are ahead of us. One can say that we are on the eve of an acutely revolutionary situation in a number of important countries. This must be a guide to us in our whole work regarding a correct appraisal of our tasks. In such a situation, we must not allow the development to take us by surprise, we must not be unprepared, as this has already partly happened. I will illustrate this by an example, the example of our **Greek League**. Comrade **Vorinos**, of the Greek League, has made here a very interesting speech, telling us about the revolutionary spirit in Greece. He spoke of mutinies in the army, peasant rebellions, conquest of whole towns by rebellious masses of workers, their fight on barricades, great strikes, etc. And what do we see in such a situation? Comrade Vorinos told us that our League has remained passive! There is stagnation, and partly even retrogression in the League. Comrade Vorinos complains about bureaucratic methods of work in the League. That the League cannot keep pace with this development, is a certain sign that the position of the League is very serious indeed. I think that this example is of enormous importance to us. It is an intolerable situation when the Young Communist Leagues remain entirely in the background at the high-tide of revolution, when they continue to lead their passive existence, cannot keep pace with this development and deteriorate. To prevent this, we must make the turn a reality. The turn is, therefore, a vital question to us, the only way to make us keep pace with our tasks. We must bring up the question of the turn emphatically and in a practical manner, not only in the sphere of theoretical discussion, but by deeds. We must also show up ruthlessly our weak points. I have exposed in my concluding speech the defects which exist also in our political line, namely, our failure to understand to the full these "left" dangers. We must correct these mistakes, we see the left danger and fight them energetically. This alone will enable us to make the turn towards mass work a reality.

I am firmly convinced that we shall succeed in effecting the turn, provided we use all our strength and show revolutionary enthusiasm. The fact that the question of the turn has found such an echo in the Leagues, that it is being discussed with the greatest interest everywhere, that our Leagues which are represented here at the Plenum, are discussing this question already with a full understanding of the necessity of the turn, — all this, together with the favourable political prospect, shows that we have every reason to hope for the success of the turn.

There are in our cadres not only useless elements, but also many brave, excellent comrades, prepared to use all their strength and capacities and devote their whole life to the cause of the Comintern, not only to take upon themselves obligations, but also to do justice to them and carry out decisions.

I think that if at this Plenum we raise all questions with the greatest precision if we apply self-criticism on the largest possible scale, in order to eliminate our defects and mistakes, this will create the necessary premise for keeping our word to the Comintern: "We want to make the turn towards Bolshevik mass work a reality".

# Concluding Speech of Comrade Manuilsky.

## I. SOME RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSION.

The discussion in the Plenum has indubitably had many positive aspects. Some comrades have raised a number of important political questions. The German delegation for instance pointed out perfectly rightly that the Y.C.I. and its sections have accomplished exceedingly little in propaganda and agitation with respect to the Young Plan. It is of extreme importance that this has been pointed out, and it applies not only to the Y.C.I., but to the Comintern. Our sections in England and France have developed no agitation around this important political event, to which the attention of the broad working masses should have been directed.

Speeches have been given here which bear witness not only to the political maturity of the comrades speaking, but to the political growth of the sections of the Y.C.I. represented by these comrades. I refer to some of the Polish comrades.

The Plenum has also shown us the very remarkable political steadfastness of our youth in the struggle against the Right deviation. Every speech has demonstrated the closest contact between the young communists and our Parties. The questions agitating the communist world movement and some of its sections at the present time touch our Y.C.I. organisations very nearly.

At the same time, however, we must candidly point out the many negative aspects of the discussion. Lenin told us that our task with regard to youth did not consist of flattering it, but of telling it the truth openly. Lenin's advice has perhaps never been so necessary in the history of the Y.C.I. as just now. To-day we must tell you the bitter truth, however hard it may appear to you.

First of all it must be stated that very little, extremely little, really definite has been said here with regard to the turn itself. There has been ample philosophising in regard to the new line, general phrases and considerations have been brought forward, but there has been an almost entire lack of suggestions for the practical realisation of the turn. And this is not by accident. First of all it must be emphasised that the E.C. of the Y.C.I. I believe you will share my opinion prepared extremely inadequately for the present Plenum. In the second place it must be admitted that no section has been able to record actual experiences, which would have lent the debates on the turn a much greater interest; this actual experience is still lacking.

We must also include in the negative aspects of the discussion the extremely weak self-criticism in your ranks. It seems to me insufficient to express great satisfaction that you have been pursuing the right line. The question with which we are concerned is that you, with the correct political line and in the midst of a comprehensive process of radicalisation in the working masses, have made no progress as compared with the Fifth Congress. Why, on the contrary, has the number of members in the sections of the Y.C.I. even diminished? The Plenum showed no signs of the uneasiness which would have been justified, and should have been felt by all of you in the face of these losses. In this respect the present Plenum passed off as smoothly as all other Plenums.

There has been no self criticism either from above or below, nor from the individual sections. Self criticism has been at least exceedingly weak.

Again, we must include in the weak aspects of our discussion the fact that here, at the Plenum of the Y.C.I., meeting at the moment of the maturing of a new imperialist war, scarcely a speaker referred to this threat.

But does not the question of anti-war work form the most important constituent of the turn? Many comrades have made quite general references to the preparation being made for the decisive struggles. But is not anti-imperialist work the subject of which the youth should have boasted enthusiastically here before the Comintern, is this work not one of the most decisive functions of the Y.C.I.? Very little has been said on all this.

And finally, in my opinion, the most important point of all is that many of you are not clear as to the turn.

## II. THE DECISIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE TURN.

What is the actual nature of the turn? It means that we must abandon a number of faulty views which have

found their way into our sections, and direct our course to mass work. This course towards mass work signifies at the present time the struggle for the leadership of the class struggles of the young workers fighting with the working class in every country. It need not be said that the highest form which such a movement can take is that of the armed insurrection. The paths leading to such high forms as this are such movements as political strikes, economic strikes developing into political struggles, political demonstrations. And finally the path leading to the strengthening of our influence in the economic and political struggles of the working class, and to the firmer establishment of our influence over the working masses — this is our work in the factories and workshops and in the auxiliary organisations, in the sport organisations, and, above all of course in the Trade Unions, the formation of organisations of this kind around our Party, and around our Communist Youth.

The disputes which have arisen as to whether the turn will represent a political or an organisational action show two very dangerous tendencies, which may develop at the present time in our Youth movement.

Those comrades who maintain that the turn must bear a purely organisational character, obviously show a tendency to disparage the importance of the present class struggle, and to place in the foreground the organisational questions, the work in the auxiliary organisations, etc., that is to say, they reduce the whole question of the turn to a reorganisation of the working system. Here the danger of opportunism arises.

A no less serious danger is the tendency here arising to separate the organisational problems from the political, and to represent the turn as a purely political question. Comrade Konetzky has spoken here among others. With what turn are we concerned?, he asks. Is it a tactical turn? No, it is a political one — he proclaims profoundly. But is the tactical turn not a political one? What kind of policy is that which is carried on without factory nuclei? What kind of a policy is that without strikes, without the concrete realisation of the question of our firm foothold in the factories and in the sport organisations? Such a policy is no policy at all, but a debating society. Such discussions as these can transform the Y.C.I. into just such a debating society. Here there is a concealed danger of a separation of the decisive organisational questions from "politics". You have already carried out the political turn, jointly with us, for you are a part of us, and a part of our whole movement. And therefore any attempt to oppose some purely political standpoint to the sum total of the most important measures of detail work at present on our agenda represents a very dangerous tendency which may separate us in its further course from practical mass work. I am therefore of the opinion that your debates have not been along the right line.

## III. THE MAIN DANGER THREATENING THE Y.C.I.

The first question which must be put in connection with the turn is the question of what danger is threatening the youth movement at the present time: the right or the left deviation?

In the Communist world movement the chief danger at the moment is — the right danger. This arose in the second period, during the stabilisation of capitalism. But an inclination has been shown in our own ranks towards a theory of "organised capitalism", a theory leaning towards Social-Democracy, to Hilferding, and to others who firmly believe in capitalist stabilisation being unshakeable and in the alleged sanitation of the capitalist order, and it is therefore perfectly obvious that such theories reflect the trends present in some links of our Party, who have succumbed to the illusion of the stability of capitalist stabilisation.

The second factor favouring the growth of the right danger is the pressure put on our sections by still powerful Social-Democracy. We only need remember the Austrian Communist Party and Austrian Social-Democracy. It is not by accident that the Austrian comrades too possess their own "communist" Austro-Marxism. Nor is it by accident that we find among the Belgian comrades a variety of communist Otto-Bauerism.

Thirdly, the Right danger is still further nourished by the fact that in the countries of the White Terror the communist movement is exposed to the most savage repression. Under such conditions liquidatory tendencies are inevitably bound to arise. But does not the rise of the fresh wave of revolution, the increasing acuteness of the class struggle, combined with the apparent economic crisis, once more shake the capitalist stabilisation and remove the right danger? No. The right danger does not disappear, it does not lessen, it rather increases, since the greater acuteness of the class struggles brings with it an increasing fear of these struggles on the part of the opportunist elements.

Is the right danger the chief danger in the Y.C.I.? The Y.C.I. is a constituent of the Comintern, and every section of the Y.C.I. is a constituent of the corresponding communist party. You are not divided from our lives, you are not living on the moon, you have the same interests as we have. Therefore at the present time the right danger is the greatest danger for you too. How is this danger evidenced in the youth movement? In political neutrality, in cultural side-tracking, in a tail policy, in a lagging behind the strike movement, in the underestimation of the process of radicalisation, etc.

If we ask the question: what danger threatens you at the present time in the turn to mass work,—the reply must be: your narrow circle of interests, your isolation, a caste-like isolation from the broad working masses. This is the main obstacle lying in the path of your conversion into a mass organisation.

In consequence of your narrow circle of interests, the situation has arisen among you that rank and file members of the Young Communist Leagues run into cultural sidetracks, or are absorbed in the sport movement to such an extent that they regard sport as an end in itself, whilst your heads, your staffs, occupy themselves purely with politics. The separation between politics and the other forms of work causes the cultural and sport movements to develop independently of your influence, and inevitably to assume the most varying distorted forms. You declare: a new revolutionary wave is rising, the class struggle is beginning to become more acute—and under these conditions work in the mass organisations is a backward form, what we need now is higher forms. Comrade Konetzky has here expounded his "political" theory of the turn, in order to condone inactivity and passivity. You tell us: Now, in the period of ever acuter struggles, the elementary forms of mass work are useless, now we must form the vanguard. But if we put you the straightforward question: Why have you not carried out the decisions of the V. Congress?, you have your answer ready. You say: we have not carried out the decisions of the V. Congress because our functionary cadre is inefficient.

It is not because of an inefficient cadre that you have not executed the decisions of the V. Congress, but because you have adopted the turn under the pressure of the Comintern. We have urged you, and your turn is not the result of conviction, but of discipline. You have not yet grasped the importance of mass work. Each of you has not yet recognised that without a turn to mass work we are bound to lose even that which we have already gained. We shall destroy our youth movement. This is your decisive error since the V. Congress.

#### IV. PETTY-BOURGEOIS RADICALISM.

What maladies have attacked your movement? It has very often been attacked by the malady of petty-bourgeois radical phraseology, and unless we state clearly and firmly at this Plenum that we declare war to the knife to the petty bourgeois phrase, we shall not effectuate our turn to mass work.

The social composition of the Y.C.I. is bad, and the course of events shows "great fluctuations"—giving rise to the danger of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

What is the essential character of petty-bourgeois radicalism? It is exceedingly revolutionary words and exceedingly helpless in deeds. We may recollect the anarchist schools and circles which existed before the war for instance. There we can find as much criticism as we can desire of the alleged lack of revolutionary spirit among the Bolsheviks, but actually not a single real revolutionary action against the capitalist system. I should like to recommend all sections

of the Y.C.I., without exception, to study the history of anarchism before the war.

Petty-bourgeois radicalism cannot be a mass party, it can only be a school, a circle, a select organisation of choice spirits, that which the French call the "elite".

And whilst Right opportunism disparages the rôle played by the Party as vanguard, and limps behind the movement, the small groups infected by cliquishness separate themselves from the masses, and condemn themselves to phrase mongering. Both deviations have revealed themselves in the international working youth movement. They have also both been revealed in the history of the communist movement. A classic example of such petty bourgeois radicalism was furnished by Trotskyism, concealing its actually counter-revolutionary character behind Left phrases. The criticism of the Right deviation put forward in various sections of the Y.C.I. contains however at times some semi-Trotskyist sub-tones, such as have been heard here in Comrade Konetzky's speech.

Comrade Schatzkin for instance, when breaking a lance against the Right deviation, declared that the representatives of the Right deviation are not only those who oppose the Party with a definite political platform, but at the same time those who support the line of the Party. Comrade Schatzkin, in doing this, and in counting the tried and tested workers, those who went through the civil war with us and remained faithful to the Party through all changes to those who have fallen into the bog of opportunism, does not help the Party to fight the Right deviation; whom he helps is the Trotskyists, for he has smuggled semi-Trotskyist ideas into the columns of the "Komsomolskaya Pravda".

Have you fought this deviation determinedly in your sections? Your struggle against the Left deviations has been inadequate. I am aware that the Y.C.I. passed a resolution condemning Schatzkin's standpoint. But still you have not carried out a really energetic struggle against the danger "from the Left".

