

## **Condensed Resolutions of the Young Communist International**

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# RESOLUTIONS



## 1. THE WORLD SITUATION AND THE Y.C.I.

The characteristic feature of the present world situation is a certain stabilisation of capitalism. In some countries of Central Europe, capitalism has to a certain extent been able to cope with the post-war crisis. From the historic standpoint, this is only a temporary breathing space for the bourgeoisie. The economic situation has become more stable in a number of countries (temporary Anglo-American co-operation, the Dawes Plan in Germany, the partial re-establishment of international credits, the stabilisation of the "valuta" etc.). In Central Europe and especially in Germany, the epoch of immediate revolutionary struggles has receded into the background. Germany is at present between two waves of revolution. Nevertheless, the world situation continues to be objectively revolutionary. In a number of European countries (France, Poland, the Balkans, Italy, etc.), the bourgeoisie has further crises ahead. Germany has not yet experienced the serious consequences of the Dawes Plan. The internal differences between the bourgeois states are becoming more acute and will inevitably lead to war-like complications. The Anglo-American differences, in spite of the temporary rapprochement between these two countries are fraught with the peril of another world war. Another revolutionary factor of enormous importance is the radicalisation of the British Labour movement, and the struggle of the entire European proletariat for the unity of the trade union movement, in contradistinction to the policy of the Amsterdam International. The national liberation and revolutionary movements of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the East, is gaining in strength, and is becoming a

great menace to Imperialism. In most countries the agrarian crisis is continuing and is a contributing factor in the disintegration of capitalism. Finally, the economic development of Soviet Russia is a very important factor for the European Labour Movement, and even for the struggles for liberation in the East.

On the whole, the world situation continues to be revolutionary and the tactics of the Communist Parties and Young Communist Leagues must be the tactics adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Comintern and the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. Even during this retarded process of revolutionary development, the Parties and Young Communist Leagues must strengthen their forces and must be prepared to turn to revolutionary struggle at the given moment.

The new political situation makes it incumbent upon us not only to adhere to the lines laid down by the Third and Fourth Congresses concerning mass work, but to intensify and develop still more our work among the masses. Our main task is still the transformation of the Leagues of all countries into mass organisations of the proletarian youth for the purpose of drawing into our ranks the entire young generation of the working class. As before, the centre of gravity of our work is the factories, where the exploitation of the working class is rapidly increasing.

## II. THE NEW SITUATION AND ITS PERILS.

The present retarded tempo of the revolution is fraught with serious perils for the Bolshevik development of the Y.C.L. We must fully recognise the magnitude of these perils in order to be able to cope with them.

### (a) The Y.C.L. and the C.P.

The new situation is confronted with the danger of a certain estrangement between the Y.C.L. and the Party, and of a slackening of the political leadership through the Party. This danger is particularly great

at the present moment, because (1) in the newly-arisen situation the Leagues cannot easily adapt themselves to the tactical manoeuvres of the Party, and (2) because the ground is now more favourable than before for various digressions.

In order to bring about firm political leadership by the Party, and close co-operation between the League and the Party, the Party nucleus in the Youth League should be strengthened at all costs. All officials and a considerable number of active members of the League should also become members of the Party. Only a strong Party nucleus trained in the spirit of Party discipline can be a guarantee for correct relations between League and Party. Our Leagues must realise that only the Bolshevik leadership of the Leagues through the Party can be real proletarian leadership. Wherever there are right and ultra-left tendencies in the Party, and the Party is struggling with them for its Bolshevisation, the League must assist it in every possible way in its efforts to keep to the lines of action laid down by the Comintern.

### (b) Right Perils and Ultra-Left Digressions.

In countries experiencing a temporary stabilisation of capitalism, the greatest peril is that the revolutionary perspectives might be neglected in the struggle for partial demands, and that not enough is done to explain to the masses the necessity and inevitability of the complete and ultimate victory of the revolution. The struggle for partial demands must nowhere and at no time, be dissociated from the general tasks of the revolution. It is particularly important to make it clear to the masses that without the ultimate victory of the working class they cannot expect radical improvement of their conditions.

Another right digression is the under-estimation of the great importance of economic everyday struggles and of factory nucleus work where the centre of gravity

of cultural educational work should be done. Such an under-estimation leads directly to social-democratic working methods. Work in the factories and trade unions must always be the main work of our Leagues. The Youth Leagues should satisfy the cultural requirements of the youth not at the expense of this work nor in place of it, but together with it, as was laid down in the decisions of the Y.C.I. Congresses.

Left digressions, which are also very dangerous, consist in the pseudo-revolutionary under-estimation of the struggle for partial demands, as one of the methods for mass mobilisation. At the present juncture young workers can only be won over and brought into the ranks of the Leagues in large numbers through energetic participation and leadership in the economic day to day struggles. Moreover, an energetic opposition must be offered to anarchist pessimism, which even doubts the possibility of the formation of Communist mass organisations in the present epoch. Such pessimism is nothing but a relic of the sectarianism which paraded in the cloak of "purity of the movement," and must be as energetically opposed as right opportunism.

### (c) Adaption to Concrete Fighting Conditions.

The rich experience of the Russian Revolution, of the R.C.P., and of the struggle of the Russian League, is as yet not sufficiently studied and utilised by the Y.C.I. All our Leagues should familiarise themselves with the experiences of the Russian League, and should adopt those of its fighting and working methods which are of general importance. However, a mechanical transference of Russian experiences to other Leagues regardless of the conditions prevailing in the respective countries, is impossible.

The greatest danger for the work of the Leagues and their development into mass organisations lies in the fact that in almost all countries, the Leagues and

their leading organs are not sufficiently familiar and mindful of the concrete, economic and political conditions of life, under which young workers and peasants have to carry on their struggle. In some organisations the leading circles of the League are not even familiar with the conditions of their own League members. Under present conditions this might lead to a complete severance of the work of the League from the real requirements of the struggle, and to disintegration of the organisation. Bolshevisation is tantamount to differentiation and adaptation to the concrete conditions of the respective country. Working methods and fighting tactics should be adapted to the conditions prevailing in every country.

### III. THE CAPTURE OF THE YOUNG PROLETARIAN GENERATION.

The Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern made it incumbent upon the C.P. and the Y.C.I. to capture the young generation for Communism.

This can only be achieved through the further extension and intensification of the mass work, with which many of our Leagues have already made a beginning. Every League member should be in close contact with the young factory workers and peasants, must know their conditions, and must not rest content with merely influencing them in their practical revolutionary work, but must also bring them into the League.

#### (a) The Struggle for Economic Demands.

One of the most important tasks of our mass work is leadership in the struggle of the proletarian youth for partial demands, and for better economic and labour conditions. This is of particular importance in view of the ever-growing impoverishment of the working class Youth. The experience gained in great industrial campaigns, with carefully elaborated concrete demands for the respective branch of industry has shown that this

form of work is the most favourable for the mobilisation of the masses, and for the extension of our influence among the Youth employed in large industrial concerns.

Considerable importance also attaches to conferences or congresses of the Young Workers employed in the various branches of industry (district or national), whose task consists in bringing forward concrete demands for the respective branch of industry and finding ways and means for their re-organisation. These conferences and congresses should make sure that large sections of Young Workers take an active part in their proceedings. All the work in this field should be under the direct guidance of the Y.C.L.

### (b) Work in the Trade Unions.

Work in the trade unions including the most reactionary among them, is not only the duty of Party members, but also of all League members. No League member should remain outside the trade unions.

Youth Leagues must take an active part in the struggle for trade union unity, and must combine it with the everyday struggle for the inclusion of special Youth demands into the trade union programmes and for the admission of Young Workers and Apprentices into the trade unions.

The Leagues should bring into the trade unions not only their own members, but also as large sections of working class Youth as possible. The mobilisation of the non-Party masses for entry into the trade unions should be one of the main tasks of the factory nuclei of our Leagues.

The Young Communist Leagues should take a lead in the work within the trade union movement by organising Y.C.L. fractions in all unions. These trade union fractions should work under the direct guidance of the Committee of our League and in close contact with the Party fractions of the corresponding trade unions.

### (c) Work in the Countryside.

A characteristic feature of the present epoch is the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie for influence over the peasantry and for the purpose of forming an alliance with the latter. The victory of the revolution depends on the issue of this struggle, and, therefore, work among the peasant masses is of particular importance for the Party as well as for the Youth Leagues. Work in the countryside is all the more important for our Leagues as the young peasant generation is less conservative, more mobile and accessible to revolutionary influence. It should be admitted, however, that most of our Leagues have either done no work whatever, or in any case very little work in the countryside. That so little work has been done on this field, shows that the relics of the social-democratic conception which refuses to recognise the role of the exploited peasantry as an ally of the proletariat, and neglects work in the country, are still to be found in our ranks. In this respect, Bolshevism does not only mean introducing revolutionary clarity into this question, but also approaching practical work in the villages in the right and proper manner. In connection with this, we must differentiate our attitude to the various sections of the country Youth. The Leagues should not only endeavour to obtain influence over the country Youth, and the poorest sections of the young peasants, but should also endeavour to bring young agricultural labourers into their ranks. In countries where not all the peasants are opposing feudalism, we should make it our duty to neutralise the middle sections of the peasantry. All the Leagues, including those in which young peasants form a considerable part of the membership, should preserve their proletarian class character and should see to it that the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution should be fully understood.

#### (d) Bolshevik Anti-Militarist Work.

The period of calm and of the temporary stabilisation of capitalism is the period of the preparation of new imperialist wars, in the first instance against Soviet Russia whose economic development and consolidation is becoming more and more a menace to the bourgeoisie.

In this work the main task of the Leagues is the development of more intensive agitation and propaganda against bourgeois militarism, and the peril of new imperialist wars especially against Soviet Russia. This propaganda and agitation should be carried on among young peasants and young workers alike. Work within the armies and all bourgeois military organisations should be intensified.

