

RESOLUTIONS AND THESES

ADOPTED
BY THE
THIRD CONGRESS OF THE
Y. C. I.

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THE Third World Congress of the Young Communist International began in Moscow December 4th, 1922. Two important matters were discussed by this assembly of the representatives of the communist youth organisations of the world: first, the decisions of the Second Congress in their relations to the problems of the proletarian youth and their application in various countries to these problems; and, second, the planning of new methods of work and new schemes of defense, with regard to the experiences of the previous year and to the development of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

We publish hereinafter the results of this eleven day congress, in so far as its most important decisions are concerned, with the confident hope that this publication may become a strong weapon in the struggle of the young proletariat; at the same time reminding the workers in the young communist organisations that these decisions can only become actualities through the devoted labour of every young communist. Only by this means will results and successes be attained. The developments of history are proceeding at an ever accelerated pace and along lines which make it difficult to predict the next step. The time demands all our strength, all our courage, and all our youthful enthusiasm for the work we have to do; for the accomplishment of that task which we have set as our goal — the victory of the proletariat of the world. Forward, comrades!

THE PUBLISHERS

RESOLUTION
on the
REPORT OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

AFTER hearing Comrade Zinoviev's report on the work and the results of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the Third Congress of the Y.C.I. endorses all the decisions of that congress and enjoins all the Leagues to do their utmost towards carrying these decisions into effect, by giving their support to the political policy of the E.C. of the Communist International.

The congress welcomes the decision of the Fourth Congress to sweep aside the last relics of federalism and to transform the Communist International into a real, well-disciplined and centralised world party. It instructs the E.C. of the Y.C.I. and all the Leagues to continue with still greater energy to educate the working class youth in the spirit of an international Communist World Party.

In view of the growing strength and enlarged scope of Reaction and Fascism in all countries, the congress enjoins the Leagues to participate wholly and energetically, under the leadership of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., in the struggle against World Reaction and the menace of a new war. It calls upon the young workers throughout the world to join the Y.C.I. and the C.I. in this struggle, and thus to establish the united front of the entire working class youth for the struggle against the political and economic offensive of the international bourgeoisie.

RESOLUTION

on the

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

AFTER hearing the report of the E.C., the Third Congress of the Y.C.I. endorses the political programme on which it is based and the practical work done during the period covered by the report.

The Third Congress endorses the attitude and activities of the E.C. in the establishment of the United Front of the young and adult workers and in the convocation of the World Congress of young workers, as well as its attitude towards the antagonistic youth organisations.

The Third Congress, furthermore, endorses, as a whole, the activity of the E.C. in connection with the elucidation, popularisation, and defence of the decisions of the Second Congress, and in particular with the interpretation of the disputed question of the young workers' economic struggle and with the educational work.

While approving of the efforts made to consolidate the relations between the Leagues and the Communist Parties, the congress instructs the future Executive to pay special attention to the practical assistance given the Leagues by the Parties; to the efficient coordination of the activities of the Leagues in regard to youth questions and also their participation in the life and struggle of the Communist Parties.

The congress records its satisfaction with the successful activity of the Executive Committee regarding the economic struggle, and instructs the new Executive to intensify the daily work of the Leagues in this field.

The congress endorses the educational work accomplished by the E.C. One of the most important tasks of the new Executive will be the elaboration of more material and the publication of educational literature.

The congress affirms the improvement in the anti-militarist work of the E.C.; it thinks it essential, however, that anti-militarist education and the supervision of the anti-militarist work of all Leagues be intensified, especially so in countries with volunteer armies.

The congress takes cognizance of the work of the International Publishing House. It instructs the new Executive to issue more publications in languages other than German. The Executive must intensify the work among children, students, and peasants. This is also essential in the realm of sports.

The congress records that the E.C. has taken a great step forward in guiding the work and the struggle of the various Leagues, especially of those in the Latin, Anglo-Saxon and Oriental countries.

The congress considers the policy of the Executive with regard to the legal forms of work in the countries under the sway of white terror as correct. The future Executive, however, must render more practical assistance to the illegal Leagues, and must prepare the other Leagues for possible periods of illegality.

The congress approves of the intervention of the E.C. in the case of the Italian, the Norwegian, and the Checho-Slovakian Leagues.

The cooperation of the Leagues under the guidance of the E.C. as well as the supervision in the reorganisation of the Leagues must be strengthened. The rapid development of the movement in the East during the last year necessitates a stronger leadership in the countries of the Orient.

As, however, some organisational shortcomings—especially with respect to the delay in the preparation of material—were noticed in the work of the E.C., and as the tasks of the E.C. are growing in volume, the congress resolves to enlarge the E.C. and instructs it to subdivide its work more than hitherto.

Cooperation of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. with the E.C. of the C.I., which has decidedly improved, must be still more intensified on the part of both, the Y.C.I. as well as the C.I.

The congress reiterates its conviction that strict international centralisation within the Y.C.I. is absolutely necessary, and instructs the E.C. and the Leagues to effect it with precision.

RESOLUTION
of the
ITALIAN COMMISSION
on the
WORK OF THE E. C.

(With Regard to the Attitude of the E.C. on the Question of the
Young Socialist League of Italy.)

THE commission is of the opinion that it is imperative to organise systematic work within the Young Socialist League of Italy for the purpose of winning over to the communist ideas as many of its members as possible.

The commission endorses in principle the efforts of the E.C. made with the object of amalgamating the Young Socialist League of Italy (freed from the reformist elements) with the Young Communist League of Italy.

In view of the situation created by the amalgamation of the Socialist and Communist Parties of Italy, decided upon by the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, the commission declares that the application of this principle under the most favourable conditions to the youth movement, is the only possible consequence and the only practical solution.

RESOLUTION on the INTERNATIONAL PRESS

THE International of Youth is to be divested of its present character as a theoretical organ for officials as well as a propaganda organ for the indifferent young workers. In the future it will appear under the same name as heretofore and as the leading international organ for the more advanced members of the Leagues.

Illustrated papers (on the model of Pictures from the Life of Soviet Russia's Youth) are to be published for propaganda and mass distribution on the occasion of important events, anniversaries, etc.

The *German edition* of the Correspondence of the Young International as a saleable organ is to be discontinued. It will henceforth appear in bulletin form, transmitting to the various Leagues communications of the E.C., manifestoes, important material and information from other Leagues.

RESULTS of the REALISATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE Y. C. I.

I

THE Second Congress of the Y.C.I. charged the Young Communist Leagues with the task of becoming mass organisations of the working class youth. The development to mass organisations by the Leagues signified:—

Broadening of the hitherto purely political activities by taking up all questions connected with the life of the young workers as part of the militant and educational tasks of the Leagues in order to acquire a permanent influence on the mass of young workers;

Throwing open the doors of the Leagues to all young workers willing and ready to participate in their struggle and in their educational work;

Introducing such forms of organisation and activity as will enable the Leagues to penetrate into the masses of the young workers and to secure a permanent and guiding influence over them.

With this object in view, the Second Congress issued special directions for the reorganisation of the Leagues, for the guidance of the struggle against bourgeois militarism, and the fight for better economic conditions, revolutionary education, and the spiritual and physical training of the proletarian youth, the winning over of the young agricultural and native workers as well as of the proletarian children (bringing the latter under the influence of the Leagues), etc. All this was to broaden out into the political enlightenment of the young workers who, through the medium of the Leagues, must be brought into close contact and cooperation with the political activity of the Communist Parties, the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat.

II

A number of handicaps combined to hinder the fulfilment of the decisions of the congress by the Leagues.

Owing to the numerous setbacks in the class struggle, the entire working class movement had shown a decreasing will to struggle. This mood found its expression in the ranks of the young workers by the diminution of their direct and active interest in political questions. Moreover, the attacks of Reaction against the Young Communist Leagues increased in number and in strength, forcing some of our sections into illegality.

The tasks put before the Leagues by the Second Congress were either wholly or partly new to all of them, and a considerable length of time was required for an internal orientation and understanding of them. To this must be added that the organisational apparatus of a number of Leagues was greatly weakened soon after the congress owing to the general economic crisis and the decreasing capacity of a majority of the young workers to give financial support to their organisations.

III

All the decisions of the Second Congress have been proved correct by practice. There has been no need to alter fundamentally any of its directives. Their application to the work and to the organisational methods of the Leagues have thus far shown the following results:—

The application of the congressional decisions caused an ideological change in the attitude of the Leagues. In the course of prolonged discussions, dealing partly with the interpretation of the decisions and partly with their *adaption to concrete national conditions*, the decisions of the congress were adopted as the ideological basis of the further activities of the Leagues. However, the endorsement of the new methods of work by decisions of national conventions or conferences, as well as the alteration of the basis of the programmes of the Leagues were accomplished in many of the more important countries only in the first half of 1922. (As for instance in Checho-Slovakia, Italy, Great Britain, America, Bulgaria, and France.)

The adoption of the decisions as a working basis brought *new life into the inner activity of the Leagues* and consolidated their

structures. The efforts to coordinate the forces of the organised section of the working class youth against the capitalist offensive (united front efforts in Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Finland); *the acceptance of the propaganda for the general economic demands of the young workers* (in Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Austria, Sweden, France, Italy, Rumania, America, Poland); *the initiation and carrying out of special activities of the young workers to obtain their demands* (Germany, Checho-Slovakia, Austria, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania); *the intervention in school questions by the working class youth* (Austria, Germany, and Italy); *the first attempts at popular communist educational work* (in Austria and Germany); *the attention paid to the youth in the labour sports organisations* (in France, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Checho-Slovakia, and Italy); *the initiation of systematic educational work among the League members* (in Norway, Sweden, Germany, Bulgaria, France, America, and Russia)—all these prove that *important prerequisites for mass activities have been achieved.*

In connection with separate question, the following practical results can be placed on record:—

The adoption in principle of *the new regulation of the relations between the Young Communist Leagues and the Communist Parties* was accomplished rapidly and without great difficulty. In Austria, Finland, Bulgaria, Great Britain and America, the Parties arrived at special decisions as to the support of the Young Communist Leagues. However, the practical application of these decisions was, in some cases, far from satisfactory. *The participation in the political life and the political activity of the Parties*, which is essential for communist education and successful mass activities, was in some instances carried out in full accord with the newly begun young communist activity while elsewhere (in Checho-Slovakia and Germany, for instance) it was not always satisfactory. In a number of countries where the Communist Party went through a crisis, the Leagues had to develop (with the consent of the International) a stronger political activity within the Parties.