#### V. COMRADE KONETZKY'S ERRORS.

In connection with the question of the Left deviation, I should like to deal in detail with Comrade Konetzky's speech. Is it possible to separate political from organisational tasks as mechanically as Comrade Konetzky does this?

The question of the factory nuclei is a political question, a question of how our Party can be cleared of hangers-on, and every works and factory made into a stronghold of communism. Comrade Konetzky does not grasp that the turn hitherto undertaken has been of a tactical character.

We were fully convinced at the VI. Congress as also at the X. E.C.C.I. Plenum that we were adopting a tactical turn. This does not suffice Comrade Konetzky. But if it were not a tactical turn, what was it then? Obviously an alteration of the political line, and one which was not correct. Comrade Konetzky is apparently the opinion that the line formerly followed by us, was wrong. Hitherto we have believed that we were making a tactical turn, for instance, when we passed from our support of the Anglo-Russian Committee to the policy of rupture with the General Council. At a certain stage of development the tactics of supporting the Anglo-Russia Committee were right. Now Comrade Konetzky obviously regards them as having been wrong. We are of the opinion, for instance, that when we lent our support, in the Polish question, at a certain stage of the development of the Polish C.P., to the "bloc" of the two historical groupings around comrades Kostrzeva and Lensky, this was the right tactics at the time. Comrade Konetzky obviously believes that, when we renounced the policy of the "bloc" of these two groups, this was not a tactical change, but a recognition of the incorrectness of the former political line of the E.C.C.I. It has already been pointed out here that the Y.C.I., when turning to mass work, will have to take up a complete chain of many links: economic strikes, political demonstrations, political strikes, work in the shops and factories, in the trade unions, in the mass organisations, etc.

Comrade Grigoriev has drawn special attention to the importance of the strike as one of the decisive links in the turn of the Y.C.I. towards the masses. The Plenum of the Y.C.I. heard this speech with great satisfaction. But how great was our astonishment when Comrade Konetzky, a member of the Presidium of the Y.C.I., followed up this

speech by a violent attack on Comrade Grigoriev on the ground of "economism". The strike as means of mobilising the masses does not suffice Comrade Konetzky. He must be presented with a purely political movement before he deigns to accord it his attention. What is this but a veiling and justifying of passivity by means of radical phrases? Instead of saying that every economic strike should be utilised, that we should intervene actively in such strikes and convert them into political strikes, he attacks Comrade Grigoriev for raising the question at all. Is this not an attitude supporting narrowness of outlook? Comrade Konetzky seems to believe that history will lay before him a revolutionary situation in a perfectly crystal clear form, that like a Napoleon he will march at the head of the troops of the Y. C. I., leading them to the attack on the fortresses of capitalism. Comrade Konetzky, you have constructed this plan in your own mind. But believe me, in reality a revolution is not like this. Even on the eve of the armed insurrection we may have elementary economic strikes. On the very eve of the decisive struggle we shall have strata of workers who have not yet recognised their general class tasks, and who will advance elementary demands. It need not be said that it is our task to utilise every strike to the utmost, and to take part in every strike.

The proper revolutionist is going to wait until the masses are politically ripe, till they have cast aside the napkins of "economism". That the masses are at times influenced by other considerations than are the "class conscious" Konetzky's, that they think of their daily bread, of the bottle of milk for the child, that they sometimes react more powerfully to matters which appear to us less important—all this does not strike people like Konetzky. It does not strike them that it is the task of the revolutionist to utilise these elementary needs of the masses in order to raise the masses to the level of their common class tasks. The revolutionist who maintains real contact with the masses will not fall into despair because the masses do not at once follow the slogan of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. He will endeavour to draw the most backward strata of workers into the struggle, proceeding from the simple and immediate demands, comprehensible to the broadest masses. Upon what paths does Comrade Konetzky propose to approach the young workers? Work in the factories, in workshops—this is designated as organisational cretinism; work in the auxiliary organisations—depolitisation; work in the trade unions—a third grade task, palling before "high politics"; participation in strikes—vulgar economism. What is left for mass work? Is this not the theory of an intellectual idler, a "hero" thronging far above the masses, a petty bourgeois revolutionist concealing his passivity behind "Left" phraseology.

Comrade Konetzky's second thesis! With regard to the united front Comrade Konetzky spoke rightly on some points. He very rightly pointed out that the Party must invariably maintain its own political character, since otherwise we shall have no united front, but will find ourselves following in the wake of the non-party workers or, still worse, of the reformists. But this correct political thought Comrade Konetzky immediately buries beneath a heap of the gravest political errors. He asks us all pathetically, with whom are we to carry out the united front tactics? With people like Kilbom? Comrade Konetzky, do you really fail to see, at a moment when thousands and millions of workers are drawn into the movement, the fighting proletarian masses behind the Kilboms who frighten you? Why do you identify these masses with the Kilboms? Why such an excessive over-estimation of the insignificant rôle played by the Kilboms in the labour movement? What has such an over-estimation in common with radicalism? You trouble yourself more about the importance of the Kilboms than about yourself. Do you really fail to comprehend that our real weakness lies in our incapability to carry out the united front tactics, to intervene actively in the struggle? We content ourselves with the narrow circle of those sharing our views, and leave the masses of millions of young workers in the hands of our class enemy. Those who never go into the water well never learn to swim. But Comrade Konetzky's theory is somewhat as follows: "Do not go into the water, you might get drowned." This is not the theory of a revolutionist, but of a Philistine, afraid of the rising billows.

Comrade Konetzky is further of the opinion that we shall not be able to carry through our united front tactics until

all our Parties have been cured of opportunism. Such a conception of opportunism is purely mechanical. It reduces its importance in the labour movement. Comrade Konetzky does not grasp that opportunism is no episodic phenomenon, that opportunism will not be finally abolished until the victory of the proletarian world revolution, that the roots of opportunism have their hold in the conditions given by the class struggle of the proletariat, a struggle going forward beneath the stupendous pressure put upon the working class by the capitalist system. Whilst carrying out our united front tactics we shall expose those opportunists who are seeking, from the Right, to transform these tactics into a policy in support of social democracy; and at the same time we shall guard against such people as Comrade Konetzky, who destroy the revolutionary forms of the united front tactics by their wish to condemn the Communist Parties and communist youth to a policy of abstention in the class struggles of the proletariat.

Here not only Comrade Konetzky comes in question. Apart from comrade Khitarov's concluding words, there has been no contradiction raised at this Plenum against Comrade Konetzky's views on the fundamental question of the tactics of the Comintern. And this shows that Comrade Konetzky has expressed not only his own opinion, but that a system of views is obtaining among your functionaries in the question of the united front tactics. Unless views of this description are overcome, the Y. C. I. will never succeed in seizing the initiative in carrying out the new and revolutionary forms of the tactics of the united front. You have offered no criticism, at this Plenum, of the abstention standpoint in questions relating to the new forms of united front tactics. But such a criticism is a necessary constituent of the turn. Instead you have—for the hundredth time—dished up the political philosophy of the turn, with which we are already more than satiated. Let us make a count of how many turns we have undertaken of late: at the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U., at the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I., at the VI. Congress, at the X. E. C. C. I. Plenum, at the V. Congress of the Y. C. I. And now we come forward and want another turn (laughter). Have we not too many already? Is not such a plenitude of turns likely to cause confusion among the youth of your organisations? Your unsound predilection for turns is not accidental. All the talk and lectures about new lines only serve to conceal your helplessness in actual practice.

## VI. UNFULFILLED DECISIONS AND TASKS OF THE SECTIONS OF THE C. I.

You have failed to carry out the decisions of the V. Congress, and now you stand up and say: let us talk this question over again politically. You have not stirred a finger, in the course of eighteen months, towards the re-orientation of your organisations in accordance with the decisions of the Y. C. I. You feel the weakness of your position. You cannot say a word in reply to the just criticism of the Comintern. You undertake manoeuvres intended to distract attention from the point. You want to plunge us into endless discussions again. You can produce ample turns, but little political work.

Let us glance at the decisions of the VI. World Congress. These contain clear instructions on the tasks of the Young Communist organisations:

"The Congress — we read in the resolution of the VI. World Congress, instructs the Young Communist International to examine the question of the tactics and the methods of work of the Young Communist International, with a view to embracing larger sections of the working youth, to adopting more varied methods of recruiting, to securing a more lively and active response to their economic, educational, and theoretical requirements, while at the same time preserving the militant political features of the Young Communist Leagues.

In view of the more important part now being played by the youth in industry, it is necessary to intensify the work of the trade union youth sections. In those places where young workers are not eligible for membership in trade unions it is necessary to proceed to organise, under the leadership of the Young Communist Leagues, special youth societies, the object of which shall be to fight for the economic needs of the proletarian youth. To conduct the industrial struggle; to participate in the leader-

ship of strikes and, in special cases, independently to conduct strikes; to work in the trade unions; to fight for the right of young workers to membership of trade unions; to see that the Young Communist Leagues penetrate into every organisation to which young workers belong (trade unions, sport organisations, etc.); to develop anti-militarist work; to give a sharp turn to methods and tactics in the direction of mass work. — such must be the principal tasks of the Young Communist International. Unless it undertakes and fulfils these tasks the Young Communist International will never be able to organise a real mass struggle against imperialism and war.

All that we have been disputing about is already contained in the resolution of the VI. Congress. Does it not lay down a clear line? It could scarcely be stated more clearly.

You have a crisis in four sections; in the Czech, English, Norwegian, and Austrian. Here you have occupied your time with the philosophy of the turn. Would it not have been better to form commissions for the purpose of studying the causes of these crises, the reasons for the dwindling of your organisations? Here you would find many characteristic features of the narrow circle fault, hiding behind petty bourgeois radical phraseology. You could have brought forward the results of this investigation at the Plenum, shown their significance. You could have shown how work should not be done, and you would have thereby helped the other Sections of the Comintern to correct their errors.

During the last two years about 100 strikes of young workers have taken place, but it has not occurred to anyone to report to the Plenum the results and lessons of these strikes. What were their causes? What questions rouse the young workers most? What forms did these strikes assume? What part did the Y.C.I. take in them? How is the weakness of our influence in the strikes to be explained? What lessons are to be learnt from these strikes by all the sections of the Y.C.I. This would have been a step towards real mass work in the Y.C.I.

The resolution of the VI. World Congress refers to the necessity of forming multifarious youth associations and organisations, and of finding organisational forms enabling us to reach working youth. You, however, have only tried to imitate us. You have no initiative of your own. You have now taken up the idea of youth shop stewards, and include this in your programme of action. But have you made a study of your own experience in the different countries? What definite results are known? Among our French comrades we have the institution known as the "Foyers de jeunes gens", and recently we have had the holiday camps for young people. The experience thus gained must be put at the disposal of other countries. The communist youth of France has also accomplished much useful anti-war work. All these results should be popularised in the other sections.

Every factory nucleus must consider what forms of organisation, what auxiliary organisations, it must create, in order to reach the young workers. The youth leagues have too narrow a basis. This must be extended, and a network of auxiliary organisations formed. More stimulus from below! Less general talk about doing things on a "world scale"! No single comrade has told us here of practical measures being taken towards the capture and politisation of the sport organisations. And yet definite decisions on these points lie before us. The sport organisations, properly approached, could be utilised all round for political aims. You could make of them the most comprehensive reservoirs for the actions taken by the Y.C.I. in the political class arena. They must be induced to take part in the demonstrations, in the political campaign of the Y.C.I., in strikes, in the election campaigns, etc. At the present juncture of acuter class struggle you could make of the sport organisations the cadre of a self-defence corps. The work must be revolutionary, Bolshevik, not weakened by lamentations on denolitisation. If you can report to us at the next Plenum how many self defence formations and workers defence corps have been organised, how many strike pickets prepared, etc., etc.—then, and not till then, will we be able to say that the Y.C.I. is actually carrying out the new line.

You welcome the Red Front Fighters League. But you must grasp the fact that it is solely on account of your

inactivity that we have not formed similar leagues in the other countries. Less applause, and more really revolutionary deeds.

Your turn to mass work must be carried out in actual practice in such a manner that the Party participates immediately and actively, and controls the reorganisation. Often enough the shortcomings of your cadres are not due to bad intentions hindering them from pursuing the correct line, but to a lack of knowledge of how to realise the line. Therefore it is needful to organise the representation of the competent Party instances in the organisations of the Y.C.I., from the top to the bottom, from the Executives of the Y.C.I. down to the smallest nucleus. The Comintern must be represented in the Y.C.I., the Central Committees of the Parties must be represented in the Central Committees of the Y.C.I. and so forth down to the nuclei. It is only by this means, by sending you older and experienced comrades—not venerable old men filling the office of representatives, but collaborators in the Y.C.I.—we can help you to carry through the turn

A number of measures must be taken for penetrating into the Young Socialist International. Groups of the most active functionaries must be sent to the organisations of the young socialists, in order to gather together the oppositional elements in these, and to utilise their dissatisfaction with the treacherous policy of the heads of the II. International.

The activities of the Y.C. organisations must be closely bound up with work in the trade unions. The young communists must be taught to take up the immediate interests of working youth, and not to either discuss questions of "high politics" or to occupy themselves with sexual problems, but rather to take up detail work at times in the economic organisations of working youth. These organisations must be built up, filled with fighting spirit, made into sources from which fresh forces can be drawn for the functionary cadre of the Y.C.I.

