

REPORT ON THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

UNITED WE STAND

FOR PEACE
AND
SOCIALISM

BY
GIL GREEN

Materials of the
Seventh World Congress
of the
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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UNITED WE STAND

For Peace and Socialism



GIL GREEN

surrounded by a group of leading members of the Young Communist League, busy assorting questions at the meeting in St. Nicholas Palace, New York City, at which Gil Green's report was delivered. Left to right they are: (seated) John Little, May Himoff, Gil Green, Max Weiss, and John Marks; (standing) Jack Kling.

UNITED WE STAND

FOR PEACE AND
SOCIALISM

By

GIL GREEN

*National Secretary
Young Communist League of the U.S.A.*

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World-wide interest was aroused by the proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International, which, in September, 1935, in Moscow, brought together hundreds of representatives from Young Communist Leagues of some 57 different countries.

More than five thousand young people crowded the St. Nicholas Arena in New York on November 15, 1935, to hear the first official report delivered in the country on the work of the Sixth World Congress of the Y.C.I. Among them were not only Young Communists, but numerous Young Socialists, members of trade unions, church youth organizations and unaffiliated youth.

This pamphlet is based on the speech delivered at that meeting. Its appearance meets the need, widely felt, for a written exposition of the decisions of the World Communist Youth Congress, and their meaning for the youth of the country, faced as it is with the problem of a future, of advancing reaction and war.

Gil Green, National Secretary of the Young Communist League of the U.S.A., headed the delegation from this country to the Congress. A member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, he was also elected to the Secretariat of the Young Communist International at the Sixth World Congress.

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I—THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM IS THE CAUSE OF ALL HUMANITY

THE enthusiasm and attendance at this meeting tonight only express to a small degree the tremendous interest shown throughout the world in the deliberations of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International. For this Congress has significance not alone for every young Communist, not alone for every member of our world youth movement, but for every young man and young woman seriously disturbed with the present state of world affairs—for every young person who wants peace and guarantees for future security and happiness.

As an example of this sympathetic interest, let me refer to the speech delivered a few weeks ago by Dr. Samuel Trexler, President of the Lutheran Ministers' Association of New York, to the Third World Lutheran Congress in Paris. Dr. Trexler, addressing the representatives of eighty million Lutherans, stated:

"The Young Communist International at its Sixth World Congress in Moscow has just called on the youth of the world to unite against war.

"This youthful organization, which claims to represent 3,600,000 young Communists throughout the world, has voiced an appeal which every Christian knows he should not only echo but should proclaim even more loudly. . . .

"What could be more Christian than a call to end this traffic in death—even when the call is uttered by those who style themselves atheists."

These remarks are of great importance. They indicate that the policies of the Young Communist International have a direct influence upon the deliberations and actions of the most influential organizations in the world today. They indicate that the policies of the Young Communist International have a power of attraction for millions and the leaders of millions. They indicate that the policies of the Young Communist International correspond not only to the interests of the Communist youth, not only to the interests of the working class youth, but to the best interests of the young people of all sections of society. They indicate that the policy of the Young Communist International is truly a people's policy, universal in scope, irresistible in strength.

Unite for the Sake of Humanity!

Dr. Trexler is certainly not a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. But he is ready to unite with the Communists because he understands the tremendous danger of war and fascism confronting the young generation and all of humanity. We can assure Dr. Trexler that our Sixth World Congress spoke for the unity of the young generation not out of narrow, sectional interests. It realized that what is at stake is the very existence of humanity, the preservation and continuation of human culture and the further progress of the human race.

And from this platform we heartily greet the position of Dr. Trexler. We say to him: *Yes, Doctor, we are more than prepared to cooperate with you and all other progressive individuals and organizations to defeat reaction, fascism and war.*

And if many individuals and groups are beginning to think in the same vein as this Lutheran minister, it is due to two

important reasons. First, because it is becoming increasingly clear that the main bulwark in the world today supporting peace, culture and progress is the Soviet Union. No longer can anyone convince intelligent people that Communists stand for chaos and destruction. On the contrary, they see that it is capitalism which in its decaying stage is trying to destroy the last vestiges of the democratic rights won by the people in centuries of struggle, is instituting the open, brutal, and barbaric dictatorship of the most reactionary sections of finance capital—fascism. Fascism is destroying with fire the accumulated culture of the ages and is plunging the world into another gigantic blood-fest.

More and more, the people begin to see that it is capitalism which stands for chaos and destruction, that it is capitalism which cannot exist without continual orgies of destruction and chaos such as the last World War and the new world war which is even now being prepared.

It is the Soviet Union, under Communist leadership, which is the most consistent force for peace. It is the Soviet Union with its socialist economy which is developing the productive forces of the country at unprecedented speed; is raising the material and cultural level of the people; and is creating a real, true democracy for all the toilers of hand and brain. It is because of the tremendous object lesson of the Soviet Union that the closing speaker at the Illinois "Christian Youth Building a New World" Conference, held the other day in Springfield, uttered the following significant words:

"Communists are people who have a beautiful vision of what this world should really be, of making this world what our forefathers intended it to be."

The second reason for such developments as I have outlined

is that ever larger masses of toilers see in the Communist International and the Young Communist International the only stubborn and consistent forces fighting in defense of their daily needs, for proletarian internationalism, for peace and socialism.

Heroes and Leaders of the People

In 1914, when the world was thrown into the mire of imperialist slaughter, when the majority of the Socialist Parties betrayed the working class and the people, widespread pessimism and confusion reigned in the ranks of the workers. It was then that the voice of one man electrified the world, gave renewed courage and confidence to the war-ridden masses. *That man was Karl Liebknecht.*

"The enemy is in our own country!"

In 1933, the world was shocked by the temporary victory of fascism in Germany. A spirit of pessimism and hopelessness penetrated certain sections of the masses, especially those who under Socialist leadership had believed in the peaceful transition of capitalism to socialism. In this situation the voice of another man was heard, *the clear Bolshevik voice of our own dear Georgi Dimitroff.*

From the dock of the hangmen's court in Leipzig, Dimitroff tore the veil of demagoguery from fascism and exposed it in all its ugly nakedness. Fascism itself was placed in the dock and was found guilty in the eyes of the masses of the world! Dimitroff created new spirit and confidence among the masses of toilers, gave new hope and courage to the thousands of victims of fascist terror, and an unshaken conviction that the day of reckoning could not be far away, that Communism would triumph the world over.