#### (e) Struggle with Opponents and United Front Tactics.

In a number of countries, considerable sections of the working class and peasant youth are to be found in social-democratic, reformist, clerical, fascist and various bourgeois (sports, etc.), organisations. One of the most important tasks consists in bringing over these sections and removing them from the sphere of influence of our opponents. One of the means for obtaining this end is the tactic of the united front as laid down by the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, and the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. Our Leagues should make special efforts to penetrate into the opponent organisations whose membership includes large sections of young workers and peasants and which are not of an avowedly political character, for the purpose of forming fractions in these organisations. A direct fight should be carried on with the purely political reformist and fascist organisations and also with those which do not include young workers and peasants in their membership. Internal work in such organisations through the formation of fractions is not to be recommended.

#### IV. LENINIST EDUCATION WORK.

The present epoch of development of the world revolution requires the intensification of Marxist-Leninist education for the leading cadres and for all the members of our Leagues. Therefore, considerable importance must be attached to revolutionary studies. Educational work in the spirit of Lenin, especially the theoretical training of League members and the combination of theoretical questions with practical activity is the foremost task of the Y.C.I. and its sections in the near future.

This means above all, that the level of the theoretical knowledge of our membership must be raised by means of general political elementary education and the creation of a corps of theoretically grounded officials capable of superintending the work of our Leagues.

It is only by bringing the precepts of Marx and Lenin within the reach of all our League members that we will have a guarantee for the complete Bolshevisation of our Leagues.

#### V. WORK IN THE EAST.

In the next phase of the development of the world revolution, the East will play an important and perhaps a decisive role. This being so, our work in the East becomes particularly important. However, the tasks, forms and methods of our work should be adapted to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries.

In connection with this, a differentiation must be made between the following main country groups.

1. Colonies and semi-colonies where industrial development is fairly high and where a considerable working class has come into being (India) and where the bourgeoisie, under the influence of the revolutionary outbreaks of the last few years, is either preparing or already prepared to arrive at a compromise with

imperialism. In such countries our main task consists in forming Young Communist Leagues whose business it will be to educate the young proletarians for an independent leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for the liberation of the workers from the yoke of capitalism, and a united anti-militarist front of all national revolutionary forces (of the proletariat, the peasantry, the revolutionary elements of the intelligentsia, and other social sections). This our Leagues will be able to achieve by taking an active part in all national revolutionary organisations and by endeavouring to gain influence within them.

2. In countries like China, for instance, where the working class is comparatively weak, whereas the national revolutionary movement is of considerable extension, other forms of work should be adopted. In such countries our tasks are as follows:

(a) Establishment of strong Young Communist Leagues with a solid workers' nucleus actively engaged in work among young workers, peasants and students.

(b) Work in the existing national revolutionary youth organisations for the purpose of bringing them under Communist influence, and struggle against all compromise and national reactionary tendencies.

(c) Organisation of workers' clubs, schools, especially workers' schools, girls' Leagues, students, cultural, educational and sports circles and other organisations of a local character of all kinds through which it would be possible to get large sections of young workers, peasants and students in the national revolutionary movement under our control, without taking upon ourselves the initiative for the establishment of national revolutionary mass organisation.

3. In countries with hardly any industrial proletariat (Korea and others) and where the imperialist and feudal yoke makes itself very much felt, the task of the Y.C.L. consists in the establishment of national revolutionary mass organisations and work within them in order to gain and extend Communist influence and to bring them under our leadership.

In Turkey, where the national bourgeoisie is in power, and is still playing an objectively revolutionary role, it is incumbent on our League to compel the bourgeois elements to take up a decisive struggle against feudalism and for the further democratisation of the country.

The Y.C.L. itself has to form a strong proletarian nucleus and close connection with large sections of the peasant Youth and the revolutionary intelligentsia. The Communist Youth organisation should become the only representative of the interests of the working class and peasant youth in Turkey.

4. In the present epoch, one of the most important tasks in connection with the Bolshevisation of the Leagues is to bring about in the imperialist countries a correct understanding of the colonial question, and determination to fight for the complete emancipation of the colonies and also against the imperialist prejudices of the working class of the mother country.

In addition to giving energetic help to the national revolutionary movement, the Y.C.L. should make it clear to the working class youth that union between the national revolutionary movement of the colonies and the proletariat of the mother country is an essential premise for the liberation of the working class from capitalist exploitation.

These tasks exist especially in America, Great Britain and France.

## VI. THE ATTITUDE OF THE Y.C.L. TO THE OPPRESSED NATIONS.

One of the most important tasks of our Leagues is a correct attitude to the national question and to the movement for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and national minorities. This applies particularly to our Leagues in the Balkans, in Poland, and in Czechoslovakia.

The task before our Leagues is to combine the national struggle with the general class struggle, to win away large sections of the Youth of the oppressed nations from bourgeois leadership, to give active support to the struggle for liberation of the oppressed nations and to unite this Youth with the working class Youth and working class as a whole, in the struggle against the oppressor, the bourgeoisie, under conditions of complete national and class equality.

In order to achieve this, our Leagues should:

1. Make Lenin's attitude to the national question their own (recognition of the self-determination of the oppressed peoples, including separation from the state).

2. Establish a united front with the revolutionary Youth organisations (for instance with the Croat, Macedonian and Thracian Youth) in accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I.

3. Form fractions in these organisations.

## VII. WORK AMONG YOUNG WORKING AND PEASANT WOMEN.

Participation of the young working and peasant women in the proletarian movement in revolutionary

work is one of the main conditions for the successful issue of the revolutionary struggle. All our Leagues should pay the greatest attention to systematic work among working and peasant women. But hitherto, this work has received but scant attention and was very irregular, and it is essential to increase the number of girl members in our organisations.

## VIII. MASS WORK AND ORGANISATIONAL TASKS OF THE Y.C.L.

Organisational work is one of the main features of mass work. The experience which our Leagues have already had in connection with their re-organisation on a factory nucleus basis, shows clearly that this is the only organisational form which can secure an extensive development of mass work. Therefore, the most important task before our Leagues is re-organisation before the Eleventh International Day of Youth.

### (a) Nature of Nucleus Work.

An important task before those Leagues which have already made a beginning with re-organisation is—bringing more life into nucleus work. Hitherto, nuclei are mostly working in the same way as the local organisations, especially with regard to the distribution of work. The following organisational tasks seem to us of particular importance.

Every nucleus member should undertake a definite branch of League work; the nucleus should carry on political mass work, mainly all kind of agitation and propaganda by organising mass meetings, public meetings, impromptu meetings, by publishing nucleus newspapers, distributing literature, organising political circles, etc. Wherever possible, the nucleus should recruit members and give a lead in the economic struggle and the struggle for the rights and demands of the working class Youth in the trade unions and should

discuss all questions confronting the League. Such should be the nature of nucleus work.

### (b) Increase of Membership.

All sections of the Y.C.I. should set themselves the task of raising their membership to the utmost. In a number of European Leagues (Germany, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and Scandinavia), this task should be formulated into the slogan "Double the membership." For a number of other countries (Great Britain, America, etc.), this slogan is not enough, as the membership of these Leagues is comparatively small. To carry out this task properly, special attention should be paid to the recruiting of new members by means of general agitation as well as through individual recruiting, which should be the particular duty of every League member.

### (c) Internal League Democracy and Discipline.

Democracy within the Leagues should be adapted to the requirements of the struggle for proletarian dictatorship. In the League, a whole number of questions can be discussed on a much wider basis than in the Party. All lower organisational units, first and foremost factory nuclei, should be drawn into active participation in the political and organisational life of the League. There should be an iron Bolshevik discipline in the League. This, however, should not be achieved through mechanical discipline, but above all, through educational measures.

### (d) Preparation for a State of Illegality.

In all countries where the Y.C.L. has been driven underground, the membership has decreased considerably. Many Leagues were completely destroyed by the reaction. Most of our illegal Leagues are still very slow in their development, in spite of considerable experience in illegal activity during the last few years.

The next months, may be years, will be probably a period of acute reaction. It is, therefore, essential for all legal Leagues to make such preparations for an illegal State so that their numerical strength and their mass activity should not suffer.

### (e) The Press.

An important task is the distribution of our League newspapers among large sections of the young proletariat. In most Leagues the readers of our press are limited to the League membership. Our newspapers must become real mass newspapers through the popularisation of their contents and by means of dealing in their columns with the needs and interests of the working class Youth. Our newspapers are the bridge between us and the masses. All the sufferings of the young workers must find an echo in them. They must be THE newspapers of the working class youth.

We must learn to write our periodicals in a clear and simple language, and to deal with all questions in an understandable and at the same time thorough manner.

To achieve this, we should draw large sections of our membership into this work, by establishing enlarged editorial boards and educating a cadre of young workers' correspondents.

## IX. IN OTHER FIELDS OF MASS ACTIVITY.

### (a) Work among Children.

To capture the young generation of the working class, we must not only organise the young workers in the factories and in the country, and bring them into the ranks of the Y.C.L.'s, but we must also carry on organisational work among the children. The children should be formed into an organisation which will make itself responsible for their revolutionary training and their participation in the life and struggle of the work-

ing class. Hitherto, our Leagues did not know how to go about the establishment of real mass organisations of proletarian children. The Y.C.L. and all its sections should pay special attention to the methods and manner of the activity of the already existing Communist children's organisations, and should take the necessary measures for their re-organisation on a basis ensuring their more rapid development into mass organisations.

### (b) Sports Work.

In some countries, workers' sports organisations are real organisations. In the present epoch of the relative stabilisation of capitalism, the craving among the working class Youth for sport is bound to increase. At the same time, the reformist leaders of the Lucerne Sports International are endeavouring to split the proletarian sports movement. Therefore, all our Leagues must fight energetically for the preservation of unity in the sports organisations. This can be best achieved through systematic organisational work in the sports organisations. The Y.C.L.'s should encourage the establishment of workers' sports leagues and should endeavour to bring them under our influence through systematic work.