And finally, the revolutionary and educational role of the Y.C.I. must be restored to it. This is the most important constituent of the turn. Without this restoration of the educational revolutionary role of the Y.C.I. you will not extend the basis of your organisation, you will continue to be a second "young" communist party. This task is no invention of ours, it is Lenin's legacy to the Y.C.I. What did Lenin write on the role to be played by the Y.C.I. in education to revolution?

"I must say that these tasks of youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, can be expressed in the brief words: the task is, that we learn . . . The young people can **only** learn communism when they combine every step of their learning, their education and training, with the ceaseless struggle of the proletariat and the workers against the old exploitive society . . . In order to realise this, we need the young generation, which has begun, in the disciplined and desperate struggle against the bourgeoisie, to become transformed into conscious human beings. In this struggle it trains real communists, it must combine every step of its learning, training, and education to this struggle, and subordinate these to it. . . . Only then will the Young Communist League have the right to bear its name of the league of the young communist generation, when it combines every step of its teaching, training, and education, with participation in the common struggle of all workers against the exploiters".

Are these words of Lenin correct, or is Lenin's insistence that the Young Communist League must be an educational organisation perhaps another form of denolitisation? And if these words are correct, then tell me in what the revolutionary educational role of the young communist organisations finds expression?

What are the characteristic features of a revolutionary educational organisation? In the first place it is surrounded, to a much greater degree than the Party, with a network of auxiliary organisations. But at the present time the Party is working much more than you are in the sport and auxiliary organisations of every description. You regard yourselves much more than the Party as an exclusive, political organisation. The Y.C.I. considers it to be beneath its dignity to

condescend to a revolutionary educational role. It has other tasks, it has for instance to correct the Comintern, and does not need to trouble itself with those organisations in which the "ignorant" young workers are gathered together.

The second characteristic feature of the revolutionary educational nature of the Y.C.I. lies in the fact that the communist youth organisations must be built up on a broader basis than the Communist Parties. In your organisations more tolerance must be shown towards the errors of the members of the subordinate communist youth organisations than in the Parties. It cannot be demanded that the raw material at your disposal can be transmuted at one blow into 100 per communists. If a youth comrade expresses some wrong idea, his error must be explained in such a way that not only he recognises the fault, but the whole mass of young communists.

You are perhaps of the opinion that such a treatment of individual utterances, made by this or that comrade, does not correspond to the line of the Comintern! Permit me to refer to Lenin:

"It is one thing when adults (that is, Brandler, Thalheimer, etc. D.M.), claiming the right to lead and teach, confuse the proletariat. Against these a relentless combat is necessary. But the youth organisations are quite another thing; these declare openly that they are still learning, that their paramount task is to train functionaries for the socialist party. Such people must be helped in every way, by showing the utmost patience with their errors, and trying to remove these gradually, and mainly by convincing, not by combating. It not infrequently occurs that the representatives of the adult older generation do not understand how to approach in the right way the young people who are inevitably attaining to socialism in another way, and not in the way, not in the form, not in the situation, of their fathers."

This Lenin wrote. And who "corrects" him? He is corrected by those who introduce into the young communist organisations a stricter regime than obtains in the Party. The comrades of the Y.C.I. tell us: You demand of us a turn; but our cadres are fit for nothing, they are to blame that we have not succeeded in the turn. Seen thus, we cannot but say of you: You are extremely intolerant towards your cadres; why, then, are you so tolerant of the errors of Comrade Konetzky? You threaten to sweep aside all who fail to grasp the character of the new line. Then show your resolution in the case of Comrade Konetzky. The fact is that you frequently approach your cadres from the group standpoint. When we recommend you to observe tolerance towards errors, we do not refer to your leading cadre of functionaries, but to the mass of rank and file young communists, to whom you should show tolerance, but whom you actually treat much more intolerantly than such leaders as Comrade Konetzky. It will at least be admitted that we have brought up a generation of such fighters as the Young Communists in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland—and the comrades forming your Presidium. Or were these comrades born as 100 per cent communists?

## VII. THE CADRE PROBLEM.

In this connection the question of the relation to our cadres arises, the methods of their revolutionary education and training.

Your treatment of the question of the cadre contained also many exaggerations. You have not carried out the decisions of the fifth congress. Someone must bear the responsibility. Who is to blame? Comrade Rust said here that if the "Generals" were to be made responsible for lost battles, then the Majors should be judged by the same criterion. I fear that an attempt is being made to load the entire responsibility onto the Majors, the subordinate officers, and in particular upon the "privates". Criticism must however be carried out in all sections and above all in the leading bodies. The problem of the cadre is also formulated more strictly by you than by us in the Communist Parties. What is the situation in the Communist Parties? I will take as an example the strongest section of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. How did the cadres develop here? Our cadres developed above all during the 25 years of our party's history, they matured and were trained in the severe struggle against

Tsarism, which caused the death of more than a generation of revolutionaries in the dungeons and in banishment. They then grew in the struggles accompanying the two revolutions, and particularly in the proletarian October revolution. The sifting of our cadres took place during the process of civil war. And finally they are growing now under the victorious proletarian dictatorship which is working to build up socialism. But when despite all this we are short of trained forces, what should the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries say? These parties have not gone through such a political school. They have not built up such a body of officials as we in the Soviet Union possess, and they will not be able to do so before the victory of the proletariat. Our cadres grew in the various countries, in Germany, Austria, Hungary, in the process of the revolutionary struggles, in the first wave of the revolution in 1918, in the class struggles, the strikes and demonstrations not only in the present third period, but also in the second period. And finally, these cadres grew in the various crises experienced by the Communist Parties. And further, in the countries of the white terror, the capitalist repression played a decisive role in the process of sifting the cadres. The body of officials at work in the illegal parties is often swept away in three or six months. The problem of the cadre is therefore not so simple as many of you seem to think.

Party cadres cannot be created artificially. They grow together with the Party and reflect the general growth of the Party. It would be difficult to go beyond the limits drawn by the general development of the Party. Ready-made formulas shaken out of your sleeve won't help the matter at all.

The policy of the organisational iron broom which is recommended by a number of comrades is a policy of despair, and not a policy calculated to strengthen the basis of the Party. We are not so blessed with forces that we can afford to be senselessly lavish with them. The formation of the cadre cannot be accomplished either by "campaigns" to renew the body of officials, or by purgings. Don't think that we can find ready-made cadres with the divining stick. Certainly, a great number of your officials will have to be replaced in the process of preparing for the coming struggles, as well as in the struggles themselves. The most important point in the solution of the cadre problem is however that the cadres are developed on the basis of the correct political line. The theory is already widespread in the ranks of the Y.C.I. that the alterations in the body of officials of the Y.C.I. result from the character of the "third period" in the post-war development of the international class movement.

We find this theory in part in the article of comrade Rust published in the "Komsomolskaya Pravda":

"If we examine the question of the methods of work from the standpoint both of their content and form, we shall see that many comrades who developed into active workers in the 'peaceful period', are completely incapable of carrying out the tasks which the 'storm period' gives us. They cannot accustom themselves to the new situation and they have to be replaced."

It is correct to say that the "peaceful" period sets its special stamp on our body of officials. It is also undeniable that the "storm period" produces new revolutionary strata from the heart of the working class. But from these facts to the caricature of bolshevism which a number of Y.C.I. leaders would like to sketch in the question of the cadre and the third period, is a far cry. One cannot make such a mechanical division between the second and the third periods as they seek to do. Such a primitive representation of the question is incorrect, because the second period is characterised also by class movements, although to a lesser degree than the third period.

Did not the working class also fight during the second period? What great losses the Y.C.I. suffered in all countries in this period! Did the cadres of the Y.C.I. grow in these years of unrelieved reaction? Had they not the examples of the Russian revolution 1917, the class struggles in Germany in 1918, 1919 and 1923, and the numerous revolutionary movements in the colonies before their eyes? How under such circumstances can one declare that our cadres developed in a period of ebb, and that this and only this is responsible for the fact that the decisions of the 5th Congress of the Y.C.I. have not been carried out?

In just the same way it is an exaggeration to say that our cadres are soaked in social democratic traditions. It is not true in this categorical form of the Communist Parties, and it is still less true of the organisations of the Y. C. I. whose members have never gone through any other school than that of the Y. C. I. It is true, of course, that the social democratic and capitalist environment must affect our Parties and also the young communist organisations, and it would be foolish to deny this, but we must not exaggerate. The struggle against the social democratic traditions must not be made into a caricature.

In the Y. C. I. it is more a question of a circle tradition which one generation takes over from the last. This is the tradition which the Y. C. I. must fight.

The problem of the cadre must be dealt with more seriously. The cadres must be formed and replaced according to the capacities of the comrades in question for mass work, their bolshevist persistence, and their firmness in supporting the political line of the Communist International. Comrade Konetzki declared here that the task of the turn consisted in the fact that the youth must fight for the policy of the Communist International. The conclusion from this statement would be that up to the present the Y. C. I. had had its own special line, but that now it must take up a new alignment for its cadres in defence of the policy of the Communist International. If that were the case, then the Communist International would long ago have taken up the struggle with you. When Comrade Konetzki maintains his own standpoint against that of the Communist International in the question of the united front tactic, when he holds a different opinion from that of the Communist International in the Czech question, when in the Polish question a number of friends of Comrade Konetzki believe that the workers who have abandoned the former Polish majority in favour of the former minority, represent the main opportunist danger in the Communist Party of Poland, then Comrade Konetzki does not fight for the policy of the Communist International, but introduces cliquishness into the Young Communist International. We are opposed to this and we will continue to oppose it with all possible energy. We will put an end to it, and we must do so because that represents the preliminary condition for the recovery of the young communist organisations and their turn to mass work.

### VIII. CONCERNING THE CZECH PARTY.

In the last part of my closing speech I will deal with the special problems of the Parties.

First of all a few words concerning the Czech Party. The situation in the Czech Party is extremely complicated. A year ago this Party experienced a very violent right-wing crisis. As you are probably aware it came out of the crisis with a new leadership elected at the fifth Party Congress. This leadership is young and has no very considerable political experience, but in our opinion it is the only possible leadership under the circumstances which have arisen in the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. The situation in the Czech Party is so complicated because although the opportunist leadership has been removed, a sort of periphery of Party officials with the old social democratic mental equipment has remained. We must register the fact that on the 1st August in the Czech Party numerous officials remained at home, because they feared to show themselves on the streets. The Prague organisation for instance has 8,000 members, but only 2,000 of these took part in the demonstration on the 1st August. 6,000 stayed at home. It is clear that such a Party needs a radical and thorough cure against opportunism. The methods proposed by Comrade Konetzki are however not the proper ones to cure the Party.

We must deal a decisive blow against the right-wing deviation, and we will do this in our political resolution on the Czech question. However we shall permit no one to attack the Party leadership which has been formed in the struggle against opportunism, instead of dealing a blow against opportunism. Comrade Konetzki described to us here how the political strike in Czechoslovakia was prepared in connection with the twelfth anniversary of the October revolution. He is not satisfied with the fact that on the 7th November 17,000 Czech proletarians marched through the streets and demonstrated their solidarity with the proletariat of the Soviet Union. He criticises them. Why does he not criticise the

thousands of Party members who did not move a finger in order to release a strike movement in the factories on the 7th November?

Comrade Konetzki, it is impermissible to attack the Czech Communist Party with your methods. Comrade Konetzki, we cannot permit you to discredit a movement which has developed under the most difficult conditions.

Parallel with the opportunist periphery we observe in the Czechish Party a wave of ultra-left tendencies.

Confused by Comrade Konetzki, Comrade Sinek declared here that after the crisis the social fascist elements still dominate in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Comrades, if we characterise our Parties in this way in order to cure them from opportunism, then we shall shatter and destroy them. Such a remedy means to make a sport out of the struggle against opportunism, to play with the crisis, but not to overcome it.

The resolution of the Czech Young Communist League contains, *inter alia*, the following:

"... We must be clear about the fact that a great crisis is approaching in the Party, a crisis which can be considerably greater than the recent Party crisis unless a radical change takes place in the situation of the Party, because the loss of tempo in relation to the radicalisation of the masses and the activation of the forces of the enemy is increasing. The fact must be registered that the present state of the Party exercises a strong influence on the situation of the Young Communist League. There is no doubt that a new and deep crisis in the Party would render the solution of the crisis in the Young Communist League increasingly difficult."

We shall deal with those who drafted this resolution with regard to this formulation. We cannot permit that attempts are made to surprise us with jokes about new crises every three months. We have just finished with the struggle against the right-wing liquidational deviation. In this struggle the liquidators did not hesitate to split the labour unions, by winning 15,000 of the 100,000 members of the red labour unions over to their side. Half of the parliamentary fraction went with the renegades. And under such circumstances we are now asked to deal with another crisis as though it were a sport. Comrades, that won't do. We shall permit no one to play at crises. We have fought the right-wing deviation in the Czech Party and we shall continue to do so with all energy. The intensifying class struggles are already at work cleaning the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from the opportunist elements. In the near future the Party will clean itself still more and fill up its ranks with a fresh stream of proletarian forces.

We shall examine the fact which Comrade Sinek instanced here. We shall criticise every symptom of opportunism sharply. We shall not show tolerance towards the errors of the new leadership because it is a "left-wing" leadership. Comrade Sinek and the Czech Young Communist League must however cure themselves from the left-wing "overstrain" which they have shown towards the Party, because otherwise they will increase the difficulties of the Party. The Central Committee of the Czech Party is taken between two fires, from its own opportunist officials and by the attacks of individual groups who organise their actions from the "left-wing". It is now necessary to concentrate all forces in order to deliver a blow against the right-wing opportunists in the Czech Party. There is no doubt that if the Czech Young Communist League frees itself from one or two of its advisers who seek to jockey it into a false path, it can become a factor making for the recovery of the Party.