In 1914, there was still another man. A man who foresaw

the course of history, who had created a Party with an iron will, a Party of tried and true revolutionists, a Party which led the masses of one-sixth of the world to victory. *That man was Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of the world party of Communism.*

Today, there is also a man to be compared with the great Lenin. This man embodies in his own life the struggles of the masses against terror and oppression, who himself spent years of his life in tsarist dungeons and exile. *This man is none other than our beloved leader Joseph Stalin.*

For twelve years now since the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has stood at the head of those who guided our socialist fatherland from success to success, from weakness to strength, from the temporary retreat of the New Economic Policy to the final irrevocable victory of socialism. For twelve years now, since the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has stood at the head of those who have guided the embattled legions of the proletariat of all countries in their relentless march forward to the socialist revolution.

Stalin and Dimitroff. These two names symbolize the aspirations and strivings of the masses the world over and point the way to the bright sun of a socialist tomorrow.

Fight for Peace

This spirit of sacrifice, of devotion to the greatest ideals of mankind, permeated the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International. Every one of us present felt deeply the great responsibilities resting upon our shoulders, the great tasks confronting us. During the very sessions of the Congress the shot of a new war was echoed throughout the world. Italian fascism had begun its war of aggression against the people of Ethiopia.

War still rages in Ethiopia. The words of our Congress on this situation thus assume today even greater significance.

Our congress emphasized the need for unifying every possible force, for utilizing every possible factor, in order to hinder and stop the war. First, it emphasized the need for the unified actions of the peace loving masses and above all of labor. If the workers guaranteed that not a single ship, not a single train, should move with material for fascist Italy, would this not stop the robber hordes of Mussolini? And in turn, would this not become an effective brake on fascist Germany and Japan—the two other main instigators of war in the world today?

Second, through the united actions of the masses it is necessary to compel the various capitalist governments to apply effective embargoes on all trade and loans to Italy.

Some people declare that such government sanctions mean world war. They say the workers should not support sanctions as this means supporting the policy of Great Britain and its imperialist interests. We say no! If the masses compel their governments to apply collective sanctions, it is not to support the interests of Great Britain or any other imperialist power, but to maintain peace. Only such pressure from the masses can keep Great Britain and the other imperialist powers from arriving at a robbers' agreement with Mussolini at the expense of the Ethiopian people and the people of the world.

Can we support the Roosevelt policy of so-called neutrality? To do so means to permit the unhindered continuation of the war against the Ethiopian people. Neutrality will not keep America out of the war. Let us remember what happened in 1917. It was this same slogan that brought us into the last war. For neutrality in the present world situation is an illusion. Is not oil, cotton and steel being shipped daily to Mussolini from

Then why support the 3rd congress of the American League against War & Fascism, which declares for neutrality? Cf. Proceedings.

American ports? Are not loans being negotiated in Wall Street? Is it not true that Wall Street has already more than \$400,000,000 in private loans alone, tied up in Italy?

What does this mean? It means that we have neutrality only in words. It means that unless the masses insist on an effective embargo on all loans and trade to Italy, the American capitalist class if only to protect its existing investments, will continue to give economic and financial aid to the Italian war machine.

Unity of the Young Generation

Basing itself on the findings of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the Young Communist International Congress realized that only the unification of the ranks of youth behind the working class could defeat growing reaction and the danger of world war. It is for this reason that the main question discussed at the Sixth Congress was the problem of the unification of the vast majority of the young generation and all progressive forces to beat back the fascist monster and its twin brother, war.

The imperative need for unity was expressed by the delegates coming from every section of the world on the basis of their own experiences. At our Congress there were present approximately three hundred delegates representing fifty-three countries. For most of these delegates the problem of attending the Congress was quite a different story than for those of us who came from the United States. Most of the delegates came from lands in which their youth organizations were illegal, where fascist or colonial terror raged. A few delegates never arrived at the Congress, even paying with their lives for their desire to participate in this historic gathering. The majority of the delegates had served long prison terms in

dungeons and concentrations camps. On their own bodies they bore evidence of their loyalty and devotion to the cause of toiling humanity.

It was the delegates from the countries of fascist terror who elaborated on the words of Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. They pointed out that in the countries of bourgeois democracy we must not underestimate the danger of fascism. They made clear as a result of their own experiences the fact that fascist rule was not merely the change of government parties in a bourgeois cabinet. It was a different form of bourgeois rule. It meant the brutal suppression of every limited right previously won by the toilers, their right to free speech, their right of assembly and the press. It meant the physical destruction of the best sons of the working class and the people. In short it meant the open terrorist dictatorship of finance capital.

Socialist Delegation at Congress

For the first time in the history of the Young Communist International, a Socialist delegation was present at the Congress. The Young Socialist League of Spain sent five fraternal delegates. They greeted the Congress, expressed their agreement with the resolutions before it and their conviction that before many months were over the Socialist and Communist youth in Spain would merge into one unified class struggle youth organization.

The delegations from a number of countries spoke of their practical experiences in establishing united action. In France, in Spain, in Austria, in Latvia, and in other countries, unity had been established with the Socialist youth and this in turn had proved of great aid for the struggle against fascism and

war. In France the unity between the young Socialists and young Communists proved to be the beginning of the creation of a broad front of the young generation, part of the mighty people's front of the French masses.

It became the task of the Young Communist International Congress to assimilate these experiences in the struggle for unity, and to work out the means by which to hasten this process. The slogan of the Congress became: *Everything to save the youth from fascism and the danger of imperialist war! Everything to win a free and happy life for the youth!*

II—UNITE THE YOUNG GENERATION

WITH this introduction, let us go over to an examination of the decisions of the Congress, why they were made, and how they can be fulfilled. In my report, because of time limitation, I cannot possibly go into all of the questions discussed at the Congress and their concrete implications for the youth of the United States. I shall concentrate on only the most important decisions—the links which must be grasped in order to understand the main line of the Congress.

These are in essence two:

First, the question of establishing the collaboration and co-operation of all non-fascist youth organizations, of all progressive youth, in behalf of a common minimum program.

1. This was referred to as the "front of the young generation". AYC

Second, the reconstruction of our Young Communist League and its unification with all other youth who stand on a working class program for socialism, into one united youth organization. This was referred to as the task of building a broad "non-party youth league".

2. Let us take the first of these questions.

The Congress made a thorough analysis of the situation of the youth in the capitalist world. It found that as a result of the general decline of capitalism and the recent years of economic crisis and depression, the vast majority of the younger generation are growing to manhood and womanhood without prospect for future security and happiness. Capitalism can no longer offer even the limited opportunities of the past, not alone to the working class youth, but to increasingly larger

sections of youth from the ranks of the farming population and the city middle classes.