## X. INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP.

The Y.C.I. will not be able to do justice to all its tasks in the spirit of Lenin and Bolshevise all its sections unless it carries on its struggle under iron international leadership. The development of the Y.C.I. into a real world League of the working class Youth should be furthered by every possible means. All Y.C.L.'s should see to it that their best leading forces should be devoted to work in the E.C. Moreover, a much closer contact should be established between the

Executive Committee and all the Y.C.L.'s in order to enable the Executive to play its leading role successfully.

The present political situation requires even more than before an iron Bolshevick discipline on the part of our Leagues. It is only through united international leadership that we will be able to cope with any Right perils and Left digressions. The development of the Y.C.L.'s into mass organisations of the working class Youth, necessitates international exchange of fighting experiences between the various Leagues, and steady leadership in the Leagues' mass work. The Y.C.I. can only become a Leninist world organisation of the working class Youth through the Bolshevick international leadership of all sections by the Executive of the Y.C.I.

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## On the Report of the Executive Committee

1. The Fifth Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. identifies itself entirely with the decisions of the Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International. It adopts the thoroughly practical analysis of the present economic and political world situation and the prospects arising out of the same, and also the practical proposals for Bolshevising the Communist movement as a whole, which imply, on the one hand, struggle especially against the increased "right" peril, and on the other hand the formation of Bolshevick mass organisations in all countries. The Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. considers its main task that of putting into concrete form the results of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International as directions for the Bolshevisation of the Communist Youth movement.

2. The Session of the Enlarged Executive places on record that the political lines adopted by the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I. were correct and that the Executive Committee applied them successfully and in a right and proper manner during the past period in in general as well as in special concrete cases. Therefore, the Session of the Enlarged Executive passes a unanimous vote of confidence in the Executive Committee.

3. The Executive Committee has shown throughout great political activity in its support of the struggle of the Communist International against right opportunist as well as ultra-left tendencies. This applies particularly to the struggle against Trotskyism, Hoeglund's treachery in Sweden, and that of the right wing in France (Rosmer, Monatte and Delagarde), Borlign's digressions in Italy, the right fraction movement in Germany, and the liquidatory attitude of Bubnik and the right tendencies in Czecho-Slovakia. The Executive Committee has given considerable help to the sections of these countries in their struggle against these anti-Bolshevik tendencies.

4. The Executive Committee has also done considerable work in connection with the International and national application of the decisions of the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I. concerning the development of the Young Communist Leagues into mass organisations. In this respect too, it has given considerable support to the various sections.

5. The Session of the Enlarged Executive places on record that during the recent period, the Y.C.I. has made great strides forward politically and organisationally towards becoming a real world organisation. But at the same time the Enlarged Executive declares that the connection between the international and the various sections requires further improvement and consolidation.

## Immediate Tasks of Leninist Education of the Y.C.L.

### I. Leninist Education and Bolshevisation of the Y.C.L.

1. In the present epoch, when the development of the world revolution has been more or less checked, the Bolshevisation of the Y.C.L. has become a task of considerable importance. In this epoch, among the most important tasks of the Comintern, which in their entirety represented the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties, special attention should be given to work among the Youth. A complete Bolshevisation of the Comintern is impossible without the Proletarian Youth, the young generation of workers who were reared under conditions created by the imperialist war and the budding world revolution.

2. The main principle of the Bolshevisation of the Y.C.L. and above all of its transformation into mass organisations of the Proletarian Youth is—Leninist education founded on the study of Marxism—Leninism, the experiences of the class struggle, and above all, of the various revolutions and tactical lessons, care being taken that practical work be conducted with the theoretical education of the League members. This is what Lenin had to say on this question:

*"It (the growing young generation) cannot learn Communism unless it connects every new phase of its studies, its education and training with the ever-continuing struggle of the proletarians and all workers—against the old social order of exploitation."*

Leninist education must become the means for the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletarian youth. For this purpose the Bolshevisation of the youth movement must be secured in the following manner:

(a) Mass work based on propaganda of Leninism among the Proletarian Youth.

(b) Education of officials and League members.

(c) Transformation of Young Communist Leagues into reserve forces of the Party, and consolidation of the influence of the Party in the Y.C.L.

3. Leninist education of the Youth is impossible without a revolutionary theory. Especially now when revolutionary development proceeds in a slower tempo than before and when there is a great risk of restricting our activities only to practical work, special efforts should be made to place the entire everyday work on a sound theoretical basis.

However, a study of Leninism as theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, is unthinkable without the Marxist doctrines. Therefore, one must give up once and for ever the idea that it is possible to separate Marx from Lenin. It must be recognised that Leninist education must be based on the heritage of Marxist ideas. The relation between Marxism and Leninism is sufficiently indicated in the theses of the Fifth Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on Bolshevisation. But one should specially emphasise that a thorough knowledge of the prominent Marxists of the epoch of the Second International (for France—Guesde and Lafargue, for Germany—Liebknecht, Bebel and Kautsky, when he was still a revolutionary, for Russia—Plekhanov, etc.), is essential not only for the education of the Party, as laid down by the Comintern, but also for the education of the Y.C.L. The education of a new generation of proletarian revolutionists growing up and being hardened in the process of great social convulsions as well as in the practical every-day work during the period of relative peaceful development, must be founded on the wealth of experience accumulated by the revolutionary proletarian movement.

## II. Leninist Education in the Epoch of the Relative Lull in the Revolutionary Development.

4. The new epoch of the international labour movement places problems of a peculiar kind also before the Youth. There is the danger of hopelessness and despair taking possession of certain sections of the Proletarian Youth. These defeatist moods are accompanied by two extremes: Right liquidation tendencies and Left sectarian tendencies. In our struggle for Leninism, this is all the more reason why we should meet all Right and Left perils with Bolshevik steadfastness and unity in our Youth Leagues.

It is only by straining every nerve that we will be able to cope with these perils and to overcome the main difficulties on the way to ideological unity and a correct appreciation of tactical and organisational problems.

5. First and foremost, Y.C.L. members should acquire a general idea of the meaning and aim of the struggle against capitalism. Ideological unity can only be obtained if more room and attention is given to theory in the education of our members. For consolidating and developing the Communist Youth movement, we must struggle against all indifferent or even hostile attitudes towards theory. By destroying the "vanguardist" and "young-syndicalist" theories, the Y.C.L.'s have to preserve the revolutionary traditions of the Communist Youth Movement and develop them into special forms of the general proletarian struggle. With respect to anti-militarist work, an under-estimation of the importance of such traditions in the Youth movement would be an under-estimation of truly revolutionary traditions.

The main tasks in connection with the ideological struggle are as follows:

(a) Tenacious work for the creation of a materialistic Communist world conception among the Communist Youth.

(b) Rejection of all revisionist attacks in the Communist world conception.

(c) Exposure of the ideology of the opponent Youth organisations, especially the Socialist organisations which are endeavouring, by misinterpreting Marxism, to make use of the lull in the revolutionary epoch for the demoralisation of the young workers and also for making the latter amenable to the reformist policy.

6. Attention should be concentrated on theoretical education in order to meet the peril of Right and especially of ultra-left digressions in the ranks of the Youth. Enlightenment should be spread in the Leagues concerning the anti-Leninist digressions within the Communist movement, especially concerning digressions of an international character, as for instance, Trotskyism. An energetic struggle should also be carried on against a whole series of errors made by Rosa Luxemburg and against all opportunist misinterpretations such as "Brandlerism" and other digressions from Leninism (Bordiga, etc.), which make their appearance in some countries.

7. Without adopting Bolshevik strategy and tactics, real Leninist education is impossible. It is necessary to arrive at a proper understanding of the strategy of the proletarian struggle and the necessity of tactical manoeuvres by participation in all the political campaigns of the Party and by a thorough study of Lenin's works on tactics and of the Russian experiences in general. For the Y.C.L.'s the main points by which they should be guided under all circumstances are as follows:

(a) An understanding of the leading role of the Y.C.L. in the proletarian Youth movement and recognition of the necessity to get allies and reserve forces from the semi-proletarian, peasant and colonial youth.

(b) Connection of the ultimate aim and the revolutionary perspectives with the political, economic and anti-militarist partial demands.

The elaboration and study of the tactical questions of the Youth movement should become one of the main tasks of the entire Leninist educational work.

8. Especial attention should be paid to the nature of nucleus work, and League members should be given instructions in the methods as well as in the forms of educational work, in the nucleus. Adaptation of the entire nucleus work to the level of the members and of the local Proletarian Youth, utilisation of concrete facts in connection with a definite enterprise, etc., for mass propaganda and the connection of all branches of League work with the practical needs of the movement—such are the chief means without which it is impossible for our organised vanguard to permeate large sections of the Proletarian Youth. It is in this manner that we must refute all social-democratic notions of youth education unconnected with every-day tasks, the struggle of the proletariat as a whole and the position of the Youth. It is only by a correct appreciation of the nature of nucleus work as the work of the primary organisation of the League that a stable connection between theory and practice can be established.

9. Special attention should be paid to the development of the subjective attributes of a Bolshevik revolutionist in every young worker (hatred of the bourgeoisie, devotion to Communism, tenacity, steadfastness, comradely feelings among League members, etc.). Communist class morals should be trained and strengthened in the Communist Youth, as an indispensable basis for the successful struggle of the entire proletariat and its organisations. The idea that the Young Bolshevik generation is to take the place of the old generation is to be promulgated not only by the organisational ideological unity of the two generations, but also by permeat-

ing the rank and file Communist Youth with the best traditions and attributes of the older Communist generation, and especially with the traditions of the R.C.P.

### III. Organisation of Leninist Educational Work.

10. In the interests of mass propaganda of Leninism and of the Leninist education of the Y.C.L., the entire practical work of the Y.C.L. must be based on Leninism. Mass campaigns and every-day work should be used for the propagation and popularisation of Lenin's teaching. All branches of practical Y.C.L. work should be closely connected with Lenin's doctrines.