Some Leagues have made a beginning in cataloguing material concerning the economic conditions of the working class youth of their respective countries, *in preparation for systematic economic-trade union activity.* The Young Communist Leagues of Germany,

Austria, Sweden, and Norway are in possession of such material. More practical achievements can be recorded in the *field of enlightenment on the basic questions of the young workers* and the propaganda for their *demands*. The most important achievement is the fact that the attention of the trade unions and of the other proletarian organisations has been drawn to the questions affecting the young workers. This is due to the activity of the Young Communist Leagues in Germany, Austria, France, Poland, Finland, Rumania, Checho-Slovakia, and partly, also in Italy. A number of trade unions and other proletarian youth organisations were themselves compelled to formulate young workers demands. The Leagues in Germany, Austria, Checho-Slovakia, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Italy have carried out *some prolonged and some short campaigns* and efforts to obtain the fundamental or partial demands of the young workers. In Austria, Germany, Rumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Poland, Belgium and America, the Young Communist Leagues were able to *intervene in the strikes and other struggles of the young workers* or even to assume the leadership in those actions.

Educational work was limited mostly to the members. Their enlightenment on the principles laid down by the Second Congress, especially on communist education, constituted a great part of the educational work of the Leagues. Measures were taken for the *training of officials* in the shape of regular classes, study circles, etc., in Norway, Sweden, Germany, and Bulgaria. The national executive committees of the Leagues in France, Great Britain, Austria, America, and Checho-Slovakia undertook to influence the educational work of their branches by *regularly supplying directions and material* (bulletins, instructions, etc.). In Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Rumania, and Checho-Slovakia *the life of the branches has undergone a certain improvement* by the introduction of popular methods. Very little educational literature has as yet been published, although a small quantity of it appeared in Bulgaria, Sweden, Norway, and Germany.

Anti-militarist work has practically remained stationary. This is explained by the slackening of the militarist spirit since the war, noticeable in some countries; and partly by the growing reaction which savagely suppresses all anti-militarist propaganda. More or less regular activities among the soldiers and recruits of their countries are carried on by the Young Communist Leagues of

France, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Checho-Slovakia, Spain, and Greece. *Propaganda campaigns* were carried on only in France, Italy, Checho-Slovakia, and Spain; while the Swedish and Norwegian Leagues launched an action for the partial demands of the soldiers. An important step forward in the anti-militarist work is *the collaboration of the German and the French Leagues* for which an organisational beginning has already been made.

Only the Young Communist League of Germany has carried on extensive and systematic activities in connection with the movement for the *Communist Children's Sections*, achieving very good results in spreading communist influence among new parts of the working class. The other sections of the Y.C.I. were unable to give sufficient attention and energy to this work. Hence the children's groups in those countries are lacking in centralisation and uniformity.

The experiments made in countries allowing only of *illegal work*, with the utilisation of *legal possibilities*, have brought valuable experiences and gratifying results.

IV

The Young Communist Leagues have not yet become mass organisations in the sense of having a close contact with the masses of young workers; of the participation of their branches and individual members in the daily struggle of the young workers for the betterment of their conditions; and in the sense of the improved revolutionary enlightenment of the masses by means of an interesting communist educational work conducted on a mass scale.

Previous experiences go to show that, to attain this aim, the Young Communist Leagues must devote their attention to the following principal tasks:—

In no League has the *reorganisation of work* so far been completed. Therefore the chief task will be to make up for lost time; (active participation in the life of the Party, collection of material on the economic conditions of the youth; agitational activity in connection with our basic economic demands, campaigns and actions for full and partial demands, organisation of trade union work, training of officials and members, publication of material for communist educational work, development of branch life, organisation of contact with the young communists in the army, work among the

soldiers and recruits, anti-militarist agitation and campaigns, centralisation of the League organisations and the application of discipline).

As far as the *economic-trade union work is concerned*, it is not only necessary to organise the general activities and manifestations within the countries, but also to concentrate on the *every-day work* in industries and schools. It is only by paying strict attention to the industrial and school life of the working class youth and by continually stirring up the indifferent ones to the defense of the demands of the working class youth, that our branches and nuclei will be able to gain the *confidence of young workers* and to create the prerequisites for their communist educational influence over these masses. The *intensification of the work within the trade unions* by means of the establishment of young communist fractions (which must see to it that in all labour conflicts, wage-negotiations, etc. the interests of the young workers are represented) must go hand in hand with the work within the workshops.

Since there is a lack of *capable officials* in the entire communist movement, it is of vital importance, both for the Leagues and the Parties, that *all educational work* be carried on with a view to fitting the members for such tasks. In addition to the training of the members for official posts, one of the chief tasks of the Young Communist Leagues must be to provide the members with the knowledge and training which will enable them to take an active and leading role among the masses of the unorganised young workers and imbue the latter with Marxian conceptions. *Educational efforts of a mass character*, reaching a larger percentage of the unorganised workers, must be carried out without any further delay, and with the active collaboration of the entire membership of the Leagues. Only practical work can raise the level of the working capacity of our own organisations and produce effective methods for this educational work. More attention must be paid to the *press*, to the organs of the Leagues as well as to the youth supplements and articles in the Party papers; the press must become a *means of influencing and educating not only the members of the Leagues, but also the masses of the working class youth in a communist spirit*.

The fulfilment of the *organisational tasks* laid down by the Second Congress must be considered as one of the most important means for the establishment of a truly close contact with the working

class youth. Systematic organisational work is impossible without conscientious work in *research and registration*, dealing with the fluctuation of membership, the composition of membership with regard to social position, age, and branch activity.

It is only by concentrating on regular and well-organised activity in factories and workshops that the Young Communist Leagues will become *mass organisations* of the working class youth in the true sense of the word.

The practical task of the Young Communist Leagues consists in gradually *reconstructing their organisations* in accord with the following principles:—

The basic unit of the League is the shop nucleus. The shop nuclei in the cities are combined into branches which thus include those comrades working in the industrial concerns of the said territory. Direct affiliation with these branches is permissible only to those League members who, residing in the district of the branch, are not working in large or medium sized industries where a factory nucleus is possible.

The *chief tasks of the nuclei* are: political agitation, economic struggle, recruiting of new members, collection of membership dues, distribution of literature, discussion of the work of the League within the factories and workshops, educational activities, as far as they are possible, and the convocation of shop meetings of young workers. After its reorganisation on the basis of a combination of nuclei, the local branch must continue to carry on a considerable part of the League's work. Above all it must control the entire activities of the factory nuclei, centralise the management of the latter, carry on propaganda in the rural districts, work in the children's groups, and organise the advanced educational activities.

Only such a formation of the Young Communist Leagues will guarantee us a close and permanent contact with the masses, a systematic influence over the latter, the possibility of an increase in membership, and the coordination of the internal and mass activity of the Leagues. The branches of all Young Communist Leagues must therefore *proceed at once to establish and to develop shop nuclei by concentrating their attention upon the most important shops in their localities.*

The tempo of the *transition from the system of the old territorial groups*, based on the residential principle, to that of *local groups*

organised on the basis of factory nuclei, depends on the concrete local conditions. In order to obtain practical experiences and facilitate a rapid development in the above mentioned direction, the transformation must first of all be carried through in the strongest and most appropriate branches of the Leagues.

RESOLUTION on the ORGANISATION OF SHOP NUCLEI

(1) The Organisation and Activity of the Nuclei

IN all localities with large and medium sized industrial concerns, the branches of the Young Communist Leagues must immediately begin the organisation of nuclei. At the outset of this activity, the branches must enlighten their members as to the nature and functions of the nuclei; they must ascertain where their members are working, collect information regarding the general conditions within the shops and on the qualities of our branch members. There must be at least five branch members in the factory or workshop for the organisation of the nucleus. Nuclei must first be established in the most important shops and in those where the least difficulties are encountered (for instance, in industries with workers' colonies, with strong communist tendencies among the workers, and in the shop council, etc.). In those shops where only a few of our comrades are working, they must carry on a systematic activity to increase their membership within the factory and to organise a nucleus as soon as possible.

At the first meetings of the nucleus, a secretary, or (if the numerical strength warrants) a bureau consisting of three or five comrades, should be elected. As soon as the nucleus has been organised it must get into touch with the party nucleus or fraction, or (if no party organisations are in existence within the shop) with the individual members of the party, as well as with the communists or sympathisers in the shop council and with the representatives of the trade unions.

Immediately on its inception, the nucleus must elaborate a plan of work for the immediate future. The nucleus must begin its mass activity by concentrating on the questions which are of greatest interest to the young workers in the respective factory.

The permanent work of an average nucleus consists of:—

(1) The economic struggle of the working class youth which is the chief task of the nucleus. The nucleus must be well-informed on all wage-agreements, payment of wages, working hours, strikes, holidays, treatment of the young workers, the hygienic conditions in the factory and in the workers' dwellings (if such are in existence), on sick benefits, and all school matters. Only thus will the nucleus be able to discuss all these questions with the young workers, with the shop council, the trade union representatives, as well as within the trade unions through the fractions of the League. All this work must be conducted on the basis of the decisions of the Y.C.I. on the economic struggle. Moreover, the shop nucleus must carry on all the economic campaigns of the League within the factory.

(2) Political agitation, individual, as well as at meetings, and by the distribution of literature.

(3) Recruiting of new members, whose admission must be endorsed by the local branch which is in charge of the registration of members.

(4) Educational work in its simplest forms, as for instance, short political reports, discussion of problems of the labour and the youth movement, distribution of books from the branch library, arrangement of revolutionary evening gatherings, hikes, singing of revolutionary songs, publication of a branch or nucleus paper. The educational work of the nucleus must not push into the background the economic and political work which is the most important task of the Young Communist Leagues. It must correspond with the tasks of communist education, and must be very carefully adapted to the psychology of the industrial young workers.

(5) Descriptions of the life of the young workers and of the work of the nuclei within the various factories must be given regularly in the Party and League press.

(6) Convocation of shop meetings of young workers.

(7) Collection of membership dues, a definite percentage of which must be handed over to the branch which has charge of all financial matters.

The nuclei must work legally, semi-legally or illegally according to the prevailing conditions in their particular country, town, or shop, all of which will have a bearing on the possibility or the methods of fulfilment of the above-mentioned tasks.

The nucleus must meet at least once a week. According to circumstances, the time of meeting can be fixed either for the dinner hour, immediately after working hours, or later in the evening. The meetings may be held on the shop premises (room of the shop council, dining hall, school), or in the dwelling place of some League, Party, or trade union member in the neighbourhood of the factory, in the nearest local headquarters of the Young Communist League, the Party, the trade union or the cooperative society, in a nearby hall, etc., or (during the summer months) in the open air. The agenda of the meeting must be carefully prepared. It must be interesting and not tiresome, so that it will attract the attention of the audience.