### IX. REVOLUTIONARY SITUATIONS AND INSURRECTIONARY SITUATIONS.

I now come to the other question which was discussed here, the question of the revolutionary situation and the soviets in Austria.

In our writings we often refer to an "immediately revolutionary situation", as distinct from a revolutionary situation. The expression "immediately revolutionary situation" comes from comrade Zinoviev and later it took roots in the Communist International. Many of those present, however, will be aware of the fact that Lenin never used this expression.

He spoke of a "revolutionary situation" and laid down its three characteristics, which I also mentioned in my speech.

What is this "immediately revolutionary situation"? If this term has any political significance, then it can only mean a situation of insurrection. One cannot divide the revolutionary situation from the immediately revolutionary situation, the situation of insurrection, just as one cannot set up a Chinese wall between the second and the third period. The confrontation of the "immediately revolutionary situation" and the revolutionary situation means that the question has not been dealt with dialectically and marxistically. It seems to me that we should abandon the term "immediately revolutionary situation" in favour of the simpler expression "situation of insurrection" in the interests of clarity.

When the Austrian comrades in the present stage of the movement spoke of an immediately revolutionary situation, i. e. a situation of insurrection, we attacked them for it. The comrades who expressed their opinions here declared themselves in complete agreement with our criticism.

In connection with the question of the revolutionary situation arises also the question of the slogan of the soviets in Austria. Comrade Rauscher referred to the resolution of the 2nd congress concerning the conditions under which soviets should be formed. The resolution of the 2nd congress reads:

"The organisation of soviets of workers deputies and their development into soviets of workers and soldiers deputies is possible only under the following three conditions:

a) the revolutionary mass uprising of the broadest masses of the workers, working women, soldiers and the working population in general;

b) the intensification of the economic and political crisis to such a degree that the power begins to slide out of the hands of the government;

c) when a serious determination exists in the ranks of important sections of the workers, and above all in the ranks of the Communist Party itself to conduct a determined and systematic struggle for the seizure of power."

Are these conditions present in Austria at the moment? No, not yet. In Austria we have a development of the revolutionary situation, but at the same time not the situation for the immediate formation of soviets.

Does this mean that in a revolutionary situation the Party should not propagate the slogan of the formation of soviets? No, just because the revolutionary situation shows no strict lines of demarcation, we are of the opinion that the putting

forward of the slogan of soviets as an agitational and propaganda slogan is quite in order. Whoever thinks that we should only agitate for the soviets when the situation is ripe is in the wrong. The Austrian comrades must now make practical preparations for the formation of soviets. In the factories anti-fascist committees, self-defence committees, and all sorts of workers organs must be formed in order to assist in widening the fighting front. The soviets will then grow out of all these organisations when the revolutionary movement develops. We cannot wait with folded arms for the revolutionary situation and all the conditions for the formation of soviets to develop. Our task at the moment is to prepare all the forms of such an organisation of the working class in Austria that it will be possible to lead the movement then into the form of soviets.

## X. THE COURSE IN THE DIRECTION OF THE MASSES.

Comrades, in conclusion I must say that this plenary session will have fulfilled a tremendous task, if the turn about which so much has been said, has been grasped by you, and if you carry it out not from motives of discipline, but from inner conviction, if the comrades leave this hall with the firm conviction that to be a Bolshevik means not only to swim against the stream if necessary, but in the moment when the stream rises into a revolutionary flood, to stand at the head of this flood, to direct it and to win the leadership of the class struggles.

For this it is necessary that we should arm ourselves anew and practically. On the 14th July 1789 the proletariat of the Paris suburbs stormed the Bastille, not with toy sabres in their hands, but axes, hatchets and hammers, with the tools of the proletariat. The period of struggle demands that we should prepare for it. The philosophy of the turn must now end. The young communist organisations must now turn with all energy to the practical work. Not only conviction, but also enthusiasm must be carried into the struggle. More elbow room must be given to the mass organisers of the working youth, whilst those who have a complete thesis at hand for all opportunities, but who themselves do not stir a finger to carry them into operation, must be pushed into the background.

If you are willing then we will steer a course in the direction of the masses of the working class youth with you; if you take up a neutral attitude, then we will do it without you, and if you oppose us then we will do it against you.

There must however be no doubt about the fact that we shall carry out this course in the direction of the masses of the working youth with you after this plenary session with bolshevik energy and cleverness. (Applause.)

# The Position and Tasks of the Communist Children's Movement.

## Comrade Fürnberg's Report.

Comrades, I think that you will agree with my proposal to deal in my report mainly with questions which are new to us. I think it is superfluous to deal once more here with matters which have already been mentioned and are generally known. But I will have, of course to touch on some fundamental questions.

### SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS.

Comrades, I think we all agree as to the place of the proletarian child in society. We have already laid down this in our programme. We are of the opinion that the child should be considered as part of a class. We are against the views held by the social democrats and the bourgeoisie who speak of the class of children and the class of adults. Our class division is different, namely, proletariat and bourgeoisie. The child belongs to its own class. This fundamental fact must be the starting point of our whole activity and ideology.

The social democrats have expressed their views on this question in the pamphlet of one of their theorists on the

question of education. I mean the pamphlet of Felix Kanitz who writes as follows:

"Thus, the attitude of adult people towards all children is not the attitude of the ruling class towards the ruled, but there are in the relation of all adults to all children numerous features of class rule. Features of a very harsh, very cruel class rule sanctioned by tradition, religion, and law."

According to him, there is a class of children, and a class of adults, we have laid down in our programme:

"Communist education is possible only if proletarian children are included in the struggle and the work of that class."

This must be, under all circumstances, the starting point of our whole work.

The second fundamental question which should be emphasised, is our attitude to the bourgeois family. While all others who study children's questions fully recognise the bourgeois family — this is the case among the bourgeoisie — or

recognise it partially — this is the case among the social democrats — we emphatically repudiate the bourgeois family. We say emphatically that we are fighting the bourgeois family relentlessly, that we must bring about the inclusion of the proletarian child in the class struggle, regardless if the bourgeois family is destroyed or not.

The third question with which I propose to deal is that of the economic position of the proletarian child. I will deal only very briefly with this question, because it has already been thoroughly discussed on many occasions.

It is generally known that the economic position of the proletarian child is very unsatisfactory indeed, that children must be wage-earners, that the physical deterioration of the proletarian child is strongly developed, that the child suffers most from the economic pressure which weighs heavily on the whole proletariat. I will not give any examples of this, because before such a forum it is not necessary to produce a proof of this.

A few words in this connection about the forms of child-labour. Comrades, there is among us under-estimation of child labour which is to be found in the children's organisations themselves, as well as in the Young Communist Leagues and Parties. It is a fact that millions of children are drawn into the process of production throughout the world. According to bourgeois reporters, four million children are wage-earners in America. The number is of course much greater. Child labour takes various forms. Generally speaking, there are four main forms.

1. Child labour in the industry itself.
2. Labour which children perform in the street.
3. Child labour in the home industry, and in this connection, the labour of the workers own children.
4. Child labour in agriculture.

While there is a general under-estimation of child labour, this under-estimation is very pronounced regarding child labour in factories. This applies particularly to West European countries. Our own comrades do not realise how great is the number of children employed in factories.

The greatest number of children is employed in agriculture and the home industry. In big towns the greatest number of children work in the street, as messengers, newspaper sellers, shoe-blacks, etc.

According to material collected in 1926 by the various states of the United States, child labour is distributed as follows: 42 % of 14—15-year old children are employed in industry, 27 % in trade, 31 % as messengers, errand boys, house porters, and such like. Thus, we see that one-third of the children is employed in the street. I think that this is a too low estimate of this percentage. In practice, and especially if one excludes agriculture, the number of children employed in the street is much higher. It is perfectly clear that in our activity we have paid far too little attention to work among these children.

Comrades, these children are unable to acquire a trade or a profession, theirs are so-called blind alley-professions or occupations, namely, occupations which cease at the age of 17 or 18, because another child is again engaged, for they are occupations and professions for children and youngsters only. It is as clear as daylight that these children constitute subsequently the mass of unskilled workers, and are therefore of particular importance to us at the present juncture. That is why we shall have to pay henceforth more attention to these children.

## CAPITALIST RATIONALISATION AND THE PROLETARIAN CHILD.

Comrades, I will deal now with some new questions which have cropped up lately: firstly, the question of capitalist rationalisation and its effect on children: the effect of capitalist rationalisation on children must be considered by us in three spheres: 1. Regarding child labour; 2. in the school; 3. the effect on children through the enormous effect of capitalist rationalisation on the whole proletarian class, and thereby also on the proletarian child as part of this class.

Regarding child labour, it is perfectly clear that capitalist rationalisation means an increase of child labour. There is a consensus of opinion on this subject. Capitalist rationalisation means increase of child labour and exploitation of the proletarian child. Capitalist rationalisation simplifies labour, it encourages child labour, and in many cases makes it absolutely necessary.

There are certain machines which make child labour necessary, because only small hands can manipulate them. We have had reports on such cases from China, the textile industry there. But there are such cases also in other countries.

I am coming now to the second sphere where capitalist rationalisation makes itself felt: **The School**. We had already a discussion on this question at the leader conference of the Communist Children's Leagues which took place here recently. Comrade Hörnle laid draft theses before this conference in which he says that a contradiction exists between the requirements of the rationalised industry on the one hand, and the necessity of the class rule of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand. According to him, the development of capitalism compels the bourgeoisie to give children a better education and training, because greater demands are made on the mass of the workers. We have repudiated such a conception. We do not think that such compulsion exists. On the contrary, the development of capitalism brings with it worse education and training of the masses who are taught less and less. There is no contradiction between the interests of the bourgeoisie which wants to keep the proletariat on as low a level as possible, and the tendencies of capitalist rationalisation. That wrong views are widely spread, or at least that confusion of ideas exists also in our ranks, is shown by Comrade Wiesner's pamphlet published six months ago, which does not deal clearly with this question. In the interest of increased and improved production, in the interest of capitalist rationalisation, the education and training of the toiling masses must be reduced to a lower standard. Comrades, this does not mean that small sections of workers are not singled out for better training, for this is the case more than ever before. Here we have the new roots for a labour aristocracy. But to say that improved production means necessarily improved education and training of the masses, is a mistake.

What is the real effect of rationalisation on education, on the schools? In his pamphlet, Comrade Wiesner, raises this question correctly: he says that the effect consists in the introduction of economy, several classes are combined, in order to reduce the number of teachers. This is certainly one of the effects of capitalist rationalisation but it is only a minor effect, and not a very important one, I think. More important is the fact that attempts are made to establish a close connection between the schools and the rationalised industry, that we witness attempts at specialised training of children for the various branches of industry already in the schools, that we witness an adaptation of the school curriculum to the requirements of the rationalised industry. It happens, for instance, in Germany that the choice of an occupation or profession is already made in school, namely, through the industry itself.

The third effect of capitalist rationalisation on children, we witness in the struggles of the proletarian class against such rationalisation into which proletarian children are also drawn. When, for instance, as a result of capitalist rationalisation, serious struggles break out in various occupations or factories, or throughout the country, it goes without saying that the children of the strikers are drawn into the struggle and are affected by it.

## MILITARIST EDUCATION.

This brings me to the second question which is confronting us in a new form, the **Question of Military Training of Children Accompanied by Pacifist Propaganda**. One cannot separate these two questions, one must take the two together.

Re military and pacifist education in the schools: comrades, it is obvious that a well-worked out system of military training of children in the schools exists in nearly all capitalist countries. In a number of countries, military training is compulsory, for instance, in France, Italy and Poland. In countries such as Germany, where, owing to the peace treaty, the question of military training cannot be raised openly, such training appears in the garb of gymnastics and in various other forms. But one can say that everywhere military training is one of the most important parts of children's education in bourgeois schools. But side by side with it, we see pacifist education and a hostile attitude to the Soviet Union. I have found in this respect several interesting paragraphs in a manual, or rather guide for elementary teachers. It contains various advice to teachers, how lessons should be conducted

with regard to pacifist education of children, and with regard to arousing their sympathy for the League of Nations. One of these paragraphs is:

"The organisation of the League of Nations should, therefore, be brought to the notice of the youth not methodically, for this would be resented, but casually, in a free and easy manner (there is opportunity for this in every lesson, the book gives examples in this respect). The teacher is to bring up the subject of the necessary cooperation of peoples, and if convenient, should also speak of the League of Nations. On some other occasion some daily incident will perhaps give the desired opportunity, but the teacher should, as much as possible, avoid abstractions and give the children facts. They will like this, will always remember it and be grateful to their teacher."

In another place, struggle against the **Soviet Union** in connection with the pacifist education of children is mentioned cautiously in a cleverly disguised form:

"It frequently happens that a state does wrong, and for the sake of this wrong, makes war on another State. Is not such a war also an infringement of law and order? Why do not the States decide once and for all that whoever among us does wrong, will be punished by us all in the name of justice, that we will all make war on him."

It is said then that this has already been decided and that there is even such a paragraph in the Covenant in the League of Nations. Our good League of Nations will make war on the State which will perhaps some time break the peace. Then comes the following statement:

"Of course, the war which the States will carry on against the breaker of the peace, is also war.