(a) ANTI-MILITARIST WORK should be based on Lenin's idea that imperialist wars are inevitably connected with the imperialist epoch of capitalism, and that it behoves Communists to connect our struggle against bourgeois militarism with the ideological and practical preparation for civil war.

(b) ECONOMIC-TRADE UNION WORK on the basis of Lenin's tactics: One should never leave out of sight in the economic every-day struggle of the proletariat, the revolutionary ultimate aim of the proletariat. The struggle for international trade union unity must become part of the general economic-trade union work of the Y.C.L.'s in order to make every member realise that Communists should be active even in the most reactionary trade unions for the purpose of revolutionising them.

(c) The struggles of the Russian Bolsheviks against the disguised enemies of the working class in their own camp, and against their open enemies, and the lessons to be drawn therefrom—especially the lesson of the role of the social-democratic party as a bourgeois party, should form the basis of the STRUGGLE WITH OUR OPPONENTS.

(d) ORGANISATIONAL WORK and especially RE-ORGANISATION ON A FACTORY NUCLEUS BASIS should be founded on the recognition that the C.P. is the only workers' party, and that therefore its centre of gravity should be in the factories. The C.P. should draw into its ranks the best elements of the working class, and should assume the political leadership of all workers' organisations (trade unions, sports' organisations, etc.). This requires complete theoretical clarity, strict discipline and centralisation.

(e) WORK AMONG THE PEASANT YOUTH should be founded on the recognition that the peasantry is the most important ally of the proletariat in the struggle for power and that victory without the peasantry is impossible.

(f) WORK AMONG THE OPPRESSED COLONIAL PEOPLES is only possible if the true character of imperialism is recognised. The colonial work of the Y.C.L.'s pre-supposes a clear recognition that the proletariat of the mother country must connect its own struggle with the struggle for national liberation of the colonies.

11. In connection with their educational work Y.C.L.'s must do justice to the three following tasks:

- (a) Creation of a uniform educational system.
- (b) Organisation of the training of members.
- (c) Training of officials.

All these tasks are closely connected, and stand or fall together, but the centre of gravity lies in the thorough mass education of the members, in giving them a thorough grounding in political knowledge and in helping them with their reading and self-education, in order to enable them to proceed subsequently with

the study of Lenin's works. We must first and foremost strive to do justice to this task.

## On the Completion of the Re-organisation of the Leagues

1. Since the Fourth World Congress the slogan of complete re-organisation became the centre of League work in most of the Leagues. Only very few Leagues however have re-organised any considerable number of their organisations on the basis of factory nuclei. Some have a large number and others a smaller number of factory nuclei. Hence the efforts towards complete re-organisation must be continued everywhere, and in those not quite so advanced, it must be considerably increased. The Leagues must understand how to link up the work of re-organisation with the whole activity of the League, with the campaigns and with the economic and political events. In general the work of re-organisation seems to be conducted in a too technical organisational manner. Either the work was restricted too much to the change of the organisational structure or the blending of the work of re-organisation, and the simultaneous conduct and development of mass activity was brought about too sporadically. In future work of re-organisation, the following points must be placed in the foreground:

**Recruiting of members and development of nucleus work.**

2. It is wrong to separate the work of re-organisation from recruiting of members. Re-organisation does not consist merely of a simple, perhaps bureaucratic, re-distribution and re-registration of the old membership. Re-organisation is also a process of strengthening the membership by recruiting new members, without which systematic penetration into the factories, the

formation of new nuclei, and the strengthening of those nuclei which can already be formed from the present members, is impossible.

The principal way in which the winning of members and the systematic strengthening of our Leagues can be linked up with re-organisation, is the **INDIVIDUAL WORK OF RECRUITING AND THE FORMATION OF NEW NUCLEI ORGANISATIONS.**

The foremost task of every nucleus and every individual member is to strive to strengthen the Communist Youth Leagues by recruiting new members from among Young Workers in the factories. Individual recruiting is the most important means to this end. It must be begun in the factory, but if it is to show results, it must be continued outside the factories as well. The nucleus must instruct each one of its members in what department of the factory and in which group of Youth the member is to find his field for agitation. The winning of young workers who have any influence on other young workers in the factory must be specially organised.

To win over new sections of the young workers is, therefore, made possible for the Y.C.I. by the formation of new organisations. The most important thing is the creation of a Communist Youth nucleus parallel with every Party nucleus, and the creation of a Communist Youth organisation parallel with every local organisation of the Party. Systematic activity to improve the social composition of the membership of the League is particularly important for the development of new organisations in the industrial districts and in towns. But by the extension of our organisations to the country, the formation of farm and village nuclei, the League must begin to attract the young agricultural workers and the small peasant Youth into our ranks and increase their numbers.

3. The work of re-organisation can be effectively and successfully linked up with the recruiting of new members only if the Leagues prepare the ground for the growth in membership by developing nucleus work in every way into mass activity. The activity of the nuclei and of the local organisations based on nuclei is generally weak and undeveloped. The nuclei often adopted the same work and the same forms of work which is applied in the residential district organisations. Therefore, every League is confronted with the task of getting the nuclei to carry on regularly organised activity. The strengthening and further development of the nuclei depends to a great extent on gaining close contact with the masses of working Youth, exercising constant politically-educating influence, representing the economic interests of the working class Youth and mobilising the masses of Youth on their behalf, and on really acting as the fundamental unit of the organisations by fulfilling all the tasks of the League.

The nuclei have already given good individual examples of new methods and new forms of mass activity, such as individual agitation, factory nuclei newspapers, Young Worker correspondents, meetings of factory Youth, conferences of worker and peasant Youth, factory hundreds, industrial campaigns, fight for concrete Youth demands in the factory, agitation in the country, political-satirical entertainments, reading circles of the nuclei, and others. These forms, which can be increased considerably by additional practical work in connection with the fractional work in the trade unions, sport and other non-party organisations done systematically by the nucleus organisation, and with the activity conducted among the opponents and in the residential districts, must be developed and co-ordinated into a whole system of mass work for the League, which finally entirely displaces the old forms of League activity.

This re-organisation can, therefore, not be accomplished by the nuclei alone, but must be effected from above as well. The leading committee must constantly influence and further the work of the nuclei, and an important role in this connection is played by the continual use and spread of the practical experiences gained from the work. But the instructions of the leaders for the work of the organisation must above all be adjusted to the ability of the nuclei to take this work upon itself and carry it out. The political-organisational line of the whole work of the League must be so arranged that an inseparable connection of the work of the League in all spheres of activity is established and the sterile distribution of work according to district which is still to be found everywhere must be abandoned.

4. The following most important experiences in an organisational respect, of the work done in the period just elapsed must be emphasised:

(a) A time limit for the re-organisation of the organisations can be set only after careful ideological preparations have been made. That time limit, however, must be set by the higher organisational bodies not merely as propaganda but as absolutely serious business, and must be done for the purpose of systematically concentrating the activity of the League to the task of re-organisation. In order that the process of re-organisation be satisfactory in the various organs of the League, this process must not follow rigid rules but must be adapted to existing conditions.

(b) The composition of the existing nuclei is extremely unsatisfactory. Some of them are very small and in others again the members drawn from the factories are in the minority. Therefore, the foremost task of every nucleus is—to increase its membership by drawing young factory workers into

it. The attachment of members of the League who are not employed in the factory must not be made a systematic thing but must be performed with the greatest caution, the attached comrades must be carefully selected and the development of the nuclei and the possibility of employing the attached comrades in the work of the nuclei must be kept in view. Moreover, the number of attached members must not be so large as to prevent the nuclei members who are employed in the factory from having an absolute majority. Such nuclei must endeavour in the process of development to keep the percentage of attached members as low as possible.

(c) The local groups in the large towns, the nuclei groups and district groups respectively may set up special working groups in order to carry activities outside the factory. Such working groups would receive instructions from the nuclei—or the nuclei groups—or the district or local leading bodies and would be of varying composition in accordance with the tasks they are called upon to perform. The working groups should consist of the nuclei members of the given residential area, also those working in the district, and members who live in the area should be drawn into the work to the extent that they are free of duties entrusted to them by their nuclei or working groups of their place of work, as well as the members whose place of work is too far distant from their residence. A special registration may be instituted in order to give the present leading bodies the organisational possibilities of enlisting the members residing in their area. Working groups for conducting work outside the factory should be established only in those places where the re-organisation of the League on a nucleus basis has been completed.

(d) While just as the Central Committees hitherto were not sufficiently acquainted with group life and exercised no definite supervision of the lower organisations, so the leading bodies to-day have no adequate idea of the work of the nuclei and have not gathered practical working experience. This indicates a formal and inert centralisation and a certain isolation of the leading committee from the lower organisations. Moreover only a very few of the leading bodies of the Leagues possess useful statistics regarding the social composition of the Leagues and the movement of the membership. During the stage of re-organisation this is necessary for all officials and members of the leading committee to work in the nuclei and the closest contact should exist in the League between all sections of the organisation, from the lowest units up to the Central Committee.

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## On the Question of Opponents

1. The statement of the Fifth World Congress of the C.I. and of the Fourth World Congress of the Y.C.I. regarding the probable growth of the influence of our opponents in general (Socialist, Christian, religious, and partly Fascist), the development of the "democratic" illusions within the working class during the present period in the trough of the revolutionary wave and the inevitability and importance of work among opponents, were substantiated by all developments, both political and economic.

2. The Fifth Meeting of the Enlarged Executive, nevertheless declares that most of the Leagues have not adequately met the requirements of their work amongst opponents, and particularly have not carried on sufficient

work of enlightenment among the masses of members in the Youth organisations of our opponents.