It is very essential that every member of the nucleus should be drawn immediately into some kind of practical work, no matter how simple it may be.

In the event of a member becoming unemployed, he is transferred to the local branch of his residential district. The Young Communist League must organise branches of the unemployed comrades at the Labour Exchanges, etc.

(2) Guidance and Support of the Work of the Nuclei

The shop nuclei cannot carry on systematic and successful work without the careful and continuous supervision of the branches. This must be based on an exact knowledge of the local industrial conditions. The leaders of the branches must inform themselves several times a week on the work of the nuclei, and must give directions to the latter either by visiting the secretaries or bureaus or by inviting them to the headquarters of the branch. The branch committee may instruct its members to carry on special activities in the shop or shops in their respective locality. If possible, all the nucleus meetings should be attended by members of the branch committee. In capitals and country or provincial towns it is essential that the members of the national executive committee and the district committees should on certain days do regular work in the most important shops. From time to time meetings of nuclei representatives must be organised according to the territorial and the trade union principles. The leading bodies of the League and all their departments must continuously be informed on the experiences gained in nucleus work and must utilise them to the best advantage; they must define and elaborate their tasks, publish the necessary material for their

activities, give publicity to the latter in the League's press, etc. Comrades especially fitted for teaching must be used for the educational work of the nuclei and of the branches. Through the medium of the corresponding Party and trade union bodies, the leading bodies of the League must enlist for the nuclei the help and the support of the Party and the trade union organisations and their members in the various shops.

(3) *Reorganisation of the Branches*

Transition from the present territorial branch to branches organised on the basis of shop and school nuclei (constituting as it does one of the immediate tasks of the international young communist movement) is a lengthy process during which numerous difficulties will be encountered. A beginning should be made wherever it is easiest (for instance, in towns with only one branch) transferring the work gradually to those localities where difficulties are greater (for instance, large cities). Transition of the territorial branches is only possible, however, once the nuclei have been carefully and systematically organised and placed on a working basis. As long as the old branch is not yet reorganised, it continues its present functions. However, this old branch must take the following steps preparing for its complete reorganisation:—

- (1) Subordination of the nuclei to the present territorial branch.
- (2) Joint meetings of the nuclei representatives with the local branch committee.
- (3) Joint meetings of nuclei and local branch members.
- (4) Organisation of branches in industrial centers on the new basis.
- (5) Election to the local committee of several comrades who work in the industries of this territory, but who live elsewhere.

All the measures taken for the present can naturally be only of a provisional character. The branch committee shall be elected on the new basis and the members shall participate in the educational work of the branches where they are domiciled.

All the above examples are suggestions for practical measures, to be carried out on the basis of actual conditions, situations, and experiences.

The organisation of the branches being completed in certain cases, (but not generally) individual members may simultaneously belong to the branch where they are domiciled and to the branch of which their nucleus is a part.

(4) Report to the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I.

The Leagues are requested to send to the international Executive Committee every other month a special and detailed report on their activities in connection with the organisation of the Leagues on the new basis.

THESIS

on the

ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH

TODAY four years after the war, the situation of the working class youth has deteriorated to such a degree, that the danger of mass pauperisation and of physical and moral degradation becomes ever more threatening. Under these circumstances the struggle for the economic demands of the working class youth has become now a *fight for a bare existence and for the maintenance of life and the physical well-being of the young workers.*

The *world war* had already struck a severe blow at the young workers. Exhaustive exploitation in war industries, the abolition of protective legislation, starvation and tuberculosis impaired to a serious extent the health of the working class youth. To these young workers we must add the children who grew up during the war in the poverty-stricken working class families, and who were physically too weak to resist disease. Under such conditions the working class youth had to suffer from the consequences of the *collapse of capitalist economy* and the capitalist attempts to re-establish it by exploiting the working class youth.

(2) The desperate attempts of capitalism to reconstruct its economic system at the expense of the working class have taken the form of a *capitalist offensive*, which has been going on for the last two years all over the world, and which strives not only to deprive the working class of its small acquisitions of the post-war period, but endeavours to force it down to a standard of living similar to that of the pre-union period. Lock-outs and unemployment on a mass scale, short-time work, big wage-cuts, lengthening of working hours and attacks on the rights and organisations of the trade unions are the *economic features* of the *capitalist offensive* which combined these

economic means of struggle with *powerful political and military methods*, ultimately arriving at Fascism and white terror.

In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, with low currency, the progressive depreciation of money and the growing burden of taxes play the role of wage-cuts; in this way the capitalist campaign, although apparently cloaked by these factors, is in reality intensified by them. In various countries the capitalist offensive has already robbed the working class of its most important acquisitions and is continuing its attacks, while in other countries (especially in Central Europe) the offensive only recently assumed more acute forms.

The *working class youth* is suffering today more than any other section of the working class. It is not only that the weakened power of resistance of the young workers makes them feel doubly the blows against the working class, but their wages and working hours are more often subject to capitalist attacks than those of the adult working class. The young workers are especially hard hit by unemployment, as in most cases they get no unemployment doles at all, or only such inadequate financial support that they are exposed to great physical suffering. Exploitation of the apprentices is also on the increase.

The situation of the working class youth is rendered still more acute by the fact that *the young workers are exploited to the detriment of the adult workers and are utilised as a weapon against the latter*. Frequently, and especially in handicraft, young workers are employed to displace adult workers. Thus they increase unemployment, force down the wages of the adult workers and are being used by the capitalists to bring down the general wage level. Their working hours are lengthened in order to have the adult workers do short-time work. To a great extent young workers are utilised as blacklegs (scabs) against the adult working class.

(3) If the young workers are to protect themselves against pauperisation, they must not inactively and helplessly submit to these miserable conditions. *They must enter into a bitter struggle against the offensive of capital, — against pauperisation.*

Under the pressure of the increasing misery, and as a consequence of the propaganda of the Young Communist International, the movement of the working class youth is growing everywhere; spontaneous demonstrations and strikes of the young workers and apprentices are

taking place. The Y.C.I. considers these movements as the expression of the increasing determination of the masses of young workers to resist the capitalist offensive. It is thoroughly convinced that *the struggle for the economic demands in the face of the growing misery is one of the most important tasks of the Young Communist Leagues in the present period.* For an effective defense, the Young Communist Leagues must draw into the struggle the largest possible masses of the working class youth.

(4) From their previous economic trade union work the Young Communist Leagues must draw the important conclusion that *general propaganda in the press and in meetings is by no means sufficient* to penetrate the masses and induce them to fight for the necessary demands. Above all, the Young Communist Leagues must, more than hitherto, carry *their propaganda into the very heart of the masses*, i. e. the number of public meetings must be limited and the *main weight must be laid on shop and trade union meetings.* The formation of *shop and school nuclei* by the Young Communist Leagues is an indispensable prerequisite for an effective practical work on the economic field. The Young Communist Leagues can win the confidence of the young workers and become their leader only *by participating daily and persistently in all problems of the life of the working class youth.* In order to accomplish this purpose, our organisations and their members must immediately take a *concrete stand and make definite proposals with regard to all economic problems of the working class;* to every wage conflict in shop, locality, and country, concerning the young workers; to all questions arising within the trade unions; to every case of excessive exploitation; to all important matters in the trade schools, etc. *No wage dispute or strike movement of the working class must be allowed to take place without the Young Communist League coming forward with concrete demands for the young workers concerned.* However, *they must not confine themselves to the press, but carry on a determined activity in the trade unions so that these will advocate the youth's interests; furthermore they must propagate their demands as slogans among the masses of the young workers affected.* In the event of *spontaneous strike movements* of young workers and apprentices, the Young Communist Leagues must *support* the latter (by formulating and advocating their demands, by establishing connections with the adult workers, by setting up strike funds, etc.)

and strive to assume their leadership. In such cases, it is the first and foremost duty of the Leagues to obtain the *assistance and cooperation of the adult workers* and to induce the *trade unions* to take up the struggle for the demands of the young workers. Such persistent work in the trade unions and shops which is closely related to the daily life of the working class youth, will prepare the ground for the powerful *actions* into which the Leagues must lead the masses of young workers in the coming period in order to resist the offensive of capital. Since the battle against capitalism can be fought only by the entire working class, the Leagues must now, as before, pay particular attention to their activities in the *trade unions* so as to induce them to fight for the demands of the working class youth. *Every member of the League must join his trade union.* The members of the Leagues in the trade unions must be led and combined more systematically than hitherto. It is therefore an *urgent necessity* in the coming period, to organise conferences of the League members organised in trade unions and to unite them into fractions, as already provided for in previous decisions.

(5) The offensive of capital is not merely an economic measure, but it is the concentrated and intensified mobilisation of all coercive measures of the bourgeoisie to force the working class into submission and to make it pay for the reconstruction of the political and economic power of capitalism.

Therefore, this offensive can be resisted only by bringing into action all the *political and economic forces* of the working class. The working class youth must be conscious of this and must, furthermore, realise that this struggle will inevitably lead to the struggle for economic and social power if the intended capitalist exploitation is to be prevented. Only by a determined class struggle can the working class youth be saved from its present miserable situation.

The *preliminary condition* for a struggle of the working class youth against the offensive of capital is the *united front of young and adult workers*. An isolated fight of the youth is impossible. At present the young workers must insist, *more energetically than ever*, upon being enrolled in the battle front of the adult workers and they must continue to urge the adult working class to advocate the demands of the youth. It is not only the necessity of protecting its younger generation which makes it incumbent on the working class to defend the interests of the latter, but it is in the interest

of the adult workers themselves to put a stop to a further deterioration of their situation by the competition of their own sons and daughters.

(6) The reformist trade unions which are affiliated with the *Amsterdam Trade Union International* have so far remained inactive towards the ever increasing misery of the working class youth. Even worse — they have maintained or intensified the organisational barriers which make it difficult or even impossible for the young workers and apprentices to enter the trade unions. Thus, they still share, to a large extent, in the responsibility for the intensified exploitation of the working class youth and for their employment as blacklegs. In many cases they have sacrificed the interests of the young workers in order to avoid complications.

The *Social-Democratic Young Workers' International* has taken a similar attitude towards the difficult situation of the working class youth.

The centrist *International Union of Socialist Youth Organisations* has, internationally and nationally, supported the Young Workers' International in order to prevent any serious struggles for economic demands and has avoided every effective fight for even the most elementary demands.