"But this war assumes then a different character, it means infliction of punishment, just as the gendarme has frequently to make use of arms in the name of justice for the upkeep of law and order. But every other war is a breach of the peace.

"The States need not dissolve their armies, but the character of these armies is to be different, they are not to be peacebreakers and law breakers, but guardians of law and order — — gendarmes."

Everyone understands who can be the peace-breaker, and everyone also understands that this war, which is not a war but infliction of punishment, is the war against the Soviet Union. This shows in what spirit and sense it is intended to educate proletarian children in bourgeois schools. On the one hand, military training, and on the other hand, pacifist education with a strong bias against the Soviet Union.

There is also another form of military training of children: bourgeois military youth organisations, fascist children's organisations, which frequently embrace enormous numbers of youngsters. In Italy, for instance, the fascist children's organisation has no less than 789,937 boy and 365,781 girl members. A gigantic number for a country of 42 million inhabitants. Apart from them, there is a whole series of so-called sport organisations etc.: Boy Scout and Girl Guide organisations, the chief aim of which is military training of children.

In this connection, we cannot help mentioning the social democratic children's organisations, the object of which is to provide the pacifist phraseology, the pacifist cloak for the military training of children. One can say that these organisations serve the bourgeoisie fairly well, that the social democratic children's leagues know how to parade in pacifist colours and prevent that the mass of proletarian children be made to take up the correct proletarian class standpoint.

### THE BOURGEOIS SCHOOL REFORM.

It is unfortunately a fact that our whole Communist movement has hitherto failed to take up a clear attitude to the bourgeois school reform. I must quote again Comrade Hörnle. At the conference which I have already mentioned, Comrade Hörnle made in his theses on the question of the school reform the following statement: We have not at present an ascending curve of school reform, but a differentiation in the bourgeois school. I think that we have here a misconstruction of the

question of school reform, and of our attitude to it. What is the school reform in the bourgeois State? It must be clear to every Communist that **school reform in the bourgeois State is and cannot be anything but an attempt to improve the methods of educating slaves, to strengthen the class domination of the bourgeoisie.** Every bourgeois school reform must lead in the end to such a result, and we must therefore **repudiate on principle every bourgeois school reform.** Comrades, this does not mean that we must repudiate all the methods which are used. The bourgeois school reforms itself, naturally, throughout the whole development of capitalism. The school of today is different to the school 80 years ago. But it is nevertheless, in principle, a school for the education of the oppressed just as at that time, and not only just as at that time, for it is better equipped now than before, to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. **The bourgeois school reform means nothing but adaptation of the bourgeois school to the development of capitalism.** That is why Comrade Hörnle's proposition is wrong. The bourgeois school reform is precisely the differentiation which we see now in the bourgeois school. One cannot say that there is no ascending curve of school reform now, but only a differentiation. This would mean that we look upon school reform as something desirable. This is a false standpoint in principle. That is why it is also wrong to speak of a "genuine" school reform, as this is also done by Comrade Wiesner, who raises the question of reform correctly (on the whole in his pamphlet). There is no "genuine" school reform. To us the only question is: **bourgeois school or proletarian school.**

If we repudiate the bourgeois school on principle, this does not mean that we repudiate all the methods applied in the bourgeois school. In this respect, one could perhaps draw a comparison with capitalist rationalisation. We repudiate capitalist rationalisation and oppose it, but we will make use for ourselves and in the proletarian State of the machinery, the inventions which rationalisation brings with it. We repudiate the bourgeois school reform on principle, and bourgeois schools in general. But we will, of course, make use of various methods applied in the bourgeois school — — we are making use of them already in the Soviet Union.

Neither are we averse to fighting for small improvements in the school, we bring forward the question of partial demands in the school, and lead the struggle for these partial demands. But we must simultaneously raise the question of principle, and in this connection there are still many shortcomings in the various Communist Parties.

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PROLETARIAN CHILD.

Just as the struggle for the mass of the proletarian youth has become sharper, the struggle for the mass of the proletarian children is, of course, also sharper. We witness also radicalisation among the mass of workers' children. This is not a mechanical transference of phenomena among adult and young workers to the mass of workers' children. There is a series of facts which show that such radicalisation exists. Of course in different forms, but radicalisation for all that. For instance, a Catholic periodical complains that many children take up a negative attitude to religion. Figures are given to bear this out:

"The question if the church and religion are still of any value, was answered in the negative by 22 % of the people questioned, 18 % are undecided or are contradicting themselves. Only 50 % attach a positive value to religion. The reasons for repudiation are in many cases worded very drastically, on the model of Communist slogans: "The Church is only business". "religion does not feed us", etc.

Comrades, these figures are very important. Just imagine what answers would have been received if such a questionnaire had been sent out 20 years ago. At least 95 % of the children would have given a positive answer.

As to the new methods of the bourgeois organisations to keep the proletarian children under their control: Firstly, the military and fascist organisations: these organisations try to win over the children by their military character and I think that in regard to these organisations, one cannot say that they have been applying new methods lately. I mean the decidedly military-fascist organisations. But if we go a little

further, to the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and sport organisations, we see a series of new methods by which the children are drawn into the work, self-government is encouraged among them and efforts are made to increase their activity, the attitude of the children to the struggles of the working class is taken into consideration, and various other matters.

These new methods have even bewildered Comrades such as Hörnle, to such an extent that he makes the following statement about the Boy Scouts in his book "Fundamental Questions of Communist Education":

"The bourgeois Boy-scout movement is involved in inextricable contradictions. It cannot possibly apply for any length of time the revolutionary educational methods which it has adopted and is advocating."

Here bewilderment and confusion of ideas have reached their climax. Revolutionary educational methods and Boy Scouts!! New methods are certainly applied in this movement, but we must emphatically repudiate the idea that these methods have anything to do with revolutionary methods, they are, of course not revolutionary at all, either regarding their object, or even as a method.

Comrades, not only these Boy Scouts, but even christian organisations who preach humility and want to educate the children into subservient lackeys, even the Catholic children's organisations speak today of the necessity of self-government among children and such like matters.

There are, finally, the social democratic children's organisations. Is it mere chance that the social-democratic children's organisations have so developed in the last years that in a number of countries where no social-democratic children's organisations existed, such organisations are being formed now? One cannot of course ascribe this to chance. This is nothing but an expression of the accentuation of the struggle for the proletarian child.

Matters have progressed even further, we have not only social-democratic children's organisations, but there is already within these organisations the Red Falcon Group. One might say that the Red Falcons have come into being because a renegade of the Communist children's movement has taken our methods to the social-democrats and has established Red Falcons there. I think that such an explanation of the establishment of Red Falcons and their activity would be beside the mark. The Red Falcons, too, do not owe their existence just to mere chance. They, too, are an expression of the accentuation of the struggle for the proletarian child, of the radicalisation of masses of children, and these new methods which are applied there and which approximate to the methods of our Communist children's organisations, show only that the bourgeoisie finds it necessary to apply them.

Comrades, this determines our attitude to the social-democratic children's organisations and Red Falcons.

I think it necessary to make this question quite clear here, for though in regard to the Party and the Y. C. L., there is a consensus of opinion that, in principle, our standpoint differs from that of all other organisations, this cannot yet be said of the children's organisation. A considerable number of our Party members are not yet aware that regarding the education of proletarian children our standpoint differs from that of all other organisations, that we are, in principle, setting ourselves against all other children's organisations from the fascist to the red falcons. This confusion of ideas is to be found also in Comrade Hörnle's book which we have frequently quoted. Comrade Hörnle writes about the struggle for the youth as follows:

"In this struggle, the proletariat, too, is beginning to set against the class education of the bourgeoisie a revolutionary class education of its own in the form of the youth and children's movement."

Then comes a bracket in which the following organisations are enumerated as class organisations of the proletariat.

"Socialist Sunday schools in Great Britain and America. Socialist and Communist children's groups in Germany, 'Red Falcons' in Austria, proletarian Boy Scouts in Norway, and as the most developed, consciously revolutionary form of the proletarian children's movement, the young pioneers in the Soviet Union and in all the stronger Sections of the Communist International."

According to this, the initial stage is the social-democratic

organisation out of which develops the Communist, the highest form being the Pioneers in the Soviet Union. This viewpoint is altogether wrong, and wrong in principle. We must make it perfectly clear that we differ in principle from the social-democratic children's organisation. The social democratic children's organisation is part of the system of bourgeois children's organisations which must be fought with the utmost energy. In some respects, the social-democratic children's organisations must be fought more energetically than the bourgeois children's organisations, because they appeal more to the proletarian children, to the children to whom we also appeal.

### THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT.

It has already been said in Comrade Khitarov's report that the situation in the Communist children's movement is very unsatisfactory.

We said already at the V, World Congress, in the resolution on the children's question, that the children's movement is in a state of stagnation. We must, however, say that a little later, in March, our Presidium discussed again the children's question and made the following statement in its decision:

"While at the time of the World Congress the children's movement was in a state of stagnation, a revival has set in lately. It seems that work is improving in Germany."

At that time, we suffered losses in Germany and Czechoslovakia. Thus, such an appraisal of the children's movement was not justified. In this respect, our Presidium made a serious mistake. But this mistake is mainly due to the mistake made by our Children's Bureau. This one must frankly admit. Comrades, who should protest against such a statement? Of course the comrades familiar with the matter, the comrades who work in this domain. But just the opposite happened.

It has been discussed whether we have a crisis in the international children's movement or not. I think that our children's organisation is very unsatisfactory in a number of countries; it is not a children's organisation at all, but only the beginning of it. However, I do not think there is any occasion to speak of an international crisis, firstly, because the Pioneer League of the Soviet Union does not only belong to the international children's movement, but is also its most important section, and in this Pioneer League of the Soviet Union we have no crisis. Secondly, the general political leadership of the children's movement through the young Communist Leagues has been correct. If we were to speak of a crisis of the international children's movement, we would have to raise the question also in the political sense. I think that for these two reasons alone, it would be wrong to speak of an international crisis of the children's movement.

But why this retrogression? Comrades, I think that there are four main reasons for the retrogression:

1. Our children's organisations are not militant enough, they do not fight energetically enough for the interests of child-workers, they do not link up their activity with the struggle of the adult workers to a sufficient extent, they are isolated from the mass of proletarian children, as well as from the struggles of the workers and even the Communist Party.

2. Generally speaking, we do not know how to apply attractive methods, we do not know how to arouse and develop the activity of the Pioneers themselves. To put the question relatively, the application of interesting methods is much worse in children's than in Y. C. L. organisations, though such interesting methods should be much more applied in the children's movement. In this movement, we have merely a mechanical transference of Y. C. L. methods.

3. The third reason is an utterly erroneous organisational system. Our organisations are not based on school nuclei, they are built up on a residential basis. As to the most important capitalist countries, we cannot do satisfactory work there unless we work in the schools, because we can get hold there of masses of proletarian children. Owing to this, we have not yet been able to form auxiliary organisation.

4. The fourth reason is that we have not paid enough attention to the Leader Question in the children's Movement. The leader question is one of the most decisive questions. If we are unable to train good leaders, nothing will avail us. Even if we fulfil all the other three conditions, without good leaders

we cannot become a mass organisation. Of course, a good leader alone is also nothing, a good leader is one who can fulfil the other three conditions.

Comrades, we have, of course, also satisfactory examples of the militant activity of our children's organisations: in the recent miners' strike in Brůx (Czechoslovakia) our children's organisation has been very active.

But as long as they remain isolated examples, they will not have much practical effect.

Comrades, I would like to say in this connection something about recruiting and economic auxiliary organisations. There are two examples which I will set against each other, so to speak, two extremes both of which are wrong. In a miner's strike in America, some comrades set up the theory that the strike was all that mattered now and that agitation for the Communist children's League was impossible. On the other hand, the mistake was made in Czechoslovakia on the occasion of an agricultural labourers' strike that the representative sent there did nothing but form 3 or 4 new children's organisations, ignoring the strike altogether. Both these extremes are wrong. We must be able to form children's organisations in the midst of struggles without neglecting the latter. It is in this sense that we must participate in the various struggles, then it will be our duty to form auxiliary organisations in the course of these struggles. The auxiliary organisations of the children's league must differ from those of the YCL. Children's auxiliary organisations should not be big national, but local and temporary organisations: they will spring up today, will perhaps exist 6 months, and then their members will come into our organisations. The auxiliary organisation will be dissolved, will perhaps dissolve itself, and new auxiliary organisations will spring up. Life itself will determine the form of such organisations.

Comrades, I am coming now to the **question of methods**. We have now nothing but transference of YCL methods to the children's League. Even in the German League where efforts are made to apply interesting methods, these methods have not yet been applied as they should have been. What is going on in the German League is dissociated from the life of the child and from the struggle of proletarian children in general. What is the use of artificial methods which have no connection with life itself and its struggles? They will only increase our isolation and will not bring about what we want — connection with the masses. I will give a few examples of unsatisfactory methods. I have here an open letter to the Pioneers of the Wasserkante district. This letter is written in a style which YCL members will perhaps appreciate, but I cannot believe that pioneers can get anything out of this letter, that it can serve as an impressive call to them. If we were to ask the German leaders who are certainly the best, what the life of proletarian children is in school and at home, 80% will not be able to give us a concrete answer. We do not have the necessary connections with the proletarian children, and without them we cannot speak their language.