3. This defect in the work of our Leagues must be completely removed in the near future. Intensive activity among our opponents is one aspect of our principal slogan, Bolshevisation, which must be done "principally by means of an irreconcilable struggle against opportunism and its banner-bearer in the ranks of the Youth, the Socialist Youth Leagues." (Resolution of the Fourth World Congress). The main activity of this work must be laid on the disintegration of opponent organisations on winning masses of members away from opponent organisations which have Young Workers in their ranks.

4. The Enlarged Executive imposes the duty upon the Leagues to strengthen their work among the opponents, especially within the four most important groups of opponent organisations (Socialist, Christian, Sport and Fascist) in the immediate future, to **SYSTEMATISE** it, and to harmonise it with our general slogans, recruiting of members and doubling the membership. The resolution in question of our Fourth World Congress includes concrete instructions. Our Leagues must also conduct energetic activity for winning over members in the Youth organisations of the nationally oppressed peoples, and particularly in national revolutionary Youth organisations.

5. The Enlarged Executive advises the Leagues in their educational activity among the members of our opponent Youth organisations, besides our general every-day slogans, especially to keep in mind the campaign being conducted just now by the R.I.L.U. and the C.I. for trade union unity, the achievements of the working class Youth, and the position of the working class in the Soviet Union in general.

6. Our Leagues must devote special attention to children's organisations of our opponents and conduct the work of our Communist children's groups accordingly.

## ON THE TASKS OF THE BRITISH LEAGUE

### 1. The General Line of the League.

The Executive states with satisfaction that the League has actively followed the line of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. in its activity, and undertaken an energetic beginning on the path of earnest practical mass work. A series of essential steps forward (on the field of organisation, on the economic trade union work, the work of the re-organisation of the League on the basis of factory groups, in the political activity, in the anti-militarist activity) are the first results of this course, which must be further developed with all energy.

The Executive declares, however, that this is but the first commencement on the way to a mass organisation, as the League has not yet established connection with the broad masses of Young Workers, which still therefore, remains its chief task, and that especially the small membership of the League is quite unsatisfactory. In future everything possible must be done to considerably increase the League membership.

In carrying through the line towards a mass organisation, the League has a series of tasks. The most important are :

- (a) Building the structure of the organisation.
- (b) Re-organisation on the basis of factory groups.
- (c) Active economic trade union work, and close collaboration with the Minority Movement.

(d) Leninist educational work.

(e) Struggle against Imperialism, and colonial work.

The further development of the anti-militarist work is of great importance. And the results of the work in all fields must be a powerful increase in membership.

## 2. Connections with the Party.

The connections with the Party have improved, but they must become closer and better. The League must actively participate in the whole political life and activity of the Party and energetically collaborate in its Bolshevisation. The practical collaboration must especially be concentrated in the slogan "By each Party Local and Factory Group, a Youth Local and Factory Group."

## 3. Organisation,

The League must issue the slogan "Capture all Industrial Districts." In all important Industrial Districts firm organisations must be formed in a well-planned manner (factory groups, locals, districts). In London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, S.Wales, Yorkshire, Tyneside, and in the Scottish Industrial belt, the already formed district organisations must be much strengthened, and supported in all fields, and new districts in Tyneside and S.Wales, and later in Birmingham, be formed.

## 4. Factory Groups and Re-organisation.

The already formed factory groups must be carefully developed and new groups formed all over the country. The greatest importance must be attached to the development of the Factory Groups as the actual basis of the League. It is of the utmost importance to ensure, that all Factory Groups have a regularly working leadership, meet regularly, pay dues and carry out the activities of the League in all fields, with inclusion

of educational work. The already commenced re-organisation of the districts shall be developed according to the directions of the existing plan. As a result the re-organisation of the whole League on the basis of Factory Groups by the Eleventh International Day of Youth must be ensured and carried through. The re-organisation, however, as the League has already correctly emphasised, is only possible in connection with the strongest membership recruiting work.

## 5. Economic Trade Union Work.

The next immediate task of the League on this field is not only carrying through the previous propaganda for the demands of the Young Metal workers, miners and railway workers, but above all the organisation of a special campaign for Young Miners on the basis of the demands issued. In this campaign it is especially important that the League forms strong organisations in the mining districts and that the organisation of the M.F.G.B. includes our demands in its fighting programme against the employers. Our task is to mobilise the Mining Youth for the struggle of the Miners, and to work for the representation of the demands of the Youth in an eventual struggle.

The campaign which has been already begun for the united struggle of the Miners, Metal Workers, Railway Workers and Transport Workers (for the Committees of Action) and the participation of the Youth in this struggle (especially in these Committees) is of the greatest importance and must be energetically extended.

Similarly the campaign for the Unity of the Trade Unions, connected with the slogan "Complete Unity between Youth and Adult Workers in the Trade Unions."

The connection with the Minority Movement in all questions and departments of its activities is of the great-

est importance and must be continually developed and improved. The Executive especially emphasises this point.

To the situation of the Unemployed Youth must be devoted great attention. The League must work to attract the whole unemployed Youth to the Unemployed Movement, and to get their demands represented.

### 6. Leninist Educational Work.

On the basis of the new syllabus the educational work must be revised and a well-planned membership training in the Factory Groups and local groups (here through working groups) carried through in the whole League.

But it is necessary to begin now, also with special educational work to instruct the functionaries, to establish a schooled Leninist Party. The week-end schools shall be improved and carried through on a national scale. The participation of the members of the Communist Youth in the courses and schools of the Party must be ensured. The issues of Literature for the members and cadres is important.

### 7. Colonial Work.

The struggle against Imperialism through active colonial work is of the greatest importance. In this connection so far too little has been done. The League has the task to fight, against the Imperialist influences amongst the Working Youth and conjointly to win their support for the struggle of the oppressed masses of the Colonies, also to lead an active assistance of the national revolutionary movement and the organisation of the Working Youth in the Colonies.

### 8. Other Tasks.

The Anti-Militarist work must be developed and carried through energetically. Further, a strengthening of the work among the Children and on the field of Sports is necessary. This last department of work has been so far much neglected by the League.

### 9. Opponents.

One task which must receive more attention than previously, is the systematic struggle against the Opponent's organisations. It is especially important to lead an energetic struggle against the new reserves of Reformism now being built through the Guilds of Youth of the I.L.P.

### 10. The Y.C.L. and the Situation of the Russian Working Youth.

An educational campaign on the situation of the young workers in Soviet Russia which will show the whole fundamental difference between the appalling situation of the Working Youth in capitalist England and the free position of the Youth in Proletarian Russia, is necessary, in connection with the great interest of English Workers in Soviet Russia, and the Report of the British Trade Union Delegation.

The question of the situation of the Working Youth in Soviet Russia shall be dealt with at the coming League Congresses.

### 11. The Press.

The new edition of the "Young Worker" is an important step forward to a real mass organ of the Working Youth. Everything must be done to increase its distribution, to further improve it, and develop it to the real organ of the masses of the Young Workers of Great Britain.

## 12. Congress.

The Third Congress of the League will have a great significance. It must be the Congress of Bolshevisation, the Congress of Mass Work. It must provide a powerful impetus to the founding of a mass organisation of Communist Youth in England. Therefore, among the questions which must find special attention, are the reports on the Political Situation, a report on the development of the League to a mass organisation, the economic-trade union work, colonial work, and Leninist educational work. The Congress must be basically prepared in the membership, and especially in the Factory Groups.

## 13. Conclusions.

The Executive repeats once more the necessity of the strongest membership recruiting work. The small membership of the League is the hindrance to all earnest work, and for England not only the general slogan of double the Communist Youth by the Eleventh International Day of Youth applies, but at least TREBLE.

Therefore,

**Recruit Recruit, Recruit!**

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## ON THE TASKS OF THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUES IN AMERICA.

In its resolution on the tasks of the Young Workers' League of America the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. laid down the lines for the transition to Bolshevik mass work. The Fifth Enlarged Bureau Session of the Y.C.I. investigated the progress made by the American League in this direction during its more than six months' activity, and arrived at the following conclusions:

## 1. The Differences in the Workers' Party and the Young Workers' League of America.

(1) Since the end of 1923 a heated discussion has been carried on in the Workers' Party on the question of the establishment of a Labour Party. This discussion reached a climax after the last Presidential elections in November, 1924. With respect to these contentious questions, the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. is in entire agreement with the resolution of the Enlarged Executive of the C.I. on the American question. The C.I. urges both groups in the Workers' Party to discuss rationally and quietly on the basis of this platform all questions confronting the Party, and to collaborate in a comradely manner. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. urges the entire Youth League to be guided by this resolution. It should be taken into consideration that the most dangerous enemy in the ranks of the Workers' Party is the Lore group and its ideology. This makes it incumbent on the adherents of the majority as well as of the minority to do their utmost to form a united front against this two and a half international ideology.

## 2. Past Activity.

(2) Whilst in the resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Y.C.I. we still had occasion to say that a certain hesitancy was noticeable within the Y.W.L. of America with respect to the application of the decisions of the Y.C.I., we are able to-day to place on record that during the period following the Fourth Congress, mass work was carried on with greater energy than ever before. The Central Committee of the Y.W.L. of America has shown lately, by the way it is conducting the League's work that it is capable of being the leader of the American Youth League in full agreement with the E.C. of the Y.C.I. We are convinced that it will be able also in the future to lead the Y.W.L. in accordance

with the lines laid down by the E.C. of the Y.C.I., and especially in accordance with the lines laid down in this resolution and in the resolution of the Enlarged Executive of the C.I. on the American question. If members of the Minority group have reproached the Central Committee of the Y.W.L. with not having done enough towards making the League a mass organisation, we declare that there is no justification for such an accusation. The Executive of the Y.C.I. calls upon all League members to put an end to factionism and to work together in a comradely fashion on the basis of the decisions of the C.I. and the Y.C.I.