(7) Upon order from the Amsterdam Trade Union International, both Social-Democratic Internationals of Youth rejected, at their *Salzburg Conference* the proposal of the Y.C.I. for the convocation of a world congress of young workers, thus preventing an international struggle. Instead, they set up a *programme of economic "demands"* which must be *emphatically rejected by the working class youth*. The utter uselessness and deceptive nature of this "present day programme" is sufficiently proved by the fact that it does not concern itself at all with the wages and the unemployment of the young workers. This programme does not demand a maximum six hour day, but a minimum of six working hours. The demand for a four weeks' holiday is omitted. Nothing definite is said about holidays. And instead of urgent demands for severe measures against the exploitation of apprentices, it contains but general phrases on "reforms" and "new regulations". By this programme of demands the international leaders of the social-democratic youth organisations and the Amsterdam Trade Union International have proved once more that they are unwilling to fight against the pauperisation of

the working class youth, — that they do not even consider it seriously.

(8) The *Red International of Labour Unions* has, since its inception, proclaimed the inclusion of the young workers and their demands in the trade union struggle. Its affiliated organisations and trade union minorities have proved to be a bulwark against the offensive of capital and have advocated the demands of the working class youth. The Third Congress of the Y.C.I. welcomes the Red International of Labour Unions, which decided upon the struggle against the pauperisation of the working class youth and for its demands. It is convinced that in the future the Red International of Labour Unions and its affiliated organisations will pay even more attention to this struggle.

(9) After a thorough consideration of the present situation of the working class youth, the Third Congress states that *the struggle for the following urgent demands is the immediate task of the entire working class youth:—*

A) *General Demands for all Young Workers up to 18 Years*

- (1) Unconditional abolition of, and relentless opposition to, all child labour.
- (2) Minimum wages ranging from the subsistence minimum upwards. Equal wages for equal work for young and adult workers of both sexes. Progressive grading of apprentices' wages in the course of apprenticeship.
- (3) Struggle against the extension of the eight hour day by including continuation school hours in the working hours; establishment of the six hour day.
- (4) Equal unemployment doles for young and adult workers; unemployment doles ranging from the subsistence minimum upwards.
- (5) Compulsory employment of young unemployed in either shops or training schools, guaranteeing continuation of training for young workers who have been compelled to interrupt their apprenticeship.
- (6) Forty four hours week-end rest.
- (7) Fully paid four weeks annual vacation. Free accomodation of young workers in recreation homes, sanatariums, etc.

- (8) Prohibition of night and Sunday work for all young workers up to 20 years.
- (9) Prohibition of employment of young workers up to 20 years in industries injurious to their health.
- (10) Compulsory free trade education for young workers up to 18 years (establishment of continuation schools, apprentices departments, etc.).
- (11) Classes to be held during the day-time and to be paid and considered as working hours. Abolition of evening, Sunday and Saturday afternoon classes. All means for study and all school material to be furnished free of charge. Establishment of pupils' councils with the right of voting on the curriculum and of participation in school management.

B) *Protection of Apprentices*

- (12) Abolition of apprentice's sweating by strict regulations regarding the right to employ apprentices.
- (13) Abolition of individual indentures and the inclusion of the apprentices in the collective agreements.
- (14) Trade unions and shop stewards to control the employment of apprentices.
- (15) Two years' apprenticeship.

The Third Congress raises its exhorting voice to the entire working class youth to enter upon the struggle for the realisation of these demands if they want to escape from a fate which is becoming ever more threatening. It decides to fight for these demands in all countries, and on an international scale, and, together with the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions, to intensify the campaign carried on hitherto.

RESOLUTION
on the
CONDITION OF THE YOUNG AGRICULTURAL
WORKERS AND PEASANTS

THE congress instructs the Executive Committee to conduct an international inquiry as to the conditions of the young agricultural workers and peasants and to submit concrete proposals for the international economic demands of these sections of the working class youth to the next Bureau Session. The Leagues are requested to pay particular attention to this question.

RESOLUTION

on our

IMMEDIATE TASKS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARISM

I

THE imperialist war of 1914-18 and the subsequent peace treaties have completely altered the economic and political relations among the capitalist states.

In the effort to restore their disrupted economic system, the victorious powers plunder the defeated nations; the victors' threats of coercive measures following each other in quick succession, constitute a perpetual danger of new wars. The Versailles and the other imperialist peace treaties, which form the legal basis for this state of plundering and imperialist menace, have not only failed to remove the already existing imperialist antagonism, but have even given rise to new conflicts.

The new so-called "national states", Poland, Checho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, etc., are based upon the subjection of new large national minorities. This state of affairs is a constant source of new conflicts; it has again exploded the myth of "nations" and "national wars".

The peace treaties have not abolished war. The European war was followed by a series of colonial conflicts and attacks on Soviet Russia. The French imperialists conquered Syria and Silicia; the Spanish imperialists took possession of Morocco; the British imperialists instigated the Greco-Turkish war in order to safeguard their route to India, and thus engendered a long drawn out war on Europe's frontiers. These new struggles for the partition of the world are another cause for dissension amongst the imperialist victors.

II

As the communists predicted, capitalism, notwithstanding its solemn promises of general disarmament, has done nothing and is

unable to do anything toward this end. The economic situation and the necessity for exploiting other countries, the internal disturbances, the ever increasing strikes, the revolutionary struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, the colonial domination which insures capitalism's rule, the war against revolutionary governments — these are the causes which compel capitalism to maintain large standing armies. During this period, militarism has been considerably strengthened. Despite the reduction of military forces in Germany and Austria, the armies of the world have increased from six millions in 1913, to eleven millions. Due to its activities, to the ideology developed in the military caste and to its dependence upon greedy large industry, militarism is a powerful factor making for war.

Conditions within bourgeois armies reduce the young workers and peasants to automatons in the service of the enemies of their class. Capitalism makes use of the miserable situation of the working class youth, and especially of unemployment, to fill up the ranks of its so-called volunteer armies (Great Britain). In countries with mixed nationalities, capitalism pits one nationality against the other.

Capitalism is filled with dismay at the growing class consciousness of the workers, who are becoming less and less willing to be the instruments of its militarism. Partly with a view to meeting this contingency, capitalism is constructing modern weapons, which it can operate with the aid of highly paid specialists. It hopes thereby to reduce somewhat the size of its armies. This perfection of the technique of war will also enhance its destructive power, investing war with horrors compared to which those of the last slaughter must pale.

Capitalism seeing that it is gradually losing its hold over the national armies, in its clashes with the working class, is falling back more and more upon the use of colonial troops. Everywhere the capitalist states are busily improving the technical facilities for the mobilisation of large native contingents.

III

The reformist slogans which were adopted by the two Social-Democratic Internationals of Youth have miserably failed: general disarmament, arbitration, international court of justice, League of Nations, international control of the manufacture of munitions, — experience has proved these slogans to be base and illusory. The reformists have used catchwords to mislead the proletariat.

However, they have not once shown any inclination to fight for their own slogans.

Under the pressure of the masses, the Amsterdam International, at its congress in Rome, gave out the slogan of the general strike in the event of war. This step, however, is wholly inadequate to prevent imperialist wars, since the Amsterdam International is doing nothing whatever to prepare the masses for action or to win over the armies by means of revolutionary propaganda. A general strike against war can be effective only if the proletariat is ideologically and technically prepared to resist the aggressions of the bourgeoisie, and that on the very day when war is declared.

The general strike will either assume the character of a real armed struggle, ending in the triumph of the working class and its accession to power, or else it will lead to the crushing defeat of the proletariat. To provide against the possibility of such a defeat, the armies must be induced to side with and fight for the proletariat. This can be accomplished only by systematic propaganda among the troops and by the establishment of a network of nuclei among them. The Amsterdam International has refused to accept the slogan and the plan of arming the proletariat. It refuses to make preparations for a revolutionary struggle to support the general strike against the war. It refuses to win over the bourgeois armies to the cause of the working class by forming a system of nuclei within the armies, and by these refusals it again betrays the working class and assures its severe defeat.

The Amsterdam International summoned a "pacifist world congress" at which reformists of all shades united in a manifesto against war and militarism. The proletariat has nothing to expect from such conferences in which the usual misleading reformist platitudes are reiterated and the "bloc" with the pacifist left bourgeoisie is cemented. On the contrary, such conferences only undermine the militant spirit of the masses and blind them to the machinations of the imperialists. The two Social Democratic Internationals of Youth, at their Salzburg Conference made no decision regarding the struggle against militarism and reaction. By referring the young workers to the pacifist conference in Amsterdam, they have connived in the crime of, and the betrayal by the Amsterdam Trade Union International and the Social-Democratic Internationals of the working class of the world.

The Young Communist International, which upholds the principles of uncompromising opposition to petty bourgeois democratic pacifism, the necessity for disarming the bourgeoisie, the disintegration of the bourgeois army in order to prevent its use by and for the bourgeois class and to lead it into the proletarian camp; today, in view of the growing, daily more savage militarism, and the increasing danger of war, emphasises the following demands:

(1) Cancellation of the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, Sevres and the other imperialist pacts and agreements signed after the war.

(2) War against armaments:

(a) continuous efforts to awaken the proletarian class consciousness and to rouse the workers' opposition to armaments;

(b) struggle for the effective legal and illegal control of the manufacture of all war material and its distribution and transport by workers' organisations;

(c) an international struggle against the manufacture and transport of war material, which struggle must go as the prevention of such manufacture and transport.

(3) Systematic propaganda within the army:

(a) for the improvement of the material condition of the soldiers;

(b) recognition of the soldiers' civic rights of assembly and suffrage and their right to read proletarian newspapers and to frequent proletarian circles (trade unions, labour exchanges, and Party quarters).

(4) Support of the demands of the colonial soldiers for political equality, and the improvement of their material conditions. Systematic propaganda within their ranks to rouse them against the imperialism which is keeping them in subjection.

(5) Intensification of the determination of the broad masses to oppose war by every means, from street demonstrations to general strikes, rebellion, and the transformation of capitalist war into a revolutionary class struggle.

IV

The struggle being waged by the bourgeoisie throughout the world for the re-establishment of its toppling political domination

and against the growing militant movement of the working class, finds expression in the economic offensive of capital as well as in the savage political reaction which is growing apace and which has already culminated, in many countries, in the open rule of White Terror. The working class of the Baltic border States and Poland, Finland, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, Hungary, Italy, Spain and the United States is suffering untold tortures under the sway of this white terror. The bourgeoisie is endeavouring to deprive the working class of all its political rights, to destroy, or at least to throttle, its organisations; to confiscate all its property, such as trade union premises, labour halls, educational institutions, or to destroy them by fire and sword. In those countries only the treacherous leaders of the Social-Democracy, henchmen of the bourgeoisie, are allowed to work openly. All revolutionary movements are *crushed with the greatest brutality*, by legal and illegal means. The reactionaries are daily assassinating communist fighters or throwing them into prison. Class justice is wielded quite frankly and brazenly as a practical war-time measure.