I will give another example of mechanical transference of YCL methods to children in the German League: Hardly had one discovered in the YCL the famous formula of the three points, in less than 10 minutes it was already transferred to the children's League without alteration. This is after all a little bit too mechanical. Three conditions in the YCL, and immediately three conditions in the children's league. The question of the turn concerns, of course, also the children's leagues, and must be linked up with the turn in the Young Communist League. But it is not right to simply transfer these three points mechanically to the children's organisations. Conditions there are in certain respects different. In this connection, I would like to say a few words about the Press. Comrades, our children's press is, in general, better than the children's organisations, which is shown by its editions. The edition is higher than the membership of the organisation in nearly all the countries. But nevertheless, our newspapers have a good many defects. Our German paper is certainly the best, it has several very good pages in which true ability is shown in linking up with children's interests. Children have also their own column in the German organ where they express their views, but even the German newspaper has defects. I think that the two first pages of this newspaper make the impression of having been written for the youth, and not for children. We must, of course have a leading article, also in the

children's newspaper, which deals with political questions. But we must be able to find new forms of expression, we must not cling to the dry forms of an ordinary leading article, because children will not read such an article.

Now a few words about the "**Proletarian Child**". I think that this periodical of ours is very unsatisfactory. It does not pay enough attention to problems confronting the children's movement. This is of course one more proof of the inadequacy of our leader cadre, but it is also the fault of the Central Committee, and we must see this and admit it.

Re the **system of work**: we have already said that school nuclei must be formed under any circumstances whatever, but it is not enough to simply form school nuclei mechanically by taking, may be, five or ten children and telling them that they are now a school nucleus, and then let everything remain as before. There must be a change in our activity, we must penetrate into schools. Connected with this is the question of **school delegates**, a very important question, and also the question of our mass work in general. We must under all circumstances be able to create, through the school nuclei, a whole system of school delegates, for they will be the **tenacles which connect us with the mass of proletarian children**. This will also compel the leaders to get in touch with proletarian children. We must organise **children's conferences**. Something has already been done in this direction by the German League, and also by a few other Leagues.

I have already dealt with the **question of leaders**. I will deal later on concretely with our future work in this respect, also with auxiliary organisations. But I must say in this connection a few words about children's trade unions and about certain wrong tendencies among American comrades. It must be made perfectly clear that we **repudiate** children's trade unions in countries such as China, because 50—60, and even 80% of the total number of workers in industry are children, and it is not at all out of the question that children's trade unions will have to be established there.

As to the American proposal, we must emphatically repudiate the idea of coordinating the children of trade union members. What kind of a organisation is this to be, what is to be its meaning? Comrades, it can only be an organisation built up on the model of the Children's Friends, namely, an organisation of parents who coordinate their children in a definite organisational form. What other meaning can it have? It is not an organisation which life itself produces, not one of the parallel organisations which we really want. It can only become a rival organisation, because it will not have to carry on a practical struggle.

Why should we particularly coordinate children whose parents belong to trade unions? Why should not children whose parents are not trade unionists be in such an organisation? No proper organisational principle underlies this proposal, and I think that we must reject it.

### HOW MUST THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S ORGANISATION WORK?

Comrades, after this critical part, I would like to say briefly how, in my opinion, the children's organisation must carry on its work:

Firstly, the children's organisation must be able to organise and lead the struggles of child workers for their interests. It must be able to organise the children's participation in the struggle of the whole proletarian class. It must be able to organise the linking up of the struggle of the children's organisation with the struggle of the Communist movement in general. This is the foremost and the main question.

Secondly, we must be able to produce new interesting methods out of the practical work, and to arouse the self-activity of the Pioneers.

Thirdly, we must be able to change completely the organisational structure of our organisation. Our organisation must be built up on a school or factory nucleus basis. We must be able to form a whole series of auxiliary organisations, to organise children's conferences, to create a school-delegate movement, to have in fact an organisational system resting on our school and factory nuclei. There must be a whole network of delegates and auxiliary organisations around us, which will enable us to draw the mass of the children into our own organisation.

In conclusion, the fourth question. We must be able to produce and educate leaders who can speak the language of the children, who are able to live and work among prole-

tarian children. We must prevent fluctuation among leaders, our line must be such that they should be able to do practical work in the children's movement, not only for a few months, but for a much longer period, so as to accumulate experience, in order to be able to pass it on to the Children's League. Comrades, this is my view of the question of our Communist children's organisation at the present juncture.

### THE WORK OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

Comrades, with regard to self-criticism, our Executive has certainly not paid sufficient attention to the children's movement, and has also made mistakes. I have already enumerated such mistakes: our resolution of March 1929 was certainly a mistake: our appraisal of the children's movement at the V. World Congress was not a quite correct appraisal. The practical help we gave to the international children's movement, was very inadequate, one can hardly call it help.

The chief mistake of our **International Children's Bureau** consists, in my opinion, in not being able to examine the position of the children's organisation and familiarise itself with it.

It the unsatisfactory situation in the children's movement had been brought to our notice sooner, better support could have been obtained. But this is not the only mistake. Another mistake made not only by the Children's Bureau, but by the whole Executive, consists in the failure to carry on our work concretely. In view of the position of the children's organisation, this is very necessary. We must tell the organisations of the various countries concretely what they have to do. These are the main questions which I wanted to raise in this connection.

Our Central Committees in the various countries have shamefully neglected the children's movement. Even the German League has not done enough. The German League should, of course, do much more than other Leagues, because the

organisation is bigger and its requirements are greater. It cannot limit itself to passing pious resolutions in the Central Committee, it must be able to help even the lower organisations to form Executives, etc. This was not done also in the German League.

I am not going to speak here in detail about the relation to the Party. If the Y. C. L. has done very little, the Party has done still less, though the children's movement is very important also to the Party.

I am coming to the end of my speech. What is just now the most important and decisive point, where must we step in first of all? **I think that the leader question is where we must step in immediately.**

We must have energetic people capable of doing practical work and changing the system. The leader question is paramount, **we must give, from the Young Communist League, new leaders.** We have not enough forces in our own ranks, but we must find a sufficient number of young people whom we can put in charge of child-work. We do not want culture-enthusiasts, we want young people capable of working among the masses and producing in the course of practical work new forms for our children's movement. It is in this way that we will be able to do justice to all the tasks confronting now the children's movement. We will achieve the aim which faces us more forcibly than ever before, capture of the mass of proletarian children. It is of decisive importance to us, as the Young Communist League, to organise a large number of children. We want a reservoir from which we can draw new forces. If we had today such a reservoir, it would be much easier to solve the questions which confront us now. Then we would be able **to place the pyramid really on its feet, namely, a broad communist children's organisation, then the Young Communist organisation, then the Party. This will be a great stride on the road to the capture of the majority of the workers.**

# Resolutions of the Plenum.

## The Situation in the Y. C. I. and the Turn towards Mass Work.

### Resolution on the Reports of Comrades Manuilsky and Khitarov.

1. The third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism is characterised by a further shaking-up of capitalist stabilisation, a general sharpening of class struggles, increasing war danger, first of all against the USSR. (the Chinese-Eastern Railway events), the growth of revolutionary activity of the proletariat and the exploited masses in the colonies, and a growing new revolutionary upsurge. The working class, having recovered from its defeats, is going over from the defensive to the counter-offensive. The beginning of a crisis in the United States and its consequences for Europe, refuting the reformist lie about "organised capitalism", are increasing the international and domestic contradictions of capitalist stabilisation. Meanwhile there is a speedy and successful process of construction of Socialism going on in the Soviet Union. The carrying out of the Five-Year Plan will not only tremendously strengthen the positions of the international proletariat; it will also serve as a vital factor in the further shaking up of capitalist stabilisation.

In order to strengthen its tottering positions, the bourgeoisie is increasing its oppression and exploitation of the toiling masses, leaning on the social-democracy which is degenerating into social-fascism, and is at the same time strengthening its fascist organisations (Austria, Germany, etc.). Every attempt of the working class to improve its conditions is met with a consolidated front of the triple alliance; the employers, the bourgeois State and social fascism. The economic struggle of the proletariat is more and more growing into a political struggle. The task of winning over the majority of the working class is becoming more and more imperative for the Communist Parties, which must be accomplished on the basis of the new offensive tactic indicated by the VI. Congress of the C.I. and the X. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.: independent leadership of struggle of the working class, sharpening struggles against reformism, organisation of a united fighting front from below (the political mass strike, fighting committees, revolutionary shop committees, organisation of the unorganised) in the struggle against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union; against the Young Plan, against capitalist rationalisation and social-fascism; decisive struggle against Right deviations and vacillations as the basic pre-requisites for the accomplishment of the militant tasks of the Communist Parties.

In these circumstances the role of the working class youth in the process of production and in the class struggle, is growing, and at the same time grows its fighting activity. Capitalist rationalisation, increasing the relative importance of the youth in production, simultaneously subjects it to ever-greater exploitation, and the social-fascist and fascist laws are constantly worsening its condition (for instance the laws about the unemployed in Germany and England, new reactionary laws concerning apprentices and the protection of the youth in France, Poland, Austria, etc.). The process of radicalisation of the working class is particularly strong among the youth, which is sharply turning towards the Left. The analysis given by the V. Congress of the YCI has been fully confirmed. The youth has taken an active part in all class struggles since then and was often the initiator. The growing number of spontaneous youth strikes flaring up everywhere in spite of the furious terror of the employers, the police and the trade union bureaucrats, and at times a passive attitude of the adult workers, indicate a growing radicalisation and activity of the working class youth. A new phenomenon specially to be observed is the growing participation of girls (who in some cases even declare independent strikes).

In the struggle against the revolutionary tendencies of the working class youth, the bourgeoisie on the one hand intensifies repression and terror against the revolutionary youth organisations and on the other increases and strengthens the system of ideological moulding of the youth, understanding that the outcome of the impending wars and class struggles depends now to a considerable extent on the part which will be played in them by the toiling youth. The school, church, art, literature, sport — everything is placed at the service of militarisation and fascisation of the toiling youth. The bourgeois youth organisations, embracing in the major capitalist countries more than half of the entire young generation, are developing feverish activity. The work of political demoralisation of the working class youth, its subjection to the influence of the bourgeoisie is being concentrated in the hands of the State, which creates for this purpose an apparatus with broad ramifications and a united leading centre. The "Socialist" Youth International is also working at the behest of the bourgeoisie; it has openly entered on the path of social-fascism (its support of the military programme of the German Social Democracy, slander against the Soviet Union, the preaching of "peace in industry", strike-breaking in economic struggles, of young workers, etc.). "Left phraseology often resorted to by the YSI in order more easily to win the masses for social-fascism is particularly dangerous under these conditions. The reformists succeeded with the assistance of the entire party and trade union apparatus temporarily to stop the rapid disintegration of the Young Socialist International, and they are now trying to broaden its influence under the slogan of "unification of socialist work among the youth". They want the Young Socialist International to have a monopoly right to work among the youth in the mass labour organisations in the hands of Social Democracy. But nothing will save the Young Socialist International from disintegration as the class struggle grows in intensity.

2. Although the Y. C. I. can record a series of important political successes since the V. Congress: active participation in the struggle of the Comintern against the Rights and conciliators on the part of the Y.C.I. as a whole, as well as on the part of its individual Sections (in France, Poland, China, Mongolia and particularly striking activity of the Y.C.I. in Sweden); mass work during the strike in Lodz and the Ruhr; the heroic struggle of the Young Communist of Berlin during the May days; the increasing of Y.C.I. influence in new countries (Latin America, the East) there was to be observed during the past year an exceedingly dangerous **lagging behind in the tempo of work of the Y.C.I. compared with the general tempo of revolutionary development.** The Sections of the Y.C.I. did not show due political activity in the sphere of economic struggle of the working class youth, anti-militarist work, the struggle against opponent organisations, etc. The struggle of the working class youth frequently passed unobserved by them. They were not able to counteract to a sufficient extent the increasing ideological, political and economic pressure of the bourgeoisie on the toiling youth by resorting to new forms of mass struggle. They did not embrace and organise the activity of the broad masses of the young workers. For this reason they at times remained **at the tail of events, lagged behind the general political development.** Along with serious opportunist waverings in the leadership of a number of Leagues (Switzerland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc.), tendencies of isolation, narrow sectarianism, handicraft methods of work, which are in reality a manifestation of passivity, frequently covered up with radical phrases made themselves sharply felt in the Leagues. Under these

conditions the turn towards mass work correctly indicated by the V. Congress of the Y.C.I. and the need of which was borne out by subsequent events, as a direct basic task of all Y.C.I. Sections in the capitalist countries, was not realised, and not even the necessary pre-requisites have been created for it in the form of a broad popularisation of the decisions of the Congress.

As a result of this, we are faced with a serious political and organisational crisis in a number of Leagues (Czechoslovakia, England, Austria, Norway); there is no growth, and even a decrease in the number of members and factory nuclei (on the average about 20 %) in almost all the other countries. In spite of the devotion and steadfastness shown in the ten years of revolutionary struggle for Communism and the line of the Comintern, the Y.C.I. will not be able to cope with the great tasks confronting it at the present time if the Leagues will continue to work as they do.