### 3. The Chief Tasks.

The forthcoming convention of the American League, after re-stating its adherence to the theses and resolutions of the Second National Convention which still form the basis of the activity of the organisation, should outline its activities as follows:

(3) The main task of the American League is the creation of a mass organisation of young workers recruited primarily from the large industries and organised completely upon the nucleus basis. Such an organisation will be able to initiate and lead greater political and economic struggles of the young workers and reap the proper organisational results. This means a constant and persistent campaign to increase the membership to at least 10,000 and the complete re-organisation of the League upon the nucleus basis by the next Y.C.I. Congress. This can only be achieved by a general increase of activities on all fields and particularly by concerted efforts in the daily struggles of the working class Youth. Our slogans must be "In every large shop a nucleus!" and "Every member a shop nucleus organiser!" Only by this means will the Y.W.L. assume its true role as the sole representative of the working class youth.

(4) The League has made a big step forward on the economic field and has already shown its ability to participate in the daily struggles of the young workers by departing from the "journalistic" stage of economic-trade union work and organising campaigns with concrete demands for the Youth. This must be intensified so that not only the larger sections, but also the entire League has entered in the work. In the campaigns carried through against the Bunté Candy Co., the Nabisco, the Mail Order Houses, and in the mining industry, the League has gained many experiences. The issuing of pamphlets for particular industries has proved to be very successful. While these campaigns for specific Youth demands mark a step forward in the work of the Y.W.L., it must, however, be stated that these campaigns have only a practical value if the League succeeds in winning an organised influence upon the masses of young workers, *i.e.*, if it succeeds in organising shop nuclei, which, together with the fractions in the unions must carry on the actual struggle for the demands set up. Moreover, these campaigns have been carried on so far (with the exception of the coal mining campaign) in less important industries. These campaigns must now be extended on a national scale and should concentrate on the key industries. Special efforts should be made to organise and continue special national campaigns among the masses of the young workers in the large industries such as, coal, steel, textile, automobile, etc., on the basis of special Youth demands. The beginning which has already been made in various strikes (Hegeqisch, for instance), by setting up concrete demands for the Youth, must find a similar response from the League in every strike that takes place in the future.

The campaigns of the League must be crowned by the calling of conferences of the working Youth of particular industries and these must become a means of rallying the broad masses of the working Youth in the

big industries to the demands of the Y.W.L. These conferences must become a regular feature in the activities of the Y.W.L. The aim of the League must also be to organise conferences of the rural Youth at which representatives from the workshops should participate, thus bringing the industrial Youth nearer to the rural Youth and establishing a bond between their allies in the rural districts. All efforts should be made to have Negro delegates at all of these conferences (industrial and rural).

One of the weakest points in the work of the League has been its failure to concentrate upon the organisation of trade union Youth fractions without which the practical carrying out of the trade union work has no foundation. The industrial campaigns will have but a propagandistic and in a certain sense a "journalistic" value, if the League members are not organised in the unions and as long as there are no fractions of the Y.W.L. in the unions. The slogan "Every member of the Y.W.L. an ACTIVE trade union member" signifies that the members of the Y.W.L. in a particular union must unite into a fraction of the Y.W.L. Hand in hand with the campaign of "Into the unions!" must be carried through the building up of the fractions of the Y.W.L. These fractions must work in closest contact with the T.U.E.L. for specific youth demands. It is their task to conduct within the general activities of the T.U.E.L. the work for the interests of the young workers, to propagate and popularise the demands of the Y.W.L. and to enlist the support of the T.U.E.L., and through the T.U.E.L. the support of the unions, to fight for the demands set up by the Y.W.L. It is particularly important that the Y.W.L. wins the support of the T.U.E.L. in their fight for the removal of all barriers against the youth—high entrance fees, high dues, age and colour barriers, etc., and for the admittance of the young workers with full rights but lower entrance fees and dues in accord-

ance to the wages received. For this purpose the League should have a representative on all committees of the T.U.E.L. The League must also make the greatest use of the facilities of the T.U.E.L. in order to reach the masses of the young workers through the publications of the T.U.E.L. (column in the Daily Worker, bulletins, and other literature issued by the T.U.E.L. and through other channels).

(5) The recurring agrarian crises which become more severe in each period, make the winning of the agricultural working youth and the youth of the working farmer class of greatest importance to the League. This work must be definitely begun by the setting up of a working committee in the N.E.C. which will co-ordinate the entire activity and especially in those sections where the League has already made contacts. It is the duty of the League to carry on energetic campaigns through the setting up of special demands and slogans based on the practical struggles of the rural youth.

(6) Despite the traditional race prejudices which exist among the white and coloured workers, our League must undertake the work among the Negro Youth in a serious manner. The programme already adopted by the N.E.C. on this work must be amplified and include concrete measures for reaching the exploited coloured workers of the South as well as the North. A constant campaign showing the common class interests of the coloured and white workers in their every-day struggles against the boss and the capitalist state must be conducted, together with the entrance and the setting up of demands by the Y.W.L. in every political and economic struggle of the Negro. The publication of literature dealing with the Communist position towards the Negroes will be an aid towards our campaigns among the young Negro workers in the packing, coal, steel and other industries. Efforts should be made to

draw young Negro workers into district and national work and positions.

(7) A definite beginning must be made in the educational work of the American League. In our mass activity the N.E.C. must initiate definite campaigns which will popularise the League and its principles. The wide distribution of our press and the regular issuance of nucleus bulletins will assist in this work. The N.E.C. should issue a monthly political bulletin to the membership. Greater training of the membership in the spirit and teachings of Leninism is necessary so that we may create a reserve army of trained workers for work within the Party. The N.E.C. must establish courses on a political minimum for every unit of the League, and also establish, wherever possible, "week-end schools" for all functionaries where theoretical and practical training will be combined. In order that the League's development may not be retarded by the lack of capable functionaries and officials for district and national work, efforts should be made to establish a Central Training School in Chicago where a group of comrades can be drawn from various centres for intensive training in the theory and practice of Leninism.

In addition to the above tasks, which must be concentrated upon, the League must not forget the following:

#### 4. General Tasks.

(8) The transformation of the "Young Worker" into a weekly organ marks a great step forward for the League. Every effort must be made to maintain the weekly and increase its circulation among the young workers in the industries. The mass character of the paper must be further improved by the development of a national network of young worker correspondents from the factory and the mine. The Young Comrade also must be further changed to an organ of the school struggle.

(9) An energetic campaign must be conducted through our League press against capitalist militarism and the dangers of new imperialist wars, at all times pointing out the difference between the Leninist conception of the struggle against that of the pacifists and Socialists. The establishment of actual nuclei within the army and navy is one of the next tasks of the League. In addition we must issue concrete demands and slogans for the soldiers and sailors. The work in the C.M.T.C. must be continued this year and efforts should be made to establish and maintain connections with the C.T.M.C. civilian clubs. A struggle should be carried on against compulsory military training in the schools upon their opening this year. All patriotic demonstrations and holidays should be counteracted by the League.

(10) The Junior Section must be more closely coordinated in its work and greater attention given to the political education. Following the experiences of the German Y.C.L., a well-knit national organisation of junior groups (Junior Section) with the school nucleus as the basic unit and the school struggle as the basis of activity, must be organised out of the present juniors' groups, with the German Young Spartacus League as a model. A beginning must be made through the re-organisation of the existing juniors' groups on the basis of school nuclei, the centre of gravity of all activity must be centred in the schools (school struggle, fight for better school buildings, against nationalist and religionist dope, etc.). The most important task, however, is to organise a continuous and energetic nation-wide campaign against child labour on the basis of the programme of the Y.C.L. This campaign must be carried on also among the adult working class (Party, fraternal organisations, etc.), in order to enlist their support, as well as drawing the children, who must in this struggle play a prominent role. Special demands should be set up for the child labourers and all measures must be taken to

organise the fight for the realisation of their demands. The aim is to abolish all child labour up to 14 years, and the partial demands set up (such as higher wages, etc.), serve only this final aim.

(11) The influence of the many bourgeois youth organisations (Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.M.H.A., etc.), must be combated relentlessly and their true nature as agents of the capitalist class exposed. This must not be limited to the "Young Worker," but must extend to the broad masses of the young workers through our workshop agitation. Our nucleus bulletins can be of aid in this work. We must point out clearly and distinctly to the young workers in these organisations, their subtle character, and demonstrate to them by our struggles that the Y.W.L. is the only representative of the working class youth.

(12) The creation of a national sports movement should be initiated by the League with the Workers' Sport Alliance and other sympathetic proletarian sport and athletic groups, forming the basis of a national sport organisation. Fractions must be organised in all sport organisations and campaigns conducted to affiliate them to the national workers' sport organisation.

(13) The agitation and propaganda work amongst the foreign language-speaking Youth, must be continued through the national propaganda committees, who must work under the immediate control of the N.E.C. The setting up of language units should be minimised as much as possible and the major efforts must be the organising of the language-speaking Youth into our shop nuclei and other regular League activities. Ways and means should be devised to make this wielding together as easy as possible and an ideological enlightenment campaign must be conducted by these committees in the Party press urging the foreign speaking members

to join the English-speaking Party units when of age. Wherever necessary, special literature shall be published to spread our propaganda and to counteract the bourgeois Youth organisations.

(14) The League convention should elect an N.E.C. with a resident administrative council at the centre, and the rest of the members in the districts. Plenary Sessions of the N.E.C. must be held regularly. Closer personal contact must be obtained by the national officers in the various districts. Not only should new youthful and proletarian comrades be added to the N.E.C., but the entire League should be rejuvenated by limiting entrance to 25 years of age. The positions of functionaries in the lower units as far as possible, should be assumed by members of 23 years and under. The departmentalisation of all leading committees should be carried through everywhere.

## 5. Conclusion.

The carrying through of this programme can only be accomplished by the will and activity of a united membership, rallied behind a united national leadership. A Bolshevik discipline must be established in the Y.W.L. as a condition to its transformation into a Young Leninist League. With a unified League under the direction of a capable proletarian leadership, nothing can prevent the growth of the American League into a Young Communist League which will demonstrate by its practical leadership that it is the mass representative of the interests of the working class Youth and the leader of its struggle for Communism.

## ON ECONOMIC TRADE UNION WORK.

The Enlarged Executive declares that in view of the situation in general and of the status of the economic and trade union work of the Leagues to-day, the principal tasks of the Y.C.L. in this sphere, on which everything must be concentrated, are the following:

(a) TO CONDUCT AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE 100 per cent. ORGANISATION OF OUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

(b) DEVELOPMENT AND EXTENSION OF THE FRACTIONS OF THE MEMBERSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

(c) CAMPAIGNS FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION UNITY, and

(d) TRANSITION FROM GENERAL PROPAGANDA TO ORGANISATION OF CAMPAIGNS IN INDUSTRIES AND CONCRETE WORK IN THE FACTORIES.

(a) International Campaign for the 100 per cent.

Organisation of our Members in the Trade Unions.

The Enlarged Executive resolves:

That an INTENSIVE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN be conducted for the 100 per cent. organisation of our members into trade unions by the time of the Eleventh International Youth Day. Every League must systematically organise this campaign and adapt it to the situation in its own country, and strive to achieve the complete organisation of the members by the date set. Naturally this aim must not be attained by mechanical compulsion, but by the most intensive education and agitation. Apart from this

campaign, educational work must be constantly carried on among the membership, so that from now on it will be taken as a matter of course that young workers who become members of the Y.C.L. also join the trade union. That is the most elementary basis for ALL economic trade union work.

In connection with the international campaign for the 100 per cent. organisation of our members into trade unions, a vigorous campaign must be conducted for the organisation of all WORKING CLASS YOUTH IN GENERAL (with equal rights and reduced dues). This campaign is absolutely necessary to-day. (See c.), trade union unity.

(b) Fractions of the Y.C.L. in the Trade Unions.

The campaign for the organisation of the members of the Y.C.L. into the trade unions, must be linked up right from the beginning with the work of the development and extension of the fractions of the Y.C.L. in the trade unions. The significance of these fractions for the economic trade union work of the Y.C.L. is already so clear to-day, that the Enlarged Executive merely emphasises most earnestly that the backward Leagues must once and for all proceed to practical work in this sphere and that this work must be completed down to the very last member in every League.

From the very moment the fractions are formed, they must be assigned definite TASKS by the Leagues, so that they will be full of vitality and become actual organs of the League in all questions in the trade unions.

Fractions which are already firmly organised might organise MEETINGS OF YOUNG MEMBERS OF THE TRADE UNIONS, when occasion arises, in

order to win them over for the fractions' demands and proposals. (For example, before and during a strike movement, wages agreement, before a trade union conference, etc.). It should be perfectly clear that this must not be a permanent form of organisation for the young trade union members, but rather a looser form of agitation of the Y.C.L., through which the Y.C.L. increases its influence. At such meetings, the proposal by the fraction of the election of a young member to the Committees, should be discussed.

The activity of the fractions of the Y.C.L. in the trade union must be concentrated in the immediate future, on the campaign for the organisation of the whole working class Youth in the trade unions (with equal rights and reduced dues), the campaign for trade union unity, and the campaigns in industries.

### (c) For Trade Union Unity.

The fight for establishing national and international trade union unity is to-day the central question of the international labour movement. The Y.C.I. and its Sections has not up till now taken a sufficiently active part in this fight and must now **DEVOTE ALL THEIR ENERGIES** to it. The fight for trade union unity from now on must be one of the **PRINCIPAL TASKS OF THE Y.C.I.** It is not enough to make this struggle a general struggle—it must also be connected up with the events of the day. The various revolutionary minority movements in the reformist trade unions and the proletarian unity committees (as for instance in France) should be given the utmost support. **ROUSE AND MOBILISE THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS YOUTH OF ALL COUNTRIES, THE MASSES OF YOUNG TRADE UNION MEMBERS IN THE VANGUARD FOR**

**TRADE UNION UNITY!**—that is our slogan both nationally and internationally.

The Enlarged Executive, however, declares that the fight for international and national trade union unity would be incomplete if it did not result also in **UNITY BETWEEN THE ADULT AND YOUNG WORKERS**, the organisation of all young workers in the trade unions on a basis of complete equality.

Our slogans, therefore, are :

The Y.C.I. the working class Youth, must everywhere be the vanguard in the fight for trade union unity!

Complete trade union unity between young and adult workers!

### (d) Campaigns in Industries and Work in Factories.

The Enlarged Executive declares :

That it is now necessary to proceed beyond general national propaganda, to agitation and concrete campaigns for the definite demands of the working class Youth in the various **INDUSTRIES** and to concrete work in the **FACTORIES**, and where beginnings have already been made, **ENERGETICALLY TO DEVELOP THEM FURTHER.** Only by this concrete work in the factories (linked up with situation prevailing there) and the organisation of systematic campaigns in industries will the economic and trade union work of the Y.C.L. now assume a **SERIOUS CHARACTER.**

Industries must not be chosen casually for the organisation of campaigns. The League must (especially at the beginning) concentrate rather on the **MOST IMPORTANT** industries (metal, mining, shipbuild-

ing, textile, chemical, transport, railway). Moreover, those industries must be selected where the working class is already involved in a MOVEMENT against capital, or where such a movement is being prepared. The industrial campaigns of the Y.C.L. must, therefore, not have an abstract, unseasonable character, but must be LINKED UP WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE WORKING CLASS. The demands which are to be put forth must not merely be the old general propaganda demands, but CONCRETE demands with respect to wages, working hours, apprenticeship, treatment, etc., which IN THIS VERY SITUATION spring out of the frame of mind and the conflicts of the working class masses in the industry. Therefore, a thorough study of the situation of the working class youth in the branch of industry in question is necessary before the organisation of the campaign in the industry. Naturally the fight for definite partial demands must be closely linked up with our general propaganda and the political fight (campaign of miners with the Dawes Agreement, etc.). As as a rule not more than one or two campaigns ought to be conducted at one time by the League. The industrial campaigns must really be conducted among the MASSES of the working class, in the FACTORIES and TRADE UNIONS, since otherwise their value is practically nil. If possible, these campaigns must be co-ordinated internationally (as, for instance, a campaign of miners is timely just now in several of the most important countries of Europe).

If these campaigns are to be really successful, not only intensive activity of the factory nuclei and trade union fractions is necessary; but, if possible, the holding of CONFERENCES OF WORKING CLASS YOUTH. These must be conducted, after thorough preparation in the factories, according to industries locally, in districts, and if possible, on a national scale

as well, or on a general basis in the same areas. Such conferences which must be thoroughly prepared and preceded by a mass campaign are of the greatest value in extending and stabilising the influence of the Y.C.L. on the masses of non-Party youth.

The general economic activity and the industrial campaigns must find their concrete interpretation in the conditions of the FACTORY by the activity of the factory nuclei. This must now link up the industrial demands and general demands with all the separate concrete questions of the young workers IN THIS VERY FACTORY, and secure the application of our economic and trade union work as real vital MASS ACTIVITY.

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## ON THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT.

1. The period after the Third Congress of the Y.C.I. marked the turning point in the International Communist Children's Movement. During these two and a half years, the first steps were taken to transform Communist Children's Organisations from more or less Sunday-school type of organisation into a *militant organisation of working class children*. In place of the old isolated and weakly centralised children's groups, we have in some countries (America, Germany, Finland, Norway, Sweden) FIRMLY CENTRALISED COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S LEAGUES.

2. The basic organisational unit of these Children's Leagues is the nucleus in the bourgeois school. Its leadership is subordinated to the corresponding organ of the Y.C.L. The task of these Leagues is to organise in their ranks the masses of proletarian children from the age of nine to the end of the school age. The Y.C.L.

and the Y.C.L. must also pay special attention to the proletarian children of school age who in many countries are employed in industry. The Y.C.L.'s must in agreement with the Y.C.I. elaborate methods of bringing these sections of the proletarian youth under their control, adapting these methods to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries. By engaging these children in practical participation in ALL local, national and international STRUGGLES of the Y.C.L., and of the revolutionary proletariat, and by systematically conducted Communist educational work, the Communist Children's Leagues will train them to become good, militant members of the Y.C.L. Further, the Y.C.L. must fight energetically against reaction in the schools; it must initiate special campaigns for the protection of destitute children and against child labour. The children must also organise campaigns of their own and must help the Y.C.L.'s and the C.P.'s on all their fields of activity.

3. The C.C.L. work energetically outside their own ranks among the working class of the town and country. In the bourgeois schools the members of the C.C.L. must be kept constantly active through their school nuclei, in order to spread our ideas among their proletarian schoolmates and to win them for the C.C.L. In the workers' homes the C.C.L. must conduct constant propaganda and agitation in order to break down the prejudices and hostility of the non-party parents towards the activity of the C.C.L., and to win over their children.

4. The work of the C.C.L.'s IN THE COUNTRY is of particular importance at the present time. By means of excursions and special propaganda tours the C.C.L.'s should disseminate our literature and endeavour to establish organisations in the villages. The town organisations should get into contact with the pro-

letarian and poor peasant children in the villages and should counteract the ideology inculcated there by the bourgeoisie, by means of correspondence, distribution of literature, etc., thereby winning over the children of the countryside.

5. The C.C.L.'s must fight energetically against the OPPOSITION (bourgeois and social-democrat) CHILDREN'S ORGANISATIONS of all shades. By their educational work in the schools and among working class parents, the C.C.L.'s must expose the real aim of these organisations, viz., to alienate proletarian children from their class and to mobilise them against it. All means (propaganda, counter-demonstrations, proclamations, work within the opposition organisations, newspapers, etc.), should be made use of to the utmost, in order to keep the children of the workers away from these organisations and to win them over to the C.C.L.'s. This requires the energetic help of Y.C.L.'s and C.P.'s.

6. By an international exchange of letters the C.C.L. must get in touch with the organisations of other countries, in order to collect international experiences and in this way to encourage the international solidarity and education of its members to a greater degree. It is of particular importance to make the fullest possible use of the Russian experiences with respect to the children's movement, and to discuss on an international scale the measures taken by the Soviet Government with regard to the workers' children.

7. As there is a tendency in many countries to copy the existing scout movement, and to form "Red Scout Leagues," the Enlarged Executive points out that although the good sides of the scout movement could be advantageously used in the C.C.L.'s. No

SO-CALLED AUXILIARY ORGANISATIONS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES WHATEVER. The concrete forms of this work should be discussed together with the E.C. as the occasion for it arises.

8. The Enlarged Session of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. endorses the new work adopted by the E.C. and declares at the same time that many of the Y.C.L. have done nothing, or at least very little in the sphere of the children's group movement. The Session imposes the obligation upon all the Leagues to become active on behalf of this new work, and to begin and develop the practical work for furthering the re-organisation of the existing C.C.G. into children's leagues, with all their energy. The re-organisation must be completed before the Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I.

9. In those countries where Y.C.L. exist, in which no Communist children's organisations have been formed as yet (Balkan Leagues, Italy), or in which the movement is conducted by various proletarian organisations (France and Czecho-Slovakia), the Y.C.L. must take the initiative in the organisation of a Communist Children's League and for taking over the leadership of the existing children's organisations, which are, at present, controlled by various organisations, and re-organise them. Parallel with every Y.C.L. a Communist Children's League, and for every member of the Y.C.L., one C.C.L. member—that is the slogan up to the Fifth Congress of the Y.C.I.

10. In order to carry out the tasks above-mentioned the Y.C.L. must combat any tendency to under-estimate the Communist children's movement in its own ranks with all energy and must make it clear to its members that the C.C.L. forms the reserve of the Y.C.L.

SPECIAL ATTENTION MUST BE PAID TO THE TRAINING OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF C.C.L.'s.

11. The Enlarged Session of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. calls upon the C.P. to support the activity of the Y.C.L. among the working class children, assist them materially and morally, give space in the Party press to questions of the Communist children's movement, and do all they can to get at least the members of the C.P. to send their children to the C.C.L.

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## ON THE UNITED FRONT IN THE WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL GYMNASTIC AND SPORT MOVEMENT.

The fight of the working class gymnasts and sportsmen for the unity of the workers' international gymnastic and sport movement has become considerably intensified by the united front campaign conducted by the R.S.I. The determination of the Red Sport International to fight for unity and to maintain it, has met with a great response on the part of the masses of working class gymnasts and sportsmen. The masses welcome the activity of the R.S.I. for unity and demand its realisation.

The leaders of the Lucerne Sport International feel that their dominating positions in the Lucerne Sport International are menaced and are resorting to weapons of scission and expulsion. The expulsion of the revolutionary elements from the labour sport organisations in Germany and Austria are meant to defeat the strivings of the masses towards unity. But this has failed.

spite of the expulsions and the provocations to splits (expulsion of the organisation "Fichte" from the A.T.B. (Workers' Sport Society in Germany), the R.S.I. and its followers have continued the fight for unity. Under the pressure of the masses, the bureaucracy of the A.T.B. in Germany was compelled to reinstate "Fichte" into the League, and this must be regarded as a victory for the united front campaign of the R.S.I.

The situation which was created in connection with Workers' Olympic Games organised by the Lucerne International, especially demands the extension and continuation of the unity campaign. The masses and even certain of the basic organisations of the Lucerne International (the workers' Sport Union of Finland), which demanded that the R.S.I. be admitted, were rejected by the bureaucracy of the Lucerne Sportintern. The R.S.I. which was ready to participate in the Olympic Games, was excluded from participation by the bureaucracy. In spite of this, the R.S.I. must continue to fight for unity. The followers of the R.S.I. within the Lucerne organisations, must attend the Olympic Games in order to give expression to its desire for unity and to expose to the masses the betrayal of unity by the Lucerne bureaucracy.

The fight for unity is a fight for the real class-political policy of the workers' gymnastic and sport organisations. That is why the Social-Democrats are doing everything they can to counteract the revolutionising of the workers' gymnastic and sport movement. Hence, it is the task of the R.S.I. and its sections to expose the intrigues of the Lucerne bureaucracy and of the Social-Democrats to the masses, to unmask its pro-bourgeois policy, and to bring the workers' gymnastic and sport organisations on to a class basis. The R.S.I. must frustrate all the provocations for splits on the part of the bureaucracy and counter it with in-

creased propaganda and more energetic PRACTICAL work than before for unity. The masses must be mobilised against expulsions, and the reinstatement of the expelled workers must be demanded.

This means that the Y.C.L. must unite its members within the gymnastic and sport organisations into fractions in order to strengthen its influence within them, and to prevent the splits which the reformist bureaucracy is trying to bring about, as was foreseen in the resolution of the Fourth World Congress.

The Y.C.L. and its Sections must devote more attention to the united front campaign of the R.S.I. The Leagues must use their press to unmask the Lucerne leaders and their efforts at splitting, and must advocate unity of the labour sport movement. Moreover, the Leagues must give the united front campaign of the R.S.I. the necessary political clarity through its fractions, in order to strengthen the manoeuvring capability of the Sections of the R.S.I.

In this respect, the Young Communist Leagues must bear in mind that the united front campaign of the R.S.I. must be a mass struggle, into which the broadest sections of the proletariat engaged in sport must be drawn. The united front campaign of the R.S.I. must adopt the tactic which was outlined in the resolution of the Fifth World Congress of the Comintern for the C.I. and its sections. The united front campaign must be based on the broadest masses of the worker gymnasts and sportsmen, and must in general be conducted in the form of the united front from below with negotiations carried on simultaneously with the leaders.

The Young Communist Leagues in countries where Lucerne organisations exist side by side with the

sections of the R.S.I. (Czecho-Slovakia), or where the R.S.I. has its opposition within the Lucerne organisations (Germany, Finland), will have specially important tasks. Here our Leagues must concretely raise the question of unity of the labour sport movement both on a national and international scale and fight for it. Through these fractions of our Y.C.L.'s, movements for unity must be started within the Lucerne organisations, and this spirit must be used for exercising pressure on the leadership. The masses must be led into the fight for the reinstatement of the expelled and for the unity of the workers' sport movement.

The fight of the R.S.I. for unity on the question of participation in the Olympic Games at Frankfurt (which will take place in July, 1925), will become intensified in the near future. The Y.C.L. must support this fight and through its fractions within the Lucerne organisations mobilise the masses for the participation of the R.S.I. in the Frankfurt Olympic Games and draw broad sections of the young proletariat into this fight.

#### ON THE QUESTION OF A YOUTH SECTION IN THE INTERNATIONAL PEASANT COUNCIL.

1. The question of the establishment of a Youth Section in the International Peasant Council under whose aegis the already existing and any future revolutionary peasant youth Leagues are to be amalgamated, has been brought up owing to the establishment of a "Green" Peasant Youth International in Ljubljana (Lailbach) in 1924 against which the Y.C.I. has to carry on an energetic struggle.

2. The Session of the Enlarged Executive declares that the necessity to fight against the Green Peasant Youth International is not a sufficient reason for the establishment of a Youth section in the International Peasant Council, as justice can be done to this task through the collaboration between the E.C. of the Y.C.I., and the International Peasant Council and through the intensification of Y.C.L. work in the country.

3. Revolutionary Peasant Youth organisations exist only in Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia, Poland and lately in Czecho-Slovakia. There is no necessity to form new special Peasant Youth Leagues in order to represent the interests of young Peasants and Agricultural Labourers. They should rather be encouraged to join the respective trade unions and Peasant Leagues, working within them under the leadership of the Y.C.L. for the acceptance of their demands and the struggle for them. Thereby the prestige of the Y.C.L.'s as mass organisations will be maintained, not only as leaders and champions of the interests of the urban, but also of the rural young proletariat and the poor young peasantry.

4. Wherever political peasant youth organisations already exist, and which owing to objective reasons have been or are being driven into the revolutionary struggle, united front tactics must be adopted with respect to them, so as to mobilise their rank and file members for the revolutionary struggle, and win them over to our side, bringing them more and more under the ideological and organisational influence and leadership of the Y.C.L.

## ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE LEAGUES AND THE E.C.

The Enlarged Executive places on record that the connection between the Leagues and the E.C. was satisfactory only in a few cases, and very unsatisfactory indeed, in the case of some of the Leagues. The Leagues and the E.C. must thereupon take measures to improve these connections with respect to regularity, more satisfactory information and supply of material.

It is, therefore, resolved: that **APART FROM THE CURRENT CORRESPONDENCE** which is to be made as concise as possible and which should give more frequently than before information regarding the activity of all the departments of the Central Committee, the Leagues must supply the E.C. with the following:

1. A report containing a review of the activity and development of the League, to be sent every two months;
2. Minutes of the meeting of the Central Committee and other bodies meeting regularly;
3. All circular letters issued by the Central Committee;
4. Numerous copies of each of the League organs and all other printed matter, such as pamphlets, leaflets, posters, organisational material, etc., issued by the League.
5. The more important material of districts and town organisations, especially nuclei newspapers.
6. All material concerning the movement of

opposition and trade union, sport and other non-party youth organisations.

The Leagues are also called upon to send separate reports on important events and conferences held in connection with some of the Leagues' fields of activity. All resolutions to be submitted to Central Leagues' conferences must be sent to the E.C. in time to be fully discussed and considered prior to the conference being held.

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## ON RULES.

All sections of the Y.C.I. are called upon to revise the rules of their LEAGUES on the principle of the International Rules, to send them to the E.C. for endorsement and to have them adopted at their next League Congress, not later, however, than the next International Congress.