However, the reaction is assuming more power in other countries also. In Germany the reactionary organisations commit murder after murder and prepare, daily more openly, for a monarchist coup d'état; while the class justice of the official democratic government and the reactionary volunteer armies throttling the working class and is permitting reaction full sway. The ruling nationalist bloc in France and the ultra reactionary monarchist bloc brutally suppress the working class movement by force of arms and encourage the formation of armed bourgeois organisations. Checho-Slovakia, always famed for its brutal persecutions of the labour movement, is preparing anti-communist legislation on the Jugo-Slavian model. "Liberal" England is using every means to throttle the revolutionary movement and to rob the trade unions of their political rights. Following the example of Italy, Jugo-Slavia and such countries, reaction is arming itself everywhere.

The mainstay of reaction and white terror are the armed class organisations of the bourgeoisie which either conduct activities quite openly, as do the Fascists in Italy and Jugo-Slavia, the remnants of the Wrangel army in the Balkans, the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan in the United States, the officers' gangs in Hungary and Spain, or are organising and arming themselves for that purpose, as in France, Austria, and Germany. The Bourgeoisie

is recruiting its own organisations for the time when, in a great social crisis, it will be unable to use its regular standing armies, either because of the limitations imposed by the peace treaties, or because of the disruption of the troops by propaganda from within. The organisations thus created show an increasing tendency to replace the permanent armies in the maintenance of the bourgeois social order. These organisations have the support of the military-nationalist youth organisations, boy scouts, sport associations, church lads brigades, state military preparatory institutions for the youth, etc., and frequently draw from them their best recruits.

V

Under the reign of white terror and reaction, the working class youth suffers incredible hardships. Not only do the young workers share in every respect the fate of their older comrades—thousands of young militants are languishing in prisons and many of them have laid down their lives for the revolution,—but the persecutions of reaction are directed with especial ferocity and in the first line against the young workers (organisations which have always fought in the forefront against reaction and militarism). The young workers are frequently deprived of their right of organisation, while the reactionary bourgeois youth enjoys every privilege to organise politically and militarily, and carries on its criminal activities under the protection of the government. It has been a frequent experience of the young workers that even their purely economic manifestations have been put down by brute force; the bourgeoisie has not hesitated to use armed force against peaceful demonstrations of young workers. This has been proved again by the new wave of persecutions against the Leagues in Germany, France, and Checho-Slovakia, following in the wake of the International Day of Youth. The Y.C.L. of Checho-Slovakia has been disbanded several times by the authorities; the French League has for years been the object of the bitter persecutions of a reactionary government. In the House of Commons, a bill has been introduced forbidding the young English workers to organise and carry on revolutionary propaganda. The whole N.E.C. of the Spanish League has been incarcerated for its propaganda against the Riff war, and was brought before a martial court. The German comrades have to mourn again this year the death of several comrades struck down by reaction. Terror rages against the Leagues in America, the Balkans, etc.

VI

The Third Congress of the Young Communist International, which set itself the task of intensifying the struggle against militarism and reaction, must carefully analyse the past experiences of the working class in its resistance against reaction and white terror.

The communist theory alone has been borne out by the events which have shown the fact that force is the only defence against reactionary aggression and white terror. However, a small isolated communist militant organisation cannot conduct such a struggle. It requires the united front of the whole working class under the leadership of the Communist Parties.

But very seldom are the armed bourgeois organisations recruited entirely from the ranks of the big bourgeoisie, the landed interests and the military caste; rather, these form the nuclei of such organisations. The majority consists of petty-bourgeois, declared anti-social and degraded elements which are driven into these organisations by force or by misery. We must carry our political propaganda into these organisations to make these proletarian elements realise the shame of their situation, and to awaken their class consciousness. This will make them useless as tools of the bourgeoisie, and will disrupt these reactionary organisations. The proletarian organisations must combat mercilessly all manifestations of armed bourgeois violence. The disruptive process within these organisations will be hastened by the constant, determined struggle carried on against them by the organisations of the working class.

The Young Communist Leagues must carry on systematic propaganda and educational work among the young workers, to rouse their opposition to political reaction and white terror and to prepare them for active resistance.

Their own members must be prepared physically, technically, and organisationally for the final struggle against reaction, in order to form the nuclei for the militant masses of the working class.

At this juncture, the Young Communist International brings forward the following demands:—

- (1) Abolition of military courts, and amnesty for the political prisoners of capitalism.
- (2) Right of organisation and assembly for the working class and its youth organisations.

- (3) Disarmament and disbandment of the reactionary organisations and their youthful counterparts. Abolition of compulsory capitalist military training for the youth.
- (4) Arming of the working class for self-protection.
- (5) Political and economic boycott of those countries where white terror is in power.
- (6) Political and economic boycott of those countries where white tries.

VII

The peculiar position of the working class youth in relation to militarism, for which it supplies the chief contingents from its own ranks, assigns to the Leagues an especially active role in the struggle against militarism. However, the principles of the Y.C.I. make it incumbent upon the Leagues that the struggle against militarism and reaction should not be left to the isolated efforts of the Young Communist Leagues, but should be carried on in close collaboration with the Communist Parties and under their guidance. Unlike the Social-Democratic Parties, the Communist Parties do not shrink from this work; on the contrary, it is one of the chief items of their programme. It is only thus that the anti-militarist and anti-reactionary struggle can grow to its full strength and significance.

RESOLUTION on the PROGRAMME

THE Third Congress of the Y.C.I. resolves:

- (1) To adopt as a basis the new draft of the programme proposed by the E.C. of the Y.C.I.
- (2) To instruct the next Bureau Session to decide upon the programme in its definite and final form.
- (3) To carry on a thorough discussion regarding the programme in the Leagues.
- (4) To instruct the E.C. to publish the Berlin Programme and the draft for the new programme in the more important languages.

RESOLUTION
on the
ECONOMIC DEMANDS OF THE PROGRAMME
OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

SINCE the second World Congress issued its call to battle for the economic demands of the working class youth, the economic movement amongst the young workers has *grown considerably*. Increasing economic pressure is sowing the seeds of dissatisfaction in the ranks of the young workers and apprentices, and is giving them a great impetus in their economic struggle. Under the leadership and with the cooperation of the Young Communist Leagues a number of battles were fought. In these struggles the Leagues left the realm of theoretical propaganda and took up the struggle for practical demands. In spite of the different conditions in the various countries, *the basic and fundamental facts of the situation of the working class youth are the same everywhere*, and in all the struggles a need for *definite common aims* and for *joint economic action of the Young Communist Leagues became evident*. This was all the more necessary as, in the present stage of historical development, this fight must ever more and more assume an international character.

(2) The fundamental feature of the position of the working class youth in capitalist society (their inclusion in the process of production as fully developed workers and objects of exploitation under the system of wage slavery, and their deliberate exclusion from education) is the same in every country and demands the united application of the lever of our basic demands. The sweating methods prevailing today in the apprenticeship system, and the exclusion from vocational training of the overwhelming majority of the working class youth, due to the endeavours of capitalism to reduce the number of highly paid skilled workers and to compel still more workers to perform underpaid unskilled labour, are also international phenomena. In

some countries there is an attempt to veil these facts by a system of compulsory continuation school training. The obsolete conditions prevailing in such schools, which in most cases only serve to intensify the exploitation (by the extension of working hours, by causing extra expenses, etc.) call for an energetic struggle for a number of measures towards their systematic and thorough revision. The fact, furthermore, that the young workers, performing the labour of adult workers, receive lower wages than the latter—wages which hardly suffice to sustain life,—and still more, the miserable wages of the apprentices and the discrimination in the treatment of young as against adult workers in the matter of unemployment benefits—all these facts necessitate the establishment of immediate and concrete demands on the wage system of juvenile labour. The long working hours which menace the physical and mental well-being of the young workers, the night work, the lack of recreation and holidays, lead the working class youth of all countries to set up definite demands. The present hygienic conditions under which the youth is working are horrible; child labour is still being employed. The agricultural young workers are subject to particular exploitation. In spite of the varying local conditions, the miserable situation of the working class youth is the same everywhere in the capitalist world. From this fact arises the necessity of setting up economic demands of an international character and of combining them into an *international programme of demands*.

(3) The working class youth has previously had an international economic programme, "Demands for the Economic Protection of the Youth", adopted at the first congress of the Young International at *Stuttgart*, in 1907. Although the fundamental basis of this programme is still the property of the working class youth, it can no more be considered as the basis of the economic struggle of the Y.C.I. and must be revised and amended. This programme does not give attention to the all-important question of wages of the young workers, nor does it demand the radical transformation of the system of system of education and vocational training, but contents itself with reformist demands for the improvement of the present system of apprenticeship. Furthermore, the age limit for shorter working hours must be extended, and the problem of holidays, which is omitted in the old programme, must be dealt with. Above all, however, the *Stuttgart* minimum programme is a *programme of demands for reforms to be carried into practice within the bounds*

of capitalist society by means of reformist methods. It lacks those elements which go beyond the limit of capitalist society and which serve to break it down, and which can be fully realised only after the overthrow of capitalism. Its avowed purpose is to "eliminate the worst instances of exploitation which prevent its victims even from participation in the struggle against the present economic system". The militant programme of the Young Communist International, however, cannot respect the exigencies of the capitalist economic system nor be merely a means to eliminate the worst instances of the exploitation of the working class youth. It must become an instrument for the elimination of all exploitation and must proclaim the ultimate and fundamental aim of the economic struggle of the young workers: the complete transformation of the conditions of juvenile labour, and its socialist reorganisation.

Therefore, the Young Communist International, the leader of the class conscious working class youth, has elaborated a *new programme of economic demands* of the young workers which it herewith submits to the great mass of the oppressed and exploited young proletariat and to the entire working class.

The basis and aim of our programme is the
SOCIALIST REORGANISATION OF JUVENILE LABOUR.

This means

ABOLITION OF WAGE SLAVERY FOR ALL YOUNG WORKERS UP TO 18 YEARS, WHO MUST BE CARED FOR BY THE STATE AND TREATED FROM AN EDUCATIONAL POINT OF VIEW UNTIL THEY HAVE ATTAINED THIS AGE.

Our *partial demands* for all young workers of both sexes up to 18 years (relentless opposition to all child labour is a matter of course) are the following:

Minimum wages ranging from the subsistence minimum upwards. Equal wages for equal work for young and adult workers of both sexes. Progressive grading of apprentices' wages during the course of apprenticeship.

If the six hour day is established, wages are to be paid for eight hours.

Wages of all young workers to be determined by trade union agreements.

Six hour working day with the inclusion of, and full pay for, continuation school hours.

Forty-four hour week-end rest.

Strict prohibition of night work for all young workers up to 20 years.