The Plight of the Young Generation

Is this not the case in the United States? Is it not true that in this country approximately seven million youth are jobless and that a large portion of these have never had the opportunity to work? For the young generation of the United States, a generation which entered conscious life in the period since 1929, the old American dream of opportunity and equality is shattered. It grows to manhood and womanhood an unwanted generation, a surplus generation.

At the beginning of the crisis, the Hoover regime told the youth to continue their studies and enter the professions. But in recent years this was no longer seriously considered as a remedy by anyone. Government economy closes more and more schools, and hundreds of thousands of graduate professionals of every variety pour out of the higher institutions of learning to find themselves unwanted.

As for the Negro youth who at all times faced worse conditions, were discriminated against in every walk of life, faced lynch terror and oppression, the last four years have meant the closing of even those few opportunities for decent livelihood which existed in the past. The farm youth are being crushed by the burden of debts of their parents, by the government crop reduction program and by the arbitrary price rates established by the monopolies and banks.

The sharp contrast between the old expectations built up in the minds of American youth by past progress, by the tremendous development of productive forces, and present reality, places the question of the young generation of the United States in greater magnitude than in any other country.

The young generation knows that America is the wealthiest land in the world; it knows that its industries and natural resources can provide abundantly for all; it knows that America is not a subject nation drained of its wealth by some foreign foe; it knows that there is no sane reason why factories should stand idle, why wheat, fruit and cattle should be destroyed while people are denied the necessaries of life.

Thus old values are being destroyed. Youth are dazed by the contrast between aspirations and reality. They are groping for a solution, they are losing confidence in old institutions, old morals and old teachings. They do not yet understand the need for overthrowing the existing social order, but have increasing doubts as to whether capitalism can solve their plight, can overcome the crisis.

***For All the Rights of the Young Generation!
For Peace and Freedom!***

It is for this reason that the Young Communist International Congress called upon the youth of the world to build a front of the young generation in defense of their democratic, economic and cultural rights, for peace and freedom.

Such a front of the young generation is necessary for two reasons.

First, because the problems of the masses of youth are inter-related, in fact, inseparable, and for that reason can only be solved through common united action.

Second, because the fascists are attempting to utilize the discontent of the youth, their disillusionment in old institutions and ideals and their lack of experience, for their own reactionary ends. In Germany and in other European countries, the fascists by demagogically utilizing the plight of

youth, by shamefully appealing to their vanity, by distorting their natural love for the land of their birth into a reactionary national and racial hatred, have won large sections of the young generation for fascism and war.

The fascists speak in the name of the young generation in order to blur the class divisions in society, in order to place the younger generation in opposition to the older generation. We speak in the name of the young generation in order to win the youth for common united action in behalf of their most burning needs, in order to make them more conscious of the main division in society—the division between the wealthy and the exploited, the rich and the poor, the haves and the have-nots. We wish to make the youth conscious of the fact that at the head of all the toilers stands the working class to which all progressive forces must ally themselves in the interests not alone of the working class but of all toiling humanity.

In the United States the beginning of such a front of the young generation is to be seen in the existence for the past year and a half of the American Youth Congress. The American Youth Congress unites in its ranks not only the organizations of working class youth, but also those of the youth of the middle classes. It attempts to unite the vast majority of the young generation in defense of peace, against reaction, and for all of their most urgent needs. The Young Communist League will continue to support and help extend and broaden the American Youth Congress. It will help to make this movement the medium through which all non-fascist youth organizations and youth can collaborate in behalf of a progressive minimum program.

Collaboration of Non-Fascist Organizations

Why is it so important to establish the collaboration of all the non-fascist youth organizations of the United States? Because the experiences of Europe teach us that as the fascist menace spreads, it attempts to coordinate and convert the existing mass organizations of youth from non-fascist into fascist organizations. This happened in Germany and Italy. We must be fully aware of this danger and learn how to combat it from the very beginning in order to make impossible this same development in the United States.

First, let us become clear as to what we mean by non-fascist youth organizations. In the United States this term refers to nearly all of the large youth organizations. These organizations (the Y's, Settlement Houses and church youth organizations) although under bourgeois influence, cannot certainly be called fascist.

These organizations, for generations, have been most reliable instruments of the ruling class in influencing the growing generation. In the period of rising capitalism, it was possible for the capitalist class to maintain its influence over the youth in these organizations without directly tying them to its political parties or to the state. These organizations, each in its own way, worked to imbue the youth with the illusion of American exceptionalism, of American opportunity and equality.

In past years these illusions were of the greatest value to the capitalists in maintaining the continued allegiance of the youth to the old order of things. Today, however, these illusions are not helpful to the capitalists. They are dangerous. The youth of America were taught well the lessons of equality, of opportunity, the chance to get ahead, to make way in the world, to rise from office boy to President. Today they

insist on the right to these things; they insist on the transformation of these carefully fostered dreams and illusions into reality.

The impossibility of satisfying these demands of the youth by the capitalists has brought about the desire for change, for struggle. This desire has penetrated deeply into these organizations.

In many instances these organizations have become the centers of the discontent and ferment of the youth. The youth demand more basic explanations to their questions, organize conferences and discussions, adopt militant resolutions and programs, and, as in the case of the Methodist Youth Convention, adopt an open progressive platform.

Reactionaries Threaten Organizations With Destruction

It thus becomes necessary for the capitalists to bring these organizations once more into line, to endeavor to centralize them under one unified leadership, to replace old worn-out slogans with new ones corresponding to the new conditions. These new slogans aim to reconcile youth to a declining capitalism—to lower standards of living and mass poverty. It is expressed in the formation of the C.C.C. camps with their short but meaningful phrase: "We can take it."

It was expressed by attempts of Viola Ilma to centralize the organizations of youth behind a reactionary program. It was expressed by the attempts of the National Youth Administration to tie all large youth organizations directly to the Washington administration.

This is especially the meaning of the latest attack opened by Hearst and other reactionaries against the Methodist youth and the Y's for their participation in the student peace actions

of November 8. Mr. Hearst in a screaming eight-column editorial warns these organizations in the following words:

"These two great organizations are accustomed to appeal to the American public for aid in carrying on their religious and social welfare work.

"The American people have responded generously and genuinely to these appeals.