3. The right danger in the world Communist movement is the greatest danger. It has been nourished and is still nourished by illusions regarding the firm character of capitalist stabilisation, the pressure of a strong social democracy (in the countries of white terror and repression) and leads to a lagging behind the rapidly developing revolutionary upsurge. In the third period, in the period of tottering capitalist stabilisation, the Right danger by no means disappears or diminishes; it is even intensified on account of the fact that the opportunists are frightened by the revolutionary wave, the sharpening of class struggles and are so much more rapidly going away from the Party. For this reason, the Right danger is the main danger in all Sections of the Comintern, including the Y.C.I. which is organically connected with the Comintern. Manifestations of the Right danger in the Sections of the Y.C.I. can be seen for instance in the under-estimation of the radicalisation of the working class youth, the minimising of the role of the Y.C.I. as a militant political organisation of the young workers, the tendency to separate cultural from political work, political neutrality sentiments, lagging behind, failure to appreciate the significance of such forms of struggle as strikes, negative attitude towards such new forms of organisations as youth representatives elected in the enterprises, open and hidden sabotage of reorganisation on a factory nuclei basis, legalist tendencies, etc. But the Right danger is not the only danger in the revolutionary movement of the youth. Along with this danger there is also the so-called "Left danger", namely: a tendency towards petty bourgeois radicalism leading to divorcement of the leadership from the masses and the mass organisations, its transformation into narrow groups of "Left" phrasemongers. This danger is expressed in tendencies to counterpose "politics" to the organisational tasks, leading in reality to the negation of mass work in economic, cultural and sport organisations, in survivals of vanguardism: in ignoring the role of the Young Communist League as a political-educational organisation the basis of which must be broader than that of the Party. The terror of the active Young Communists consists in the fact that they do not see or that they under-estimate this danger, that they do not want to or are unable to carry on the struggle against it, that they frequently take a neutral position in relation to "Left" deviations, and by this cultivate the "Left" danger and endanger the success of the work for the transformation of the Y.C.I. organisations into mass organisations of the working class youth. In order to transform the Y.C.I.'s into real mass organisations, the leadership of the Y.C.I. must, without delay, liquidate these mistakes and enter on the path of active struggle with the "Left" dangers. By this very fact the leading Young Communist-members will overcome the main hindrance which now interferes with its entering on to the path of mass work not in words, but in deeds.

4. The main reason for the unsatisfactory situation in the YCL should be sought in the sectarian isolation and separation from the basic masses of the working class youth which dominates in the organisations of the YCL. In spite of the decisions of the V. Congress, the YCL has not begun to work among the broad mass and undertaken the winning over of these masses, of drawing them into the general revolutionary struggle, on the basis of their elementary needs and immediate interests. The fear of the masses which exists in the Sections of the YCL has not been actually eliminated. The cadres of the YCL organisations have still frequently covered up with

petty bourgeois radical phrases their political passivity and organisational helplessness.

Narrow sectarianism, isolation and the absence in the organisations of the YCL of a general line favouring the real winning over of the masses of the working class youth to the side of Communism is expressed in:

a) A systematic detachment of the Leagues from the daily questions arising from the struggles of the working class youth; this separation is due chiefly to the fact that in the present period the majority of strikes and activities of the working masses and the youth are taking place unobserved by the Young Communist Leagues.

b) The absence of a firm and consistent course for the conquest of large enterprises.

c) The absence of serious stubborn daily work in the various mass and auxiliary organisations of the working class youth (trade unions, sport, cultural, etc.).

d) A neglect of systematic work of disintegration of the opponent mass organisations (socialist, catholic and the other religious societies, sport organisations, particularly in the factories, fascist groups etc.).

e) No connection between the upper and lower organisations, inability of the leaders to draw the entire membership into the everyday work and to make the daily tasks of the League accessible to every Young Communist in his work.

f) The discrepancy between words and deeds, between phrases about a correct political line and the ability to apply it in practice.

The social composition of the Leagues is unsatisfactory. As in the past, most of the members are recruited in the small and medium-sized enterprises and in some countries (England, America, Czechoslovakia, China) the Leagues have a considerable petty bourgeois percentage. The influence of these strata is manifested in a substitution of the actual struggle for the masses of the working class youth by radical phraseology.

The "revolutionary phrase" wrote Lenin, "is most frequently a malady of revolutionary parties when these are directly or indirectly connecting, uniting and intertwining proletarian and the petty bourgeois elements and when the course of revolutionary events effects big and rapid changes". Work among the masses, to the extent that it has been carried on, nevertheless, was more for show, it was done for its external effects, without making use of the results. The system of leadership also corresponds to this: there is no deep study of the processes in the movement and among the working class youth, stereotyped methods and hackneyed phrases predominate. Party formulas are mechanically repeated and there is no live concrete leadership: circulars and bureaucratic methods of work prevail: the rank and file is not drawn into the work: there is no systematic promotion of new cadres: all work lays on the shoulders of a small section of active members who are heavily overburdened and among whom there are also opportunist elements who in a concealed and open manner hinder the promotion of new cadres, who frequently cover up their opportunism with radical phrases: there is no mass self-criticism or control of carrying out of decisions: — the work proceeds for the most part of itself and often the machine works without results, and even the very best decisions remain a dead letter. And finally, there is no due attention, assistance and leadership from the Communist Parties: there are instead attempts to establish guardianship over the youth: the Party kernel in the Young Communist Leagues is very weak and in addition to that, is not doing what it should do.

5. The tasks placed by the V. Congress before all the Sections of the Y.C.I. in the capitalist countries: to bring about a decisive turn towards bolshevik mass work, continues to confront them in its full scope and with growing persistence on account of the new revolutionary upsurge to be observed in the labour movement. The winning of the majority of the working class by the Communist Parties, which is the main task of the Communist International, has as one of its necessary conditions the winning of the majority of the young workers. The Young Communist Leagues upon which this task is placed, will be able to accomplish it only by applying the new forms of united front tactics, new forms of struggle and organisation of the working class youth, transferring in actual reality the centre of gravity of their entire work towards the shops and factories and the mass organisations of the

young workers. The most important and basic element of the turn is the struggle of the Young Communist Leagues for leadership in the class struggles of the working class youth. Not a single strike, not a single demonstration, even the most insignificant, should pass without the Young Communist League trying to get control of the movement. The gigantic class struggles in the third period of post-war capitalist development do not remove from the agenda the daily routine, tedious and persistent work among the working class youth wherever they are to be found: in the factories, trade unions, homes, schools, educational organisations, on sport grounds, during rambles, in places of entertainment, etc. Without this work, into which every member of the Young Communist League must be drawn, without linking up the most varied interests and requirements of the proletarian youth, with the general class tasks, the task of winning over the majority of the working class youth cannot be fulfilled.

The turn means a struggle against tendencies "to work where it is easier", — in territorial organisations, rather than in factory nuclei; it means a struggle against the neglect of "tedious" and allegedly "unpolitical" work in sport clubs and other mass auxiliary organisations. The turn means a further application of the new offensive tactic in all struggles of the working class youth and organisation of its participation in general struggles of the proletariat; it means a decisive overcoming of sectarian isolation of the Young Communist League organisations, their narrowness, the fear of the masses, culture tendencies and backwardness.

The turn can be made only on the basis of the line of the party in the Young Communist League and on the basis of broad development of Communist "youth politics". For this purpose it is necessary:

a) Decisively to fight against the Right deviation, against the conciliatory towards it, against opportunism in practice, both in the Party as well as in the Young Communist League, and simultaneously to carry on a decisive struggle not only in words, but in deeds, against the Trotskyist and all other tendencies of petty bourgeois radicalism, sectarianism and "Left" phrases and deviations, against a neutral and indifferent attitude towards the "Left" danger; to renew the League cadres by decisive promotion of rank and filers and by systematic work amongst them, carrying on a decisive struggle against all group manifestations, the selection of people according to group principles, group concealment of each other's mistakes, the covering up of shortcomings and defects in work. A system of responsibility for work is necessary from top to bottom, establishing as a criterion in the selection of cadres their ability to follow the course of mass Bolshevik work in accordance with the political line of the Comintern, to establish the leading role of the Party in relation to the Young Communist League from the bottom to the top, decisively discarding the system of a purely formal representation of the Communist Party in the Y. C. L. organisations and striving for real work and leadership of the delegated Party comrades in these organisations; to create and strengthen the Party kernels in the Leagues by drawing all active youth into the Party.

b) To organise on the basis of the united front tactic from below the struggles of the working class youth for its daily demands jointly with the general struggle of the proletariat; this means that the Y. C. L. must formulate and propagandise the demands of the working class youth in the struggles against militarism, fascism and capitalist rationalisation and subordinate them to the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. Without lowering to any extent the political level of the work of the Young Communist League, it should be brought closer to the psychology and understanding of the youth, adopting the methods of agitation and propaganda. To permeate the entire work with the spirit of militant internationalism, organising on a broad scale the work of international education of the toiling youth.

The turn embraces all the political tasks confronting the YCL at the present time and for this reason the attempts to picture this turn as a narrow "organisational" task, pertaining only to a change of the system of work, and the tendencies to cover up the passivity in mass work and the failure actually to accomplish the turn by general abstract discussions about the "political significance of the turn", depriving it of its organisational practical importance, are absolutely wrong and politically harmful.

6. The Plenum records weakness in the discussion regard-

ing the turn which up to the present time has been carried on abstractly and mainly by the committees.

The shifting of the centre of gravity of carrying out the turn from discussion in the upper quarters to practical work at the bottom, in the nuclei, the local organisations, the drawing into this work on the basis of actual mass and relentless self-criticism and self-activity of the lower organisations, the entire rank and file and every individual member of the Young Communist Leagues — are a basic condition for the realisation of the turn. The Presidium and all sections of the Y. C. I. must conduct a broad campaign of enlightenment on the decisions of the Plenum.

The Plenum particularly warns all Sections of the YCL against a formal approach to the question of the turn towards mass work. A relentless struggle must be declared against all those who will pay lip service to the decision about the turn, but who will sabotage it in practice, and against those who will simply limit themselves to its formal acceptance, because a formal attitude towards the turn, as was shown by the fate of the decisions of the V. Congress, is the greatest danger.

Taking into account the unsatisfactory situation in the Sections of the YCL which in some countries takes on the form of a crisis, the Plenum of the Executive Committee considers it necessary to make a close study of the main causes of the crisis in the Czechoslovakian, British, Norwegian and Austrian Leagues (an investigation of the lower organisations, reports, instructions, conferences), and point out the concrete measures necessary to guarantee that the necessary change will be effected in the Leagues. By means of concrete examples to make the most important lessons arising from the development of these Communist Youth Leagues the possession of all the Sections of the Y. C. I. and all the members of the Young Communist organisations (press, directions to the Leagues, conferences, actual personal instructions, etc.).

In order to bring about the necessary change the Plenum raises before all Sections of the YCL and before the Presidium of the EC. YCL the following concrete tasks, the carrying out of which must be accomplished under the strictest supervision:

a) All forces of the organisations must be immediately concentrated on work in large enterprises of the most important industries where masses of young workers are concentrated. The Plenum makes it obligatory for all leading organs of the Leagues, beginning with the Central Committees and ending with the lower local and section committees — to carry out a systematic and most thorough investigation of the concrete work done in the enterprises, analysing in the most thorough manner its achievements and defects and, simultaneously, selecting leading cadres among the young proletarians who proved in practice their ability to do mass work among the working class youth. The Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee makes it mandatory for all Leagues to create in the immediate future strong working factory nuclei in the large enterprises employing many young workers. The failure to carry this out must bring with it a change in the composition of the leading organs of the Leagues. The Plenum instructs all Leagues to pay most serious attention to systematic and uninterrupted recruiting of members, transferring the centre of gravity of this work to the enterprises.

b) All the work in the factories has to be made from the point of view of capturing the leadership in the class struggles of the young workers and active participation of the entire YCL organisation in them. A strike (particularly strikes of the youth, the drawing in of all young workers into strikes and other demonstrations of the working class, the extension of every movement, the transformation of economic into political strikes, formation of fighting committees of the youth, organisation of the unorganised, etc.) is one of the chief means whereby the YCL can most quickly become a Bolshevik mass organisation of the proletarian youth.

In bringing about the turn, the application of the united front tactics from below is of paramount importance. In the present conditions of the class struggle, negligence in the application of the united front tactics from below, a method of winning the majority of young workers, is seriously jeopardising the solution of this task. In this connection the question of youth delegates in the factories is becoming of great importance. These delegates should be elected by all young workers

employed in a given factory (both organised and unorganised), and should regularly meet.

The Plenum instructs the Presidium and all Sections to collect and study in the next two months all the most important material regarding strikes and the participation of the youth in the general struggles of the working class, the negative and positive examples of application of the united front tactic and, on the basis of experience of the recent struggles, demonstrations and activities, draw the necessary lessons, popularise and utilise them for further work of the various Sections, and ensure the carrying out of the turn.

c) The development of broad anti-imperialist and anti-militarist activity which is of first-rate importance at the present time in all countries. Along with the intensification of the ideological struggle against all forms of militarisation of the youth, and particularly its pacifist camouflage, it is necessary to apply new forms of mass anti-militarist work, ensuring the mobilisation of the broad masses of the toiling youth in the struggle against imperialist wars, in defence of the U.S.S.R., and for the liberation of the colonies (anti-military conferences and committees on the basis of enterprises and mass organisations, youth sections of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues; defence organisations of the Jungfront type; unions of recruits and the reserves, etc.). It is necessary to begin a systematic building up of nuclei in the army and navy and also in the enterprises of the war industries. In developing in every way the struggle of the soldiers and sailors for their partial daily demands, it is necessary always to link it up with the struggle for our general and ultimate slogans.

d) A radical reconstruction of the present work of the Young Communist organisations in the general proletarian and mass youth organisations is also absolutely necessary.