Prohibition of piece work and the speeding up system.

Fully paid four weeks' annual vacation. Free accomodation of young workers in recreation homes, sanatoriums, etc.

Prohibition of young workers up to 20 years being employed in shops and industries injurious to their health (glass works, underground work in the mines, certain branches of the chemical industry, etc.).

Equal unemployment doles for young and adult workers; unemployment doles ranging from the subsistence minimum upwards.

Compulsory employment of the unemployed youth either in shops or training schools which guarantee continuation of training for the young workers who have been compelled to interrupt their apprenticeship.

Regarding *technical training and the apprentice-ship system* our demands are as follows:

Compulsory free and complete trade education for all young workers up to 18 years.

Technical training to be based on practical work and regulated according to the principles of the work-shop schools (factories, etc.). The basis for this is the establishment of special apprentices' departments in the factories.

Establishment of common training shops for a number of home and petty industries, in which part of the working hours are to be spent.

Abolition of individual indentures, and the inclusion of the apprentices in all collective agreements.

Abolition of apprentices' sweating by strict regulations regarding the right to employ apprentices (maximum number of apprentices in proportion to a definite number of workers, severe punishment for mistreatment and for offences against working hours and protective legislation).

Two years apprenticeship, including the probation period, which is quite sufficient in consideration the present capitalist character of work.

Prohibition to occupy apprentices with work not belonging to their trade.

Prohibition of the "living in" system.

Strict supervision of apprenticeship by the organs of the working class (trade unions, shop councils).

Labour organisations and their representatives to have a voice in the supervision of the training shops and trade schools. Apprentices (pupils) to elect councils for the same purpose.

For the establishment of a militant front with the *adult working class*, the Y.C.I. has formulated the following demands:

Young workers to have full rights on all shop councils.

Young workers to be accepted on equal terms into the trade unions, but to pay lower dues.

(4) These demands of the Young Communist International require of the capitalist system a complete change of the present *wage system* for the young workers. The determination of the wages of the young workers, as well as of the apprentices, must not be left to the arbitrary decision of the rapacious employer, but must be done by collective contracts of the trade unions. Under no circumstances can we further tolerate that the wages of the young workers not even suffice for their bare necessities of life; the minimum of subsistence must constitute the basis for the minimum wage of the young workers. The disgraceful custom, fatal to the entire proletariat, of paying to young workers who do the work of adults, lower wages than to the latter, thus causing continuous competition between young and adult workers, must be abolished. Equal wages for equal work! The intensified exploitation of the proletarian girl must cease. The demand for equal wages for equal labour applies to her as well as to the young male workers. The six hour day, once established, must not be of disadvantage for the young workers; they must receive wages for an eight hour day. As long as capitalist apprenticeship continues to exist as a feature of juvenile wage-slavery, and as long as the socialist reorganisation of youth labour and the care for the welfare of the young workers is not yet brought about, the apprentices must receive increases in wages corresponding to the skill acquired, i. e. graded increases in wages corresponding to the respective wages of the skilled workers. With regard to the present shameful wage system, the fact must be mentioned, that in most countries unemployed young

workers and apprentices receive, at best, much lower unemployment doles than the adult workers, and in most cases none at all. The young workers, however, must not only sustain life just as the adult workers must, but they are exposed much more to the dangers of misery and often lose the possibility of learning a trade. From these facts results the imperative necessity for the demands of the Y.C.I. for equal unemployment doles for young and adult workers and for the establishment of training shops for the former.

The *six hour day* for young workers was also a demand of the Stuttgart programme and, under the pressure of the young workers, even the antagonist Internationals of Youth had to include this demand in their programmes. Considering the critical and early stage of development of the youth and their need for mental education and physical training, no one will today deny the imperative necessity of the six hour day. Furthermore, the prohibition of *night work* for all youths up to this age in shops and industries injurious to their health, is a matter of course for the working class which does not want its youth to be destroyed in the bloom of its years. We strive for a physically and mentally healthy younger generation; every young worker must receive sufficient *holidays* and good care during these holidays, as well as sufficient week-end rest.

The Y.C.I., furthermore, advocates a number of demands for the transformation of the present *apprenticeship system* and for *trade education for all young workers*, which capitalism has made the expensive privilege of a few. This compulsory trade education is not to have the character of the present bourgeois apprenticeship and continuation schools where the pupils are exploited and receive no real training in their trade but these schools must provide practical training based on the principles of the workshop school and excluding all exploitation. Although this demand can be realised only under the rule of the working class, it must, nevertheless, be raised even today. The basis of this education must be the apprentices' department in every industry, which is to be completed by the workshop schools. By the abolition of individual indentures and through strict control by the organisations of the working class, apprenticeship must be wrested from the control of capital and regulated by the collective agreements of the trade unions. The exploitation of juvenile labour in apprenticeship, the sweating of apprentices, the claim of the rights of the employer, must be ruthlessly fought, and the apprentice who per-

forms the labour of a worker must have the status and the rights of a worker. If, for purposes of exploitation, the training of apprentices in industrial enterprises is entrusted to a worker in the general shop or takes place in piece work squads, this state of affairs must be radically changed. Special apprentices' departments equipped with all modern conveniences for training must be established in all factories and must provide the principal part of education. Under capitalism these apprentices' departments must be strictly controlled by the working class in order to prevent the numerous abuses by the capitalists.

The small medieval workshop, whose hour of doom has struck, cannot be the sole place of modern technical education, for today the chief object is to train *useful workers for industry*. The establishment of collective training shops for a number of home and petty industries in which apprentices devote part of their time to technical education is a necessity, as long as the apprenticeship system continues to exist in handicraft. The form of these depends upon the practical possibilities: either apprentices' departments in great industrial enterprises or practice in continuation schools. Under the slogan of socialist re-organisation of juvenile labour the Young Communist International demands the education of all young workers up to 18 years. But this extensive education which can only be realised in a socialist society, has nothing whatsoever to do with the technical training under a specialised capitalist system. For every apprenticeship, lasting longer than two years, capitalist greed is the only motive. Hence, the Y.C.I., now as before, demands of the capitalist system the old Stuttgart demand: A two years maximum for all apprentices—which is today more justified than ever since the division and specialisation of labour has advanced considerably in the course of the fifteen years since the Stuttgart congress.

(5) *What is the essence of our partial demands and their relation to our revolutionary struggle?* Above all they can be judged only as *part of the whole*, of our entire militant activities, and of which they constitute an *inseparable part*. Hence, if we formulate a programme of partial demands, we do so with a view to our ultimate goal: *the proletarian revolution and the establishment of a socialist society*. All our propaganda and all our work is governed by the knowledge that capitalism is incapable of granting a decided im-

provement in the situation of the proletariat and in the organisation of juvenile labour.

Our partial demands are those which the working class must formulate to keep intact the life and health of its youth, who must be strengthened both physically and mentally for the class struggle and must be made valuable assets of the proletarian state that is to be. When preparing such demands, the working class cannot follow the example of the Social-Democrats and consider whether or not such demands may be adjusted to the interests of capitalist economy. *Only the degree of pauperisation which the proletariat can endure and yet retain its fighting qualities, can determine our actions, not the needs and the exigencies of capitalist society.* On the contrary—in the hands of the communists these partial demands become a *lever of action* with which to bring about revolutionary movements and to undermine the power capitalism. This can be accomplished all the sooner since the minimum demands for the workers' standard of living which were commonly acknowledged before the war, are *today* no longer being realised in the period of the decline of capitalism, and will lead to bitter struggles between the working class and capital. While the Y.C.I. is thus fighting for a decisive improvement in the economic situation of the working class youth, it subordinates this struggle to the interests of the general revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The realisation of the most modest demands can today be achieved only by bringing into *play the economic and political power of labour*, i. e., by means of the *revolutionary struggle*. A clear recognition of this fact, which finds its expression in the communist policy in parliaments and municipal councils, distinguishes the economic struggle of the communist organisations from the reformist policy of the Social-Democrats who, driven by the fear of the necessity for a revolutionary struggle, have sacrificed the most elementary and vital demands of the working class to the capitalist dictatorship; who have carefully refrained from calling upon the masses and who discriminate between "economic" problems and political struggles. This is a very serious mistake which the social democrates share with the "pure" syndicalists.

The more determined the struggle becomes which the masses make for their demands, the greater will be the resistance of capital.

The determination to struggle will increase in the masses and they will learn to look with confidence upon the communist organisations while, on the other hand, they will have the practical experience of the shallowness of the social democratic policy. The Communist Party or the Young Communist League will fight on the side of the masses, showing them by clear and cutting criticism, the connections between the various problems, the reasons for their successes and their defeats, and the significance of their struggle. To the degree in which struggles for partial demands mobilise ever greater masses of workers (and it is the task of the communist organisations to *extend, intensify* and *combine* such struggles under concrete slogans); to the degree in which, in this struggle, the needs of the proletarian masses are opposed to the needs of capitalist society—in that degree will the working class realise that if it wants to live, capitalist society must perish. This knowledge is the basis of the determination for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship.

Thus the struggle for the economic partial demands becomes the training school for the broad masses of the working class youth which are still apathetic or muddled.

RESOLUTION on the UNITED FRONT

THE Third Congress of the Young Communist International, after hearing the report on the united front, declares:—
The E.C. has done its utmost to establish a united front of the young workers in the struggle against the offensive of capital and reaction.

However, all its proposals and attempts in that direction have failed, owing to the resistance of the two Social-Democratic Internationals of Youth which refused to convoke a world congress of young workers having for its object the elaboration of a plan of action to meet the demands of the working class youth for an effective resistance against pauperisation, and against the growth of reaction and militarism. Thus the international leaders of the social-democratic youth organisations have sabotaged the possibility for an effective resistance to the offensive of capital. They not only refused to form a united front of the working class youth of the whole world, but they considered it their chief task to form a *bloc*, not against capital, but against the Young Communist International.

The congress is of the opinion that the united front tactics are nevertheless the only possible measures for providing the working class youth with the necessary weapons for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. It therefore instructs the E.C. of the Y.C.I. to continue its efforts for the establishment of a united front of the working class youth as well as of that of the young and adult workers.

In view of the fact that the Hague Conference has brought no positive results and since the young workers more than any other section of the proletariat will have to serve as cannon fodder in the threatening wars, the Third Congress instructs the E.C. to approach the two other Internationals of Youth with the proposal to establish a united front for the struggle against war and reaction and to elaborate a plan for joint action with these two organisations.

The congress urges all Leagues, and each individual member of the Young Communist International, to do their and his utmost in this struggle against a new war and reaction, so that the working class youth, by its united front, can demonstrate to the bourgeoisie that it will not again allow itself to be slaughtered for the interests of capitalism.