"But Americans will not continue to give their support to any groups who give aid and comfort to the enemies of religion and to the subverters of the republic."

These are surely the words of a man driven to desperation!

Mr. Hearst thinks he can buy off the conscience and the ideals of the members of these organizations in the same way that he buys off the conscience and the ideals of his prostitute editors. Unable to convince the young people in these organizations why they should not collaborate with the Communists in the fight for peace, Mr. Hearst tries to blackmail them into submission.

The Youth of America Will Answer Fascists

We are sure that the young people in the Methodist and Y organizations will give a fitting reply to this fascist and warmonger:

"You threaten our organizations with destruction unless we do as you say. Don't try to fool us, Mr. Hearst! We know that the exact opposite is true. To do as you say is the surest road to destruction. It is not the Communists who are our enemies—but war and fascism! By following you we will guarantee our destruction. By collaborating with the Communists we will defend ourselves and our organizations."

This is how the youth of America will answer this despicable threat of the fascist Hearst.

At the same time a drive is being conducted for the removal of all liberal and progressive elements from the leadership of these organizations. Everyone who speaks for labor, who speaks against fascism and war, is branded as a Communist and is threatened with removal. As the members and leaders of these large youth organizations resist this attempt to intimidate them, the reactionaries will endeavor to liquidate whole organizations or sections of organizations. This is how it was done in Europe. This is how they will attempt to do it in the United States.

It is for this reason that collaboration with these organizations becomes absolutely necessary in order to keep them as non-fascist organizations and in order to help them become true democratic, progressive organizations of youth, led by the youth. It is for this reason that we stand unequivocally for the complete independence of these organizations from the state or separate political parties.

We declare openly that we will defend the right of these organizations to govern themselves, and will struggle against any attempt on the part of the reactionaries to infringe in the slightest manner on the democratic rights of these organizations and their members.

At this moment an issue of great importance around which it is possible to rally all non-fascist youth and their organizations is the question of the 1936 Olympics. The people of the United States stand unalterably opposed to the holding of these games in fascist Germany. Their will must be fulfilled! The games must not be held in Hitler Germany, but must be transferred to some non-fascist land.

III—UNITED NON-PARTY YOUTH LEAGUES

NOW let us come to the second question.

Our world congress called for the establishment in all capitalist countries of broad non-party working class youth organizations uniting in their ranks Communist, Socialist and non-party youth standing on a program for socialism. Such leagues, stated the congress, should construct their work so as to answer the desires and requirements of the youth themselves. They should, in the course of organizing, fighting and studying for the vital interests of the working class and toiling youth, educate themselves on the basis of Marxism-Leninism—in the spirit of internationalism and revolutionary socialism.

Why are such leagues necessary? Because in the past years of economic crisis and depression, tens of thousands of new youth have begun to understand the class nature of present-day society and the need for a fundamental reconstruction of the entire social framework—the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a society in which production will be for use and not for profit—a socialist society.

However, these youth are not yet convinced as to how such a society is to be established. And in their endeavor to answer this question, they become confused by the division in the ranks of the working class. They see two political parties which claim to stand for socialism. They see other movements and groups speaking in the name of the masses. They do not know which camp to join, whom to support, whom to believe.

They often become discouraged at this state of affairs, lose confidence in the ability of the working class to unite and finally in the very possibility of working class victory over capitalism.

Our Young Communist League, as it has been constituted, has found it difficult to attract the largest numbers of these youth to its ranks. Our League in the United States has grown consistently in past years. It has today some ten thousand members in its ranks. It has far greater influence among the youth. But notwithstanding this headway, our League is still at best little more than a Communist Party of the youth.

It is an open secret, that during the past years we have constantly spoken of the need for broadening and enlarging our League, for making it a larger organization than the Communist Party. Some progress can be recorded in this respect. Yet, because we were based on the same structure and program as the Party, we attracted to our ranks only those youth who to one degree or another were already convinced that the Communist Party was their party—was the party with the correct program.

Why Change Is Proposed Now

Why do we propose to change the character of the Youth League now? Was it possible to decide to build a non-party youth organization in 1928 at the time of the Fifth Congress of the Young Communist International? If we study the situation now and then, we will understand why it was impossible in that period but absolutely necessary in this one. Let us take the situation in the United States.

Were the wide masses of youth moving to the Left in 1928? Were the youth in large numbers turning towards the working-

class movement, recognizing the need for the fundamental reconstruction of society? No!

In 1928, the ranks of the youth and even the working class as such were saturated with petty-bourgeois illusions. Youth still had confidence in American capitalism, believed its "prosperity" would be permanent, still believed in the old fable about American opportunity and equality.

These views found their reflection in the ideology and policies of the trade unions, in the position of the Socialist Party, and to a certain extent even in our own Party and League. Those were the days of open class collaboration on the part of the trade unions, of open reformist views on the part of the Socialists.

To have talked of a non-party league in those days would have been sheer nonsense. A non-party youth organization then, because of objective conditions, would have been forced to base itself on the youth with petty-bourgeois and reformist illusions. Such an organization would have been in time saturated with these illusions, and thus have become anti-working-class in character.

And now?

How different is the set-up today! The youth are moving to the Left; the years of economic crisis, the lessons of Germany and Austria, and the danger of war and fascism, are driving the Socialist masses and youth to an understanding of revolutionary Marxism; and last but not least, we have today a strongly developed corp of thousands of young Communists who are a guarantee that the broader league will not become victim to reformist or demagogic leadership, but will, on the contrary, educate a new generation of revolutionary fighters.

When we speak of a non-party youth organization, we do not, however, imply that this league will have no connections or relations with the Communist Party. On the contrary, we,

the young Communists, will work constantly to establish the closest fraternal relations between the league and the Communist Party. We shall endeavor to convince the members of the correctness of the program of our Party, but this, on the other hand, does not mean that the league will be a youth section of the Communist Party or under its control.

IV—ORGANIC UNITY WITH THE SOCIALIST YOUTH

IT would be folly to believe that we could have the non-Party youth organization desired, without the Socialist youth. This was recognized as a key question, and the Congress of the Young Communist International went on record for the amalgamation of the various sections of the Socialist and Communist youth organizations, and favored the creation of one united youth international.

In the past period, we in the Young Communist League of the United States have energetically striven to establish comradesly relations with the Socialist youth and their organization. These efforts have not been without success. At the Second American Youth Congress, the Socialist and Communist youth were united on nearly all questions and worked together in close harmony. Furthermore, on the student field we have worked closely together and are on the eve of the amalgamation of the two radical student organizations.