It is first of all necessary to develop intensive work in all existing auxiliary organisations with a view to the political moulding of the youth and a systematic recruiting of members for the Y.C.L. Secondly, maximum initiative is necessary in the creation of new types of auxiliary organisations, namely, factory organisations (along industrial lines on the basis of youth delegates in the factories, sport and other factory groups, etc.), youth trade union sections on the factory principle, I.R.A. groups, mutual aid and various anti-fascist, sport, educational and other youth associations. Y.C.L. members belonging to auxiliary organisations should constitute properly functioning fractions.

The work carried on by Young Communist organisations in the industrial, cultural and sport associations, must be of a political character. It is not the task of the Young Communists working in these organisations to show that they are good sportsmen and educational workers, but that they can carry on systematic agitation and propaganda, that they can rouse the class-consciousness of the young workers, and make the latter understand the general class tasks of the proletariat and the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

e) The Y.C.L. organisations must pay particular attention to sport unions of the working class youth. In these unions they must crystallise the basic kernel for strike pickets, proletarian self-defence, workers' fighting committees and Red Guards, people for work in the imperialist armies. They should utilise sport organisations for the military training of the working class youth.

f) In all of the opponent and "neutral" organisations having many of the working class youth in their midst, it is necessary to work stubbornly and persistently for their disintegration and for the winning of the young workers to our side. For this purpose it is necessary to send steadfast Young Communist members into such organisations and draw into this work organisations which are under Young Communist influence. It is necessary to attend all public meetings of political opponents, to carry on open discussions in factories as well as outside of them in order to disintegrate their organisations. The Plenum instructs the Presidium specially to work out concrete measures and tasks in the matter of disruption of the Young Socialist International, and religious and fascist organisations (the "Dopo Lavoro" and the "Streletz", etc.).

g) Work must immediately begin amongst the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, especially in agrarian countries. In this connection the ties that some workers have with villages should be made use of. Rural work requires extensive application of subsidiary forms of organisation of the youth.

h) The illegal Leagues will be able to make the turning only if they fight against the peculiar deviations which are particularly strong in them owing to the peculiar conditions under which they have to work. On the one hand, there are legalist tendencies to be observed, a striving to carry on all activities legally and to under-estimate the importance and the leading role of the illegal organisations. On the other hand, there is a very strong tendency to be isolated from the external world, to neglect the possibilities of carrying on legal work, a sharply expressed spirit of sectarianism, often giving rise to pernicious political theories (terrorism). Both these deviations result in a limited development of the Y.C.L., a rejection of mass work and, in the end, liquidation.

Attention in the countries where the Y.C.L.'s are illegal must be directed chiefly to the strengthening and development of the illegal organisations, and to a skilful coordination of legal and illegal methods of work.

The underground Leagues should also devote much of their attention to those spheres of activity which have hitherto been in a most negligible state; weakness of the organisational apparatus, especially with regard to conspiracy, inadequate contact between the C.C.'s and the lower organisations, insufficient contact with the Party in all of its links, insufficient publication of literature and inadequacy of the press, extremely poor contact with the international movement.

i) It is necessary to emphasise the importance of preparing the Leagues which are still legal for illegality with which they are threatened and which they will soon have to experience. This preparation is first and foremost a political task. It consists in a strengthening of our connections with the masses through the instrumentality of a wide struggle for the League's legal existence and an ideological preparation of the League members and in the organisational preparation of the Leagues for illegal work.

j) Revolutionary competition in all spheres of Y.C.I. activity must become one of the basic interests in raising the initiative and revolutionary self-activity of each organisation and every member of the Young Communist League. It is necessary to draw into the revolutionary competitions the broad masses of young workers as well as the auxiliary organisations.

7. A decisive turn in all Y.C.I. work towards broad mass activity is the only way out of the present impasse in the Y.C.I. Sections and of successful solution of the task of winning the majority of the working class and peasant youth. The discussion about the turn has already reached the most advanced sections of Leagues. But this is only a beginning. It is only the first step in the struggle for the turn. The struggle is still ahead, it is gigantic and stubborn. It is necessary courageously to move forward without fearing the difficulties, unflinchingly exposing the errors and shortcomings, removing the bad leaders, boldly promoting new people who must distinguish themselves by clarity and steadfastness, contact with the masses, ability to organise and lead them, perseverance and persistent work, unlimited devotion to the cause, and unwavering faith in the final victory of the proletariat. The execution of the adopted decisions must be looked after, verbal declarations will not suffice, every one must be checked up in practice, talk about mass work must not substitute actual mass work, as has been frequently the case in the past.

It is necessary to generalise and broadly to popularise the experience of the various countries in the matter of realisation of the turn. The struggle is sharpening, persecutions are increasing, the bourgeoisie is intensifying its attack on the youth; the time we still have at our disposal before the decisive battle for the proletarian revolution is being shortened; the conditions of Y.C.I. work are becoming more complex, but also more favourable as the militant activity of the mass of the proletariat and of the working class youth is growing. In these conditions the Y.C.I. must direct all its inspiration and enthusiasm towards the realisation, and an acceleration of the tempo, of the turn, inspiration and enthusiasm which is inexhaustible among the brave members of the Young Communist League who, many times, have proven their devotion to the revolution and to the Comintern. Only thus will the Y.C.I. be able to carry out its historic mission, its duty before the proletarian revolution and the Communist International.

# The Situation in the Communist Children's Movement and its Immediate Tasks.

## Resolution on Comrade Fürnberg's Report.

1. The fact that the change decided upon at the V. World Congress of the Y. C. I. was not effected, has had a detrimental effect on the children's movement. The most important countries (Germany, France and Britain) are going through a crisis. The situation is very unsatisfactory also in most of the other Leagues, though very favourable premises for our work exist. A characteristic feature of the situation in our children's League is the disproportion of the numerical strength of the Pioneer organisations as compared with the Y. C. I. and Party organisations, which instead of being broader than the Party and youth organisations, are much weaker than the latter. Further their activity is not adapted to the children's mind, they underestimate the increased political activity of the children, they have not been the organisers of the activity of the worker's children. Only a decisive turn towards mass work, a complete departure from sectarianism and isolatedness, a fundamental change in the erroneous system of work can clear the road for the further development of our children's movement into mass organisations.

2. Capitalist rationalisation is making the position of worker's children worse than ever before and constitutes a basis for increased drawing in of proletarian children in the process of production. Bourgeois schools are adapting themselves more and more to capitalist rationalisation and to preparations for imperialist wars. The fascist, social-fascist and clerical organisations are being put to an ever-increasing extent at the service of imperialist education both in and outside of school. They are centrally organised and subsidised, receiving much support from the State, the municipalities and from individuals. The social-fascists work especially under the cloak of pacifist and League of Nations propaganda and lately the Boy Scouts are using the same mask in order to conceal their physiognomy as reactionary organisations for the preparation of war. The Communist children's movement is now confronted with an enemy who is becoming increasingly dangerous.

3. The determined course of the Y. C. I. towards development of Bolshevik mass organisations requires that the Y. C. I. devotes the greatest attention to the children's movement and that it proceeds with the organisation of children's mass Leagues in effecting the necessary change. That the militancy of the proletarian children is increasing could be seen not only in the growing participation of the working class children in strikes and in mass demonstrations of adults, but also in a whole series of school strikes in various countries, some of which have for the first time been organised and conducted by Pioneers. The fact that along with the radicalisation and revolutionisation of the masses of workers broad sections of proletarian children are becoming active and interested in politics brings forward this question as a most urgent task of all Sections of the Y. C. I.

4. The new tactics of the Party and the Young Communist League must find expression also in the children's movement. This must first of all be accomplished by transforming the Children's Leagues into organisations engaged in struggles and in mass work instead of having as their chief object the education of the children, such as is still largely the case now. The children's organisations must, however, under all circumstances refrain from automatically copying the forms and methods used by the Party and the Young Communist League which lend the Children's Leagues the character of children's political parties.

Considering that the Communist children's movement is supposed to train the proletarian children on the basis of struggle, that it must be wider than the youth movement and must meet the interests and requirements of the children the Y. C. I. rejects all Right and Left deviations, especially the Social Democratic outlook which stands exclusively for educational work which greatly hampers the activities of our organisation. These deviations are expressed first of all in the under-estimation of the importance of the social fascist children's organisations and in a wrong attitude of the

proletarian children's organisations towards them. Then there is the wrong estimation of the Boy Scouts as well as the disbelief in the possibility of influencing and embracing the majority of proletarian children, sectarian isolation and slavish imitation of the methods used by the Party and by the Young Communist League.

Taking these principles as a foundation the Communist children's Leagues must effect a determined change in the sphere of mass work along the following lines:

a) Wide masses of proletarian children should be mobilised for concrete slogans and watchwords understandable to children in connection with the economic and political struggles of the adults. The interests of the exploited children should be defended above all. Special children's Sections should be formed in the Red trade unions; other organisational forms can only be applied in order to get hold of these circles of children. Struggles of the exploited children are to be started and organised and at the same time a sharp course must be taken against the bourgeois school and against social-fascism in the schools, for school strikes and school fights. Participation in strikes must not be only a solidarity action, the children of the strikers must be got hold of the mass of the children must be mobilised in support of them, the struggle must be carried right into the schools. In the struggle for the masses of proletarian children the Communist children's organisations must set up a united front of all proletarian children against the reactionary and social-fascist children's organisations. At the same time, a struggle is to be carried on against imperialist training and war preparations not merely by issuing opposition slogans as has been the case hitherto but in conjunction with training for red defence.

b) These militant tasks can be carried out only with the application of live methods and forms of work suitable for children. Instead of the work hitherto done which suppresses the activity of the individual pioneer, a system must be instituted to give scope to the activity of the children, to be attractive to the various sections of the children representing their various interests, and making each pioneer responsible for the work and the struggle. Greatest attention must be paid to the training of a body of officials, to be in charge of the organisation. Only if a strong kernel of active pioneers will be organised can systematic and successful work among the masses of children be carried out. It is an urgent task to institute a system of school delegates (of exploited children). The holding of delegate and children's conferences provides forms suitable for all organisations and are an immediate task. Side by side with school, factory or special sections of children's papers, mass children's papers should be issued. Revolutionary competitions must become an important means in our children's movement in raising the activity of the whole organisation.

c) Systematic work among the masses of children presupposes that the basis of the organisation is laid where most of the children are to be found. First of all there must be nuclei in schools and factories where the children study and work. In this connection it is also necessary to have organisations embracing children on a residential or a tenement basis. The Pioneer organisations have as their object to cater for the interests and requirements of the children. The Pioneer organisations should be surrounded with a network of various auxiliary organisations. The organisation of children's sections in the Red sport organisations, in Free thinkers societies, and other revolutionary organisations, is essential. Efforts must also be made to have the cooperation of all these organisations with the pioneer organisation.

d) A particularly urgent task of the Y. C. I. is the creation of groups of leaders and the raising of their qualifications. Among the measures to be taken are the renewal and enlargement of the number of leaders in the children's movement by drawing in proletarian elements and mass workers. The

creation of competent leading organs in the national and local organisations of the League. Systematic schooling of the leaders.

5. Another very urgent task is capture of the influence among workers and peasants children in the colonies. With the help of the trade unions, the Anti-imperialist League, the revolutionary peasant organisations and the auxiliary organisations of the Young Communist League, legal auxiliary organisations of an economic and cultural character should be formed. Work must also be started among children in the white terror countries, especially in the Balkans and in fascist Italy.

In spite of repression and persecution, which is bound to increase owing to the development of mass and militant work, the children's leagues must endeavour to conduct with all the means at their disposal the struggle for legality, through the mobilisation of wide sections of children and workers. In case of the Pioneer organisations being suppressed, legal forms of the children's movement must be developed. If that is impossible, attempts should be made to work illegally.

6. More effective guidance and leadership of the children's Leagues is certainly one of the most important premises regarding the taking up of mass work by the children's Leagues. In this respect some Young Communist Leagues have made serious mistakes and have not done justice to their tasks as leaders of the children's Leagues. The work of the children's Leagues must not be divorced and isolated from all other youth work. The leading committees of the Y. C. I.'s must conduct the children's movement in their daily activity, constantly

control it, point out regularly definite tasks, and undertake investigations as to their work.

Neither has the work of the International Children's Bureau been satisfactory. The importance of carrying through the decisions of the V. World Congress was not brought forcibly enough to the notice of the Leagues, and the change which had been decided upon was mentioned for the first time in a concrete form only at the IV. International Leader Conference. One must also admit that political leadership in the International Children's Bureau through the E. C. Y. C. I. hardly exists.

7. Generally speaking, the C. P.'s have not yet realised the importance and role of the revolutionary children's movement. The Parties which give the Children's League ideological and material support, are exceptions. It is incumbent on the Y. C. I.'s to place forcibly before the Party organisations the question of practical support to the children's movement. This support should not only be given to the executive organs, but above all to the lower organisations, in the form of patronage of Party factory nuclei over school nuclei, children's factory nuclei or Pioneer groups, etc. It is of great importance that the Parties should include in their plan the activity of the children's movement, assigning to it definite tasks within the framework of the general tasks of the Communist movement as a whole. Another urgent necessity is adequate space to the children's movement in the Party press, and regular special children's corners in its columns. The revolutionary mass organisations should also be induced to give practical help to the children's movement.