Long live the united front of the working class youth!

Long live the joint struggle against war and reaction!

RESOLUTION on the PROBLEM OF SPORTS

AFTER hearing the report on the sports problem, the Third Congress states that it is necessary for the sections of the Y.C.I. to intensify their activity on this field.

Above all the Young Communist Leagues must carry on an energetic struggle against the bourgeois athletic and sport organisations which, under the treacherous mask of neutrality, are detracting large sections of the proletariat from the class struggle and are, in many countries, only a pretense for the illegal arming of the counter-revolutionary shock troops of the bourgeoisie. The Young Communist Leagues must endeavour to disintegrate these organisations and to induce their proletarian elements to join the labour sport and athletic organisations. Where such bodies are not yet in existence, it is the duty of the Young Communist Leagues to see to it that sections of the Red Sport International are immediately established.

The Young Communist Leagues must, furthermore, carry on a persistent fight against the so-called compulsory physical training or compulsory military training by the State, which in the capitalist states, are but disguised forms of militarism. In those capitalist states where this compulsory physical training or compulsory military training exist, the communists must employ the same tactics as in the struggle against militarism, i. e. they must participate in it with a view to carrying on propaganda amongst the proletarian elements and to win them for the class struggle.

In the labour athletic and sport organisations, the majority of which are still under social-democratic control, and which therefore, bring a reformist influence to bear upon the young workers, the Young Communist Leagues must carry on systematic educational work. They must counter-act the bourgeois sport activities which are hindering the development of that proletarian solidarity so

necessary for the class struggle. They must expose the bourgeois claim of neutrality of the sports and athletic movement and must oppose every collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Only by such activity, carried on in close contact with the Communist Parties, can the Young Communist Leagues turn the labour athletic and sport clubs into active organisations and imbue them with a class character. This systematic work of the Young Communist Leagues does not, of course, aim at splitting the labour sports and athletic organisations. On the contrary, just as within the trade unions, the communists oppose the splitting policy of the social-democrats, and stand for the complete unity of the labour sport movement. For this purpose the members of the Young Communist Leagues within the labour sports and athletic organisations are combined into fractions in order to capture the majority of the clubs and have them affiliate to the Red Sport International.

The Young Communist Leagues must endeavour to establish close and friendly relations with the already existing communist sports and athletic organisations, as well as bring about efficient cooperation with the communist fractions in those organisations which are still under social-democratic control. Generally speaking, the Young Communist Leagues must attempt to put their relations with the labour athletic and sports organisations on a basis which will exclude any competition or rivalry between the members.

The Third Congress abstains from adopting definite theses on the problem of the labour sports and athletic organisations, but instructs the Fourth Bureau Session of the Y.C.I. to elaborate them and to come to a definite decision on the controversial questions which have arisen in the discussion. In order to enable the Fourth Bureau Session of the Y.C.I. to carry out this task and to enliven the activity of the Leagues on this field, it is necessary that the E.C. if the Y.C.I. should not only issue instructions for their practical work and supervise it, but it should pay special attention to being supplied with material on this question on the part of the Leagues. The E.C. must thoroughly analyse this material with a view to bringing about definiteness and clarity on the fundamental attitude of the Y.C.I. with regard to the sport problem.

RESOLUTION on the WORK IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE NEAR AND FAR EAST

THE growth and development of the communist movement among the working class youth in the countries of the Near and Far East has made considerable progress during the last year. The resolutions of the Second Congress on the problem of the work amongst the Oriental peoples and the energetic action of the congress of the working class youth of the Far East have considerably advanced the organisations of the young workers of these countries under the banner of the Y.C.I.

During the past year organisations were established in China and Corea. The essential foundations for the definite formation of the Y.C.L. of Japan were laid down. The revolutionary youth organisation of Mongolia became affiliated with the Y.C.I.; and connections were established with the Y.C.L. of Turkey. These, however, were only the preliminary accomplishments. The Young Communist International is still confronted with the task of furthering and strengthening the development of the movement as a whole. Unfortunately it must be stated that, so far, the movement has affected only Asia and that Africa has scarcely as yet been touched.

(2) The growth and the consolidation of the movement enables the Y.C.I. to present to the Young Communist Leagues of the Oriental countries a number of new tasks for the extension of their practical work and for their organisational improvement.

China. The Young Socialist League of China was formed during the period of a most acute struggle against imperialism. This fight was especially supported by the revolutionary-nationalist students, who are the most vigorous social force in China. The Young Socialist League of China was formed of the most active left elements among the students. Within the League, however, there remained

a few traces of the general students' movement in the form of conflicts between different tendencies (the right-nationalist-liberal elements on the one hand and the left-anarchistic on the other).

At the time of the first congress of the Young Socialist League of China this internal struggle had practically come to an end. At this congress the League was already a strong and ideologically uniform organisation. This was achieved by practical work in a number of mass campaigns, in the organisational strengthening of the League and in the intensification of its influence upon broad masses of the working class youth. The Young Socialist League of China has grown numerically and has advanced in political importance.

The tasks that now confront the Young Socialist League of China are to still further strengthen its organisation and to give particular attention to the work among the industrial and rural youth. This work demands special and persistent efforts, since up to this time the movement was supported principally by the students. The composition of the League is responsible for certain features which handicap its further development: Lack of strict discipline, a strong inclination to engage in academic discussions, insufficient contact with the actual every-day struggles, and above all—isolation from the masses of the working class youth.

While the Third Congress records with satisfaction the achievements of the Y.S.L. of China, it considers it necessary to point out the following:

(a) The Young Socialist League of China must concentrate its main forces on organisation and propaganda work among the working class youth. In order to win the young workers to the League and to defend them against exploitation, the League must take up an economic struggle based upon the elementary demands of the working class youth (increase of wages, shortening of working hours, etc.). On the other hand it must extend its political educational work (clubs, schools, etc.) in order to raise the cultural and class level of the working class youth and to make it possible, at the same time, for the League to exist legally.

(b) In order to strengthen its organisation, the League must use a number of measures and, above all, it must bring about a strict centralisation of the movement. In order to establish strict discipline within the League, the work must be carefully and thoroughly distributed among the members, utilising each member

for organisational and propaganda work amongst the working class youth. The congress is of the opinion that members of the Y.S.L. of China should not simultaneously be members of non-communist political organisations.

(c) The Y.S.L. of China must transform its organ "The Pioneer" into a popular organ of the industrial and rural youth, to be devoted to their lives and struggles. In future it is particularly necessary to establish a close practical contact between the Y.S.L. of China and the E.C. of the Y.C.I.

Japan. (a) The communist movement in Japan has but recently crystallised into the formation of the Communist Party of Japan. The sympathetic youth were admitted into the ranks of the Party and did not form a special organisation. Only recently with the participation of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., were there formed special groups of younger party members for the work amongst the youth.

(b) It is necessary that the young communist movement of Japan should, from the beginning, endeavour to make the working class youth its main supporters. For this purpose it is essential to find and use every possibility of legal propaganda among the young workers. The League must carry on activities for the defence of the economic interests of the working class youth (equal wages for boys and girls, increase in wages in general, a shortening of working hours) for which work it must utilise the trade union movement. Fractions must be formed within the trade unions for the organisation of the propaganda amongst the young proletariat.

(c) After the consolidation of the organisation and the development of legal possibilities of work, the League will be able to transfer the centre of its organisational and economic work (by means of nuclei) into the factories and into the country. The already existing Young People's League of the State must be utilised. The Y.C.L. which is to be formed, must regulate its relations to the Communist Party of Japan on the basis of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Y.C.I. and the Third Congress of the Communist International.

Corea. The political terror used by Japan, has hitherto prevented the organisation of the revolutionary youth into a Young Communist League. Only very recently a Y.C.L. was formed. It is confronted, first and foremost, with the task of strengthening its organisation and extending its influence.

(a) The League must establish strict discipline within its ranks. In order to increase its influence it must take advantage of every possibility of legal work amongst the masses. To win new members, the League must work in two directions:—

(1) Directly among the masses of unorganised urban and rural workers and (2) within the existing youth organisations by winning their best revolutionary and proletarian elements over to the Y.C.L.

(b) This work can be successfully accomplished only if the Y.C.L. utilises every legal possibility of work; takes up the struggle for the improvement of the economic situation of the working class youth, and at the same time, trains and educates its members.

(c) The main task of the Y.C.L. of Corea is agitation against Japanese occupation. This agitation must possess a strictly class character without any nationalist tendencies. The Y.C.L. of Corea must form a close connection with the E.C. of the Y.C.I. The Third Congress instructs the E.C. of the Y.C.I. to undertake the political guidance of the League until a Communist Party has been formed in Corea that will be recognised by the Communist International.

Mongolia. The Mongolian revolutionary youth organisation is the only organisation which actually unites the proletarian elements of the Mongolian population and fights for their interests. Recently the Mongolian League recorded a considerable success in its numerical growth and in the strength of its influence. The exceptional role which the League plays in Mongolia and the particular conditions of its work, which result from the cultural and economic backwardness of the country, confront the League with the following special tasks:

(a) Support of the Revolutionary People's Party.

(b) Work among the masses in order to train them for the administration of the country, and the creation of a basis for a form of government that would express the interests of the workers.

(c) Political work within the League in order to raise the cultural level of the members and to provide them with practical knowledge on the structure of the country.

(d) Organisation of various forms of agitational work, and a struggle against illiteracy.

(e) Fight for the establishment of various kinds of schools and classes for the working class youth and the members of the League.

India. The development of the movement in India, the most important British possession, is of particular significance. The first attempts at organising branches of revolutionary youths in India have proved that there is fertile soil for such work among the students, in the schools, and among the young workers. The E.C. is confronted with the task of strengthening its connections with the existing groups of the revolutionary youth, to support them and to establish rallying points for the movement. In this work the Y.C.L. of Great Britain must take an active part. It must carry on propaganda among the Indian students in Great Britain and among the colonial sailors that come into British ports. To intensify the propaganda, special columns of the League organ should be devoted to the Indian movement. Furthermore, the Berlin Bureau should provide printed propaganda material.

While endorsing the decisions of the Second Congress on the problem of the work in the Oriental countries, the Third Congress instructs the future E.C. to pay more attention to the support of the youth movement in the Oriental countries.

Endorsing the decisions of the Second Congress on the work in the colonies, the Third Congress proposes to the E.C. to attract the special attention of the Young Communist Leagues of Europe to this work by assigning them concrete tasks and requesting them to report on their colonial activities.