However, the national leadership of the Young Peoples Socialist League has not accepted our many offers for unity on the basis of a common agreement or pact. How can we explain this, when we know by experience that the Socialist youth understand the need for, and want to achieve, unity with the Communist youth? The primary cause for this is to be found in the sharp struggle raging inside the Socialist Party. *The "Old Guard" of that Party, reactionary to the core, is the most bitter opponent of class struggle policies and of the united front.*

The vast bulk of the leadership and membership of the Socialist youth basically opposes the "Old Guard", but the organization as a whole has not had the courage to make a decisive break with these open Right elements. It tends instead to vacillate and to give in to the Right wing on important questions of principle such as the united front.

This situation has resulted in demoralization within the ranks of the Socialist youth and a continuous decline in membership for the past two years. We ask the Socialist youth: how can such a decline be explained in a period when new masses of youth are entering the struggle, are becoming class conscious, and when the Young Communist League is growing? This in the main can be explained because the Young Peoples Socialist League does not stand on a firm class policy, based on the united front.

While criticising this basic error of our Socialist comrades, we must also say a few words about our own errors which have made more difficult the unification of the Socialist and Communist youth forces. Often, our comrades transfer their justified hatred of the Oneals and Cahans, in an unjustified manner, to the Socialist youth and their leadership. They do not see the fact that in the United States the Socialist youth organization does not have a bureaucracy in the sense of the one that exists in the Socialist Party. There may be reactionary individuals, but, as a whole, the members and cadres of the Socialist youth entered the movement in the last years of economic crisis, and to a certain extent reflect the growing militancy and class consciousness of the youth.

Were this understood by all sections of our League, we are quite confident that much greater headway could have been made in establishing unity between our two organizations.

This is especially true of New York where the members of the Y.P.S.L. are greatly embittered against the "Old Guard".

Organic Unity Necessary and Possible

The question of establishing organic unity between our two leagues becomes a question of practical significance for us in the United States, precisely because the Socialist youth are breaking from the influence of the Right wing, are accepting the principles of class struggle.

We ask: *Why cannot our two organizations amalgamate—merge into one unified organization? Would not such a merger create tremendous enthusiasm among tens of thousands of youth who want to struggle for socialism, but who feel discouraged because of the split which exists in the ranks of the class conscious youth? We are confident that it would.*

Is it necessary for our youth organizations to remain separated until organic unity is established between the Socialist and Communist Parties? We think not, because a youth organization is not a political party. It should be a broader organization. Such an organization should be independent of either the Communist or Socialist Parties, although within its ranks there could and undoubtedly would be individual supporters of both parties. We Communist youth would continue to support our Party. The Socialist youth could continue to support their party. At the same time, the organization as such could democratically work out its official relations with both Parties.

Such an organization would be greatly different from either of our present leagues. Both of our organizations are in essence small and sectarian despite the fact that the Y.C.L. is considerably larger and stronger than the Y.P.S.L. Organic unity could mean the broadening out of all our forms and

methods of work, so as to apply to the growing needs of the moment, to the growing desire of the youth for unity and struggle.

To those youth who remain skeptical as to the possibility of organic unity, we answer that we shall in the course of daily work prove not only its feasibility, but its necessity. We shall energetically work for the completion of the amalgamation in the student field. When that is accomplished, we shall tirelessly work to help build this united student organization, to work harmoniously with the Socialist youth within it and thus give a decisive answer to those who doubt our sincerity.

Furthermore, we state that even without a written pact between our two leagues, we shall work to develop comradesly relations with the Socialist youth and their organization in every field of work. We shall support every demand or proposal put forth by the Socialist youth, which corresponds with the interests of the masses. We shall decisively prove that our desire for unity flows from our deep understanding that only the healing of the break in the ranks of the working class can defeat fascism, can lead to the final victory of the social revolution.

V. IMMEDIATE STEPS IN BROADENING THE LEAGUE

WHILE we shall work patiently and consistently to establish organic unity, we shall not wait until this is accomplished before we take practical measures to broaden our League and change its character.

This task cannot wait and should be begun at once. How are we to proceed along this line?

First, we should gradually broaden the structure and life of our present units so that they correspond more to the needs of the youth. Instead of small units of five and ten members, these should be broadened wherever possible into branches or units consisting of as many as fifty or more youth. For only in such larger groups can youth develop the necessary educational, cultural and social life. Youth like to mingle with other youth and we should not endeavor to restrict them to small isolated groups.

Our League should admit into its ranks any youth who want to learn and work for a socialist society, who sincerely show their desire to build the organization. These should be admitted even if they are not Communists or have certain disagreements with Communism.

This, of course, means that we should further develop the democratic character of our League. The membership should have the right to determine the nature and character of the work of their branch and of the organization as a whole. The education of the membership should be carried out by methods

of conviction and example—not by compulsion. The demands on the individual members of the organization, and particularly on new members, should correspond to the mass character of the youth organization and not be the same as those applied to Party members.

Of course, in the period of the last years we have trained thousands of our League members in the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Communist Party. They are ready to work as disciplined Communists. Is this bad? Do we intend to ask them to give this up? Of course not! It is precisely these convinced Communists who must work among the non-party youth in such a way as to educate them and raise high the authority of our Party. From these youth we shall not ask less, but more, discipline. But it shall not be the discipline of the youth league, but the higher discipline of the Communist Party.

Three Channels to United League

We know, however, that there will be many youth who will say: the idea of a non-party youth organization is good. We would gladly join and build such an organization. But what guarantees have we that you really mean what you say—that this is not some trick to get us into a Communist organization under false pretenses?

To these youth we answer: we understand your fears. For that reason if you are not ready to join the branches or units of the Young Communist League, we encourage you to get your friends together and organize a club of your own. Build your club on a working class program, utilize it to educate and train the youth in the class struggle, and we shall encourage and support you.

In neighborhoods and shops where youth are not ready to join the Y.C.L., we should help them build clubs and organizations in accordance with their own desires on a working class program. Where such clubs can immediately assume mass proportions, the Y.C.L. unit can work within it to build it up, to educate its membership, and gradually to make the club into the organizational expression of the new form of youth league in that territory or factory.

If throughout the country we can broaden and enlarge our Y.C.L., if around our Y.C.L. we can build hundreds of youth clubs and organizations of a non-party character, if at the same time we can improve our relations with the young Socialists and gradually convince them of the need for organic unity, then, in the near future, these three channels will merge into one mighty stream. We will then in each locality and later on a regional and national scale proceed to bring these working class youth organizations together into one organization based on a program for socialism.

This is how we conceive of the establishment of this non-party youth league.

A Warning

I want to take this opportunity to strongly warn against any attempts to work out a blue-print for this process of transformation. First, because these changes will be impossible without the collective help of thousands of youth. This means first of all *your* help. We want every member and sympathizer of our League to become an active worker for this line. This means we do not want a formal acceptance of what has been said here. That will never do. We want a real live discussion to penetrate our League and the ranks of youth around it.

We want every doubt, every question, to be aired in the open. We do not want any members to accept the proposals as a matter of duty. Their first duty is to understand the proposals, otherwise they will never be able to apply them. So confident are we of the strength of our position, that we do not fear criticism and know that through it our line will emerge all the stronger.

In order to help develop this discussion, the meeting tonight is only a beginning. We are opening the columns of the *Young Worker* to any youth, regardless of whether he is a Young Communist Leaguer or not, who cares to make a serious contribution on the Sixth World Congress decisions. We promise to print all articles if they are serious, short and concise. Of course, we also take for ourselves the right to criticize any points we may disagree with.

I was lucky enough to be present in the Soviet Union during the rise of a new popular movement called the Stakhanov movement. Stakhanov is a miner in the Don Basin who so mastered the technique of using the pneumatic drill, that by a redivision in the process of labor in his section of the mine, was able to increase his production by five and six times. His story was told throughout the length and breadth of the land. The movement spread like wildfire and today there are thousands of Stakhanovs who often over the heads of their old-fashioned engineers and officials carry through Stalin's slogan "master technique".

We Need American Stakhanovs

Why am I telling you about the Stakhanov movement? Because, it seems to me that this is what we need in our League. We need initiative from below, we need new ideas.

new forms of work, new types of organizers and leaders. In other words, we need Stakhanovs in our youth movement who will begin to build as we have never built before. I have confidence that through the widest discussion, through the utilization of all sorts of new forms, thousands of young organizers and leaders we have not seen before will spring forward. These are the people around whom the change must be made. Are you going to be one of them?

And because we propose to broaden our League, there are some people who are afraid this means liquidation. Allay your fears, comrades. We are going to liquidate nothing—but our shortcomings. And who can have reasonable objection to that? We propose to work so well that by January, 1937, we want a youth league in this country with a minimum of 50,000 members. It can and will be done!

Calamity-Janes

There are others who are typical calamity-janes. All they see are the dangers in trying something new. They remind me of the girl who was afraid to get married because she'd never married before. Of course, there are difficulties. But we cannot fear difficulties, we must overcome them—that is why we are revolutionists. There are dangers in everything, but the greatest danger at the moment is to keep our League a small narrow organization, to continue to keep the ranks of the class-conscious youth divided, and to fail to take the opportunity of drawing tens of thousands of new youth into the class struggle.

Then there are some people outside our ranks who fear for our Communist purity. For years they have fought our Party and League. For years they have fought Leninism. Now sud-



MARIA DEMCHENKO

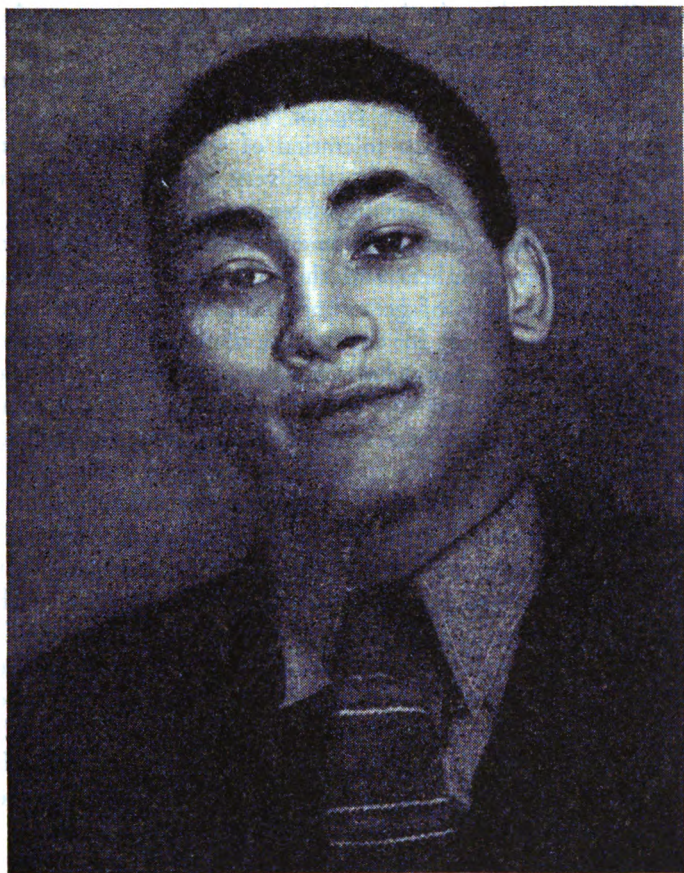
young collective farmer in the Soviet Union and a Stakhanovite. She has been awarded the Order of Lenin and has received the thanks of the Government for showing her initiative in organizing competition for a record harvest of sugar beets.

denly they become its so-called defenders. Thank you, kind sirs, we need not your defense. Leninism has become too much a part of our flesh and blood to be given up. No! The trouble is that you never understood Leninism and don't understand it now. Lenin never taught us to remain sects. He always taught us to find the path to the masses, not fearing to utilize new tactics under new conditions. He never tired repeating that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action.

*Leadership of Struggles and Work Among Factory,
Union and Negro Youth*

Some people have already asked the question: does this change imply the weakening of our work in the shops, trade unions, among the unemployed youth, the Negro youth and mass organizations? Not at all. First of all, because those of us who are Communists shall continue to work as Communists, shall improve our work in these places and furthermore shall constantly work in the youth leagues to educate the other youth as to the need for following our example. However, this basic work will improve not by using methods of compulsion, but through our ability to educate and convince the membership of its importance.

Improved work in the shops and trade unions is absolutely necessary if we are to unite the working youth in the elementary organizations of their class—the trade unions. We shall encourage a wide campaign for the organization of the unorganized young workers, and shall give active support to those unions which attempt this. We shall conduct mass education among the youth as to the importance of trade union organization and help them formulate their own economic demands



ANGELO HERNDON

whom the united front has freed temporarily from a sentence of 20 years on the chain gang in Georgia. For leading a relief demonstration of unemployed Negro and white workers he was arrested and charged with insurrection.

as well as train them for leadership of the economic struggles and in the trade unions.

This line also implies a further development and extension of our struggle for Negro rights. The broadening of our League will not mean the toleration of white chauvinism in our ranks. On the contrary, this very broadening of the League makes necessary an improvement in our struggle for Negro rights, and the development of extensive education among our own members and the masses of youth on the Negro question. It is of great importance at the moment to intensify the movement for the defense of the nine Scottsboro boys, and for that young American hero and member of the National Committee of the Young Communist League, Angelo Herndon. We shall not rest a single day until our Angelo Herndon is free again.

Some comrades also ask the question: does this mean that we shall no longer take part in struggle? Of course, we shall and to a far greater extent than today. It is inconceivable that we should attempt to go about the task of educating the youth in a Marxist-Leninist spirit without struggle. The League will engage actively in all the struggles of the working class. The only modification we are introducing in this respect is that the League shall not be an organization which lives by bare politics, by pure struggle. It must also react to the educational, social and cultural requirements of the youth in order all the better to draw them into the struggle.

VI—GENERATION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH

IT is impossible to discuss the questions of policy for the youth of America without describing the remarkable advances made by the youth of the Soviet Union in the construction of socialism. It is these changes, these advances which hearten us and steel us for the mighty work that confronts us in the United States.

Only a few days ago all the newspapers were full of accounts of how the department stores of Moscow were literally besieged by workers buying food, clothes, books and other articles. The factories are beginning to pour out a steady supply of everything that the Soviet workers and farmers need. Wages are rising, hours are being shortened. Life is beautiful and joyous to the Soviet worker!

What a contrast with newspaper stories which appeared a few days later to the effect that thousands of workers had their clothes torn and bodies bruised and trampled as they stormed the W.P.A. offices in New York to get their relief and food orders.

Life in the Soviet Union is joyous and beautiful! Advances are being made in every field. In the last few years, the Soviet government built more schools than all the eighteen tsars and tsaristas were able to establish in three centuries of the Romanov dynasty. Today, it occupies first place in the entire world for the development of higher and secondary education! And what is even more outstanding is the fact that every student who leaves school finds work! There are jobs waiting for all of them in industry, agriculture and the professions. And still

more remarkable is the fact that on all these jobs wages are steadily rising so that the young worker can really taste to the full the fruits of socialist construction.

A New Type of Man

A new generation is growing up in the Soviet Union, a generation which has never known capitalism, never known exploitation, never known a boss or a strikebreaker or a scab or a picket line. This new generation is already the advance scout of a new type of a man, a socialist man!

It is impossible here to go into a detailed account of the changes which have taken place among the youth of the Soviet Union, especially in the last period of the final and irrevocable victory of socialism. I would merely like to read a section of the remarkable report made by Comrade Chemodanov to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International:

And what a splendid generation of really new people is arising from our children. You need but talk to them and you see that they think, live and create in a new manner. The so-called "eternal truths" of bourgeois morals seem incomprehensible and savage to their minds. Many of the things which seem to be the most splendid dream for a child growing up in a capitalist country are alien to them.

I will illustrate this by two interesting examples. Our well-known children's writer, Comrade Marshak, had a talk with the children in the Pioneer Camps near Leningrad on the question of the future, and among many other things, he recounts the following:

"I asked the children, what do you want to become when you grow up?"

"'An airman!' 'An engineer!' 'An agricultural specialist like Michurin! I want to grow apples on birch trees!'

"And which of you would like to be, let us say, a factory owner or landlord? I asked to draw them out.

"The children were astonished.

"'But that is not interesting!' said one.

"'A fine occupation that—to exploit people!' said another.

"'And on top of that, the workers would rebel against you!' said a third.

"No one took the question seriously. The talk went further about the future and socialism, conceptions which are equivalent for our children."

The Story of the Invisible Man

Most of you have probably read H. G. Well's book *The Invisible Man*. Not long ago there was a film shown in America with the same name taken from this book. It was shown in nearly every country in Europe.

In a school in the Polish town of Vilna, one of the teachers, under the fresh impression of this film, sent round a questionnaire among the scholars, to which they need not sign their names, containing the question, "What would you do if you were invisible?" He sent an article to the teachers' magazine *Sprov Nauchtelska* giving the results.

Here are some characteristic replies from the Polish children.

"I would go into a bakery where there are many pastries, biscuits and other dainties."

"I would get into a bank and break open the safe."

"I would steal a certificate from the director and get a job as an official."

"Send out all the Jews, Russians and Ukranians so that Poland would be only for the Poles."

And among the mass of such replies from the hungry and

despairing children, there were individual passionate voices which said: "I would slice up all the bourgeoisie." "I would give out money to the unemployed."

The Soviet writer, Tatiana Tess, decided to send around a similar questionnaire among our children in the Soviet Union. She chose the Pioneer camp of the Elektrizovod factory of Moscow for her experiment.

Soviet Children Reply

She obtained one hundred replies. The replies were most varied but they were characterized in the main by the desire to utilize this possibility for acting and creating. There was not a word about riches, about money, about dainties.

Twenty of them wrote:

"If I were invisible I would set Comrade Thaelmann free."

Ten of them wanted to get secretly into Levanevsky's airplane and fly across the North Pole to San Francisco.

Here are other replies:

"I would go through all the prisons and tell the political prisoners what is happening in their country and in the Soviet Union."

"I would help the German Pioneers."

"I would go into the Chinese Red Army."

"I would get on the biggest steamer and travel around the whole world."

"If I were invisible, the challenge banner would undoubtedly be in our detachment."

"I would travel through all countries and study the life of various nations and animals."

And only three wanted to use this possibility to go into the pictures or the skating rink without paying.

This is only one little bit, one drop of the many-sided creative life which our children, this wonderful growth of October, are living.

Mighty and invincible is the country which has brought up such children. Happy are the children who grow up in our splendid country!

There is very little that I can add to this picture of the world-shaking change which has taken place in the new generation of Socialist children now growing up in the Soviet Union, the land where the workers and farmers rule, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Stalin.

Revolutionary and Democratic Traditions of American Youth

Our young generation in the United States faces profound problems, problems such as confronted no generation of the past. And in the solution of these problems, in our struggle against the tyranny and oppression of this new age, we draw upon the rich revolutionary and democratic traditions of the people of our country.

Have not the youth of America a right to be proud of the honorable place which their people hold in the forward movement of mankind? Who else can lay claim to the heritage of those great revolutionaries of 1776? Upon whose shoulders should the mantle fall of Thomas Jefferson, John Hancock, Crispus Attucks, Thomas Paine and Samuel Adams?

The spirit of '76 which braved the harrowing misery of Valley Forge, which stood unmoved at Bunker Hill, at Concord and Lexington—this is the spirit of the American youth! No one else can claim it!

When the American people in 1860 stood at the threshold of a new era, they did not fail to produce the new giants of the day, the new heroic exploits which will be remembered for

all time. To whom else does that great man of the common people—Abraham Lincoln—belong? To whom else belong those undaunted fighters for Negro liberation—Nat Turner, John Brown, Lloyd Garrison? To whom else was that sea of blood at Gettysburg consecrated? Not to the Hearsts, not to the Rockefellers, not to the Morgans, but to the youth of America!

To them also belong the heritage of 1886; the heritage of the Molly Maguires and of the great steel strike; the heritage of all those martyrs for labor's cause—the Parsons, the Spies, the Eugene Debs, the Saccos and Vanzettis!

It is with a genuine and honest love for everything that is progressive that the American youth have a right to be proud of their American ingenuity, their American practicality, their American inventiveness—those traits of our people which reared the tallest buildings, which spanned the deepest rivers, which tilled the wildest soil, achievements which are spoiled and destroyed by decaying capitalism.

No one can destroy or take from us the age-long dream of our people for a country of freedom and equality, of peace and prosperity. This dream, brutally trampled upon by the modern bourbons, the Tories of the twentieth century, becomes our dream. We pledge to realize it!

Inspired by the Russian revolution and the mighty achievements of socialist construction, guided by the Communist International, basing ourselves on the resolutions of the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International, we pledge to work to unite the young generation in the struggle against war and fascism, against the exploitation of man by man, for a new social order—a socialist society.

THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT OF THE YOUTH

Resolution Adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International on the Report of Wolf Michal.

THE life of the young generation of toilers in the capitalist countries *has lately deteriorated to an unheard of degree, and it still continues to worsen.* The overwhelming majority of youth are now a ruthlessly oppressed and *exploited generation.*

What characterizes at the present time the life of the large sections of the toiling youth?

Mass unemployment, an ever growing number of youth who have never worked, and who generally have never had an opportunity to learn a trade, fierce exploitation of those employed in industry, impoverishment of the rural youth, denial of the political rights to the youth, and their right to a cultured life, sharply curtailed possibilities of securing a general or a special education, loss of any prospects, destruction of the normal healthy life of the youth, spreading vagrancy, prostitution and begging.

The fascist system of forced labor and militarization is being ever more widely applied in the capitalist countries. Fascism is brutally annihilating the best elements of the revolutionary youth, and at the same time trying to utilize for its own reactionary ends the profoundly growing dissatisfaction of the toiling youth with the present conditions of life, and their growing urge for militant action. Inciting the youth

of one nationality against those of another, fascism fans chauvinism and is trying to inculcate its mad "race theory" into the minds of the youth.

Relying on the fascists and other reactionary parties, the big bourgeoisie are seeking to convert the young generation into an *obedient tool of their class, imperialist policies.*

? ?
Capitalism?

Fascism means war. It menaces the independence of the weak nations (the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia), intensifies imperialist oppression in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and directs its military provocations (German fascism) especially against the Soviet Union. *Fascism is preparing another monstrous catastrophe, which brings death to millions of the youth.*

At the same time, however, there is a growing youth movement against fascism, imperialist war, and capitalist exploitation. Ever larger sections of the youth belonging to the various organizations, regardless of nationality or religious belief, are anxiously *seeking a way to improve their life, are beginning to defend their rights, and are entering the struggle for their interests—for freedom and for peace.*

The forces of the youth, however, are scattered, and consequently their fight does not lead to decisive success. All experience shows that the youth cannot successfully defend their interests *without uniting their forces on the side of the working class and the entire toiling population to fight the common enemy, fascism and imperialism.*

I. The Necessity for a Change in the Character of the Youth Leagues

1. *The cause of the toiling youth imperatively demands their unification in genuine class, non-party youth organiza-*

tions, consisting not only of Communist, but also Socialist, and non-party, national revolutionary, pacifist, religious, and other sections of the youth, organizations which would, through their daily attention towards economic, political and cultural interests and rights of the toiling youth, educate their members in the spirit of the class struggle, proletarian internationalism, Marxism-Leninism.

The creation of such genuine mass youth organizations of a new type requires a radical reorganization of the Young Communist Leagues, and a complete abandonment of any form of sectarian copying of the Parties.

All the vital interests of the younger generation of toilers, the most diversified, healthy requirements of the youth, and not abstract politics, should determine the substance and the life of the youth organizations. The work of these organizations should be adapted entirely to the desires and requirements of the youth themselves, so that while learning, organizing and fighting for the vital interests of the toiling classes, the youth would become educated in the spirit of the fight for freedom, for socialism, against reaction, against fascism, against imperialist war.

2. The doors of these youth organizations must be wide open for the entire working class youth, for the young peasants, the students and other youth who sincerely and loyally wish to participate in their work.

All the work of these organizations should be built on the *basis of wide democracy*. The members of the organizations should have full power to decide in a democratic way the tasks, the forms of work, and the character of their organizations; they should be given guidance by means of example and conviction, and not by orders from above. The demands advanced by the leaders to the rank-and-file members, espe-

cially to new ones, both as regards work and discipline, should be adapted to the mass character of the youth organizations, and should not be the same as the demands advanced to members of some sect. The high demands which are usually put to Party members should not be exacted from the members of a youth organization.

Independence and the non-party character of the youth organizations do not exclude the establishment of permanent contact of these organizations with the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Parties. On the contrary, it is in the interests of the toilers that this be done. The Congress deems it an exceedingly important task to convince all members of that, and also of the necessity of the youth international being associated with the Communist International.

3. The organizational forms of the Youth Leagues cannot be the same for all countries, all regions or cities. They must always coincide with the concrete conditions and specific tasks of the youth movement. The most essential form of organization of the youth leagues are all kinds of clubs and circles satisfying the cultural, economic, professional and political interests of the youth, and also local societies, courses, residential groups, groups of unemployed, rural youth, girls, students, etc.

II. For Unity of the Working Class Youth.

1. In seeking to rally all the toiling youth, the