RESOLUTION on the PROBLEM OF COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S GROUPS

THE congress declares that the direction adopted by the Second Congress of the Y.C.I. for the work in the communist children's groups has proved to be correct. The centralisation and carrying through of the work in the communist children's groups is an important task of the Young Communist Leagues. Wherever the Young Communist Leagues began work on this new field of activity, based on the directives of the Second Congress, their efforts were crowned with success. The main results are the extension of communist influence on new sections of the working class (tens of thousands of proletarian childrens were organised who, in their turn, roused their indifferent parents and brothers and sisters, and are thus performing a revolutionary task) the education of a young communist generation for the Young Communist Leagues and the gaining of valuable experiences in the communist children's groups for the work in the Young Communist Leagues.

(2) On the other hand the congress states that a number of Leagues have failed to pay sufficient attention to the work amongst the children or else were rather late in beginning it. This resulted in a decentralisation of the children's groups which, in some cases, were influenced by untoward elements or wrong theories. In some countries the communist children's groups lacked strict centralisation and the necessary uniformity in their methods of organisation and work.

(3) The congress welcomes the First International Conference of Children's Groups Leaders of September 1922 as the first step towards the consolidation, unification and strengthening of the communist children's groups under the leadership of the Y.C.I. It endorses the decisions reached at this conference and trusts that

the new E.C. will pay special attention to the work on an international scale in the children's groups on the basis of these decisions.

(4) The congress deems it necessary to emphasise the following decisions of this international conference:—

The scope of the work of the Communist Children's Groups must be enlarged by the winning of collective or individual cooperation of other proletarian organisations (Communist Parties, Women's Organisations, Red Trade Unions, Communist Trade Union fractions, labour athletic and sports organisations, etc.) while still maintaining the principle of the control and carrying through of the work in the children's groups by the Young Communist Leagues.

The methods of practical work in the Children's Groups must be extended by paying special attention to the encouragement of the independent activities of the children in the groups and by intensification of the mutual education of the children through common work, training, and play instead of by merely instructive methods. Care should be taken that the methods employed in the Communist Children's Groups actually prepare the children for the Young Communist Leagues and that they do not bring about an alienation of the older children to the plans and activities of the Young Communist Leagues.

The children's papers must be very carefully edited, and transformed into communist working class children's papers of a mass character.

(5) The congress trusts that the educational department which has been created by the E.C. of the Communist International will pay due attention to the Communist Children's Groups movement and will induce the Communist Parties to support the Young Communist Leagues in this work, on the solid basis of the principles of work and organisation of the Young Communist International.

THE FOURTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL on the YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

IN accordance with the decisions of the Third Congress of the C.I., the Second World Congress of the Y.C.I. agreed upon the political subordination of the Leagues to the Parties and upon the *transformation* of the Leagues from exclusive and merely political advance-guard organisations into broad *mass organisations* of the working class youth which, within the proletariat and under the political guidance of the Communist Parties, were to undertake the task of advocating the interests of the working class youth in *every* field. Notwithstanding this, however, the Young Communist Leagues were to remain what they had hitherto been—political organisations, while participation in the political struggle was to continue to be the basis of their activities. The struggle for the immediate economic demands of the working class youth and the fight against bourgeois militarism were held to be the most important and immediate measures for rousing and winning over the masses of the working class youth. A reorganisation and a revision of the activities of the Leagues, on the basis of the new tasks, were demanded, and the need of introducing well-planned educational activities within the organisations and of mass education amongst the indifferent young workers was emphasised.

The accomplishment of the decisions of the Second World Congress, which naturally involved a long period of hard labour, met with difficulties, however. One of these was the newness of the tasks to most of the Leagues. Another was the economic crisis, as expressed in impoverishment and unemployment, which had an unfavourable effect on the strength of the Leagues, and the savage onslaughts of reaction forcing as they did a number of Leagues underground and diminishing their numbers. The temporary recession of the revolutionary wave and the weakening of labour's

revolutionary spirit affected the working class youth whose feelings during this epoch were characterised by a waning of interest in all political matters. At the same time the bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy are intensifying their efforts to influence and organise the working class youth.

Although since the Second World Congress of the Y.C.I. the Young Communist Leagues have everywhere become subordinated to the Parties, the mutual relationship between Parties and Leagues does *not yet*, generally speaking, wholly correspond to *the spirit of the decisions of the International Congresses*. Especially that so essential help in the activities of the Leagues by the Parties has often not been what it should have been. Thanks to the energetic efforts of the Y.C.I. during the last fifteen months most of the Young Communist Leagues have already taken *important practical steps towards their reorganisation* in the spirit of the essential preliminary conditions for their transformation into mass organisations. In a number of countries the Leagues, by their propaganda for the militant economic and political demands, of the working class youth have already entered upon the road which, if they continue to travel it, must lead to winning an influence over great masses: *They have, furthermore, initiated and carried through, a number of campaigns and very concrete activities.*

The transformation into mass organisations, both in the sense of numbers as well as that of gaining a *secure* organisational foothold amongst the masses and leading and influencing them continually, could not as yet, however, be effected by the Young Communist Leagues, and from this fact arise the most important tasks for the future.

(2) The young workers have felt the full fury of the *capitalist offensive*. Wage reductions, lengthening of working hours, unemployment,—all these have affected not only adult labour, but the young workers as well, resulting in even worse forms of exploitation and in worse conditions for them. The young workers were pitted against their elders and used as a lever to reduce wages and as blacklegs, thus increasing unemployment amongst adult labour. These conditions, so fatal to the entire proletariat, are being maintained and even intensified by the treacherous attitude of the reformist trade union bureaucracy which either pay no attention to the interests of the youth or even sacrifice them, keeping the masses of

young workers isolated from the struggles of adult labour and, in some instances, even denying them membership in the trade unions. The growth of bourgeois militarism is also increasing the sufferings of the young industrial and rural workers, who are being forced to don capitalism's uniform and who are destined to be the cannon fodder of the coming imperialist wars. Reaction is especially savage against the young workers, depriving them in some countries, even where Communist Parties exist, of the right to form Communist Youth Organisations.

The two *Social Democratic Internationals of Youth* have so far remained inactive in the face of the misery of the working class youth. By forming a *bloc* they have endeavoured to stifle the voice of the masses who demand a struggle of the united front of adult labour and the whole working class youth. This alliance was intended not only to divert the suffering masses of the working class youth from the struggle and the united front of all young workers, but was directed as well against the Young Communist International and is, furthermore, the preliminary step towards the fusion of the two Social Democratic Internationals of Youth.

The Communist International proclaims the imperative necessity of the united front between the young and adult workers and calls upon the Communist Parties and the workers of the world to fight for the demands of the working class youth in the struggle against the capitalist offensive, bourgeois militarism and reaction. The Communist International welcomes and supports with every means at its disposal, the struggle carried on by the Young Communist International for the vital demands and the united front of the working class youth, within the united front of all labour and for the united front of young and old workers.

The attacks of capital, threatening to push the working class youth into the abyss of pauperisation and to make of them the helpless victims of militarism and reaction, must be met by the determined and united resistance of the whole working class.

(3) To execute the tasks and the work necessary to winning over and educating the masses, the young communist movement requires the *moral support* and the *effective assistance* of the Communist Parties.

Through close cooperation of the Leagues and Parties in every domain and the continuous participation of the *Young Communist*

Leagues in the political life of the Parties the political interest and the political energies of the young communist movement must be cultivated and kept intact. This interest and this energy are essential for the Communist Parties, both in their own struggle and in their efforts to realise the decisions of the Communist International, and are the basis for a sound communist youth movement. The Communist Parties must assist the Leagues *organisationally*; they should induce their younger members to work in the Leagues, and, by organising their younger members and by propaganda they must found youth organisations in all localities where the Party has a branch. As the Young Communist Leagues are now confronted with the task of shifting the centre of gravity of their activities amongst the masses of the working class youth, the Communist Parties must especially help in the establishment and in the work of League organs (both nuclei and fractions) in the shops and its fractions in the trade unions. Mutual representation must be carried through in all organs of Party and League (fractions, nuclei, branches, locals, district committees, national executive committees, congresses).

By an intensification of their economic propaganda and by a continuous and careful attention to the life and the problems of the working class youth and the continual and daily advocating of the working class youth interests, the Young Communist Leagues must identify themselves with the masses of the working class youth and lead them towards a joint struggle side by side with adult labour. Thus it becomes the duty of the communist parties to assist the Leagues in their economic work in their nuclei and fractions in shops, school, and trade union, and to obtain a close cooperation between the members of the Leagues and the Parties in the trade unions. The Party members in the trade unions must advocate the admission of young workers and apprentices into the trade unions, those young workers and apprentices to be on an equal footing with the adults, although paying decreased dues. Those members must, furthermore, stand up for the interests of the working class youth in the economic struggle and must see to it that in collective agreements, etc. with the employers those interests are not ignored. The Communist Parties must, furthermore, support the economic trade union activities of the Leagues by propaganda and by active parti-

cipation in them and must further them by including the demands of the Leagues among the objectives of their own daily struggles.

In consideration of the ever increasing danger of fresh imperialist wars and the growth of reaction, the Communist Parties must help to the utmost in the *anti-militarist struggle* of the young communist organisations in which the Communist Parties have the practical, active leadership. The members of Young Communist Leagues must be the most active fighters of the Party in defending labour against reaction.

By the transformation of the Leagues in the direction of broad mass organisations, *communist educational work* gains immensely in importance, because, after winning the masses, their communist training and education becomes especially essential. This educational work of the young communist organisations must be independently and specially organised and should be carried on along well-planned lines. The Parties must give effective aid in this work by supplying the youth organisation with teachers and with educational material, by helping in the organisation of schools and study circles, by arranging that a number of League members shall attend the Party schools and by including in their publications a number of booklets for the youth.

The congress deems it necessary that the Party press shall help the young communist organisations more than it has done hitherto both by publishing regular youth supplements or youth columns and by continually devoting space to the work and the life of the working class youth.

The bourgeois world, whose endeavours to propagate the bourgeois system collide with the class consciousness of adult labour and that of the revolutionary working class youth, attempts to poison and to estrange from their class the proletarian children. *For these reasons the necessity for the organisation of, and increasing the number of Communist Childrens Groups is of great importance.* These sections must be organisationally subordinated to, and led by, the Young Communist Leagues, with the Parties assisting in this work by mobilising its forces for it and by participation in the work of the childrens group department. The communist children's papers which a number of Leagues have started must also be encouraged and helped by the Parties.

Close cooperation between Party and League is especially necessary in all those countries where reaction has forced the communist movement *underground*.

In stressing the importance of the communist work for winning over the masses of the working class youth, the Fourth Congress emphasises the importance of the Young Communist Internatinoal and gives its greetings to these militant co-workers of the Communist International, its reserves for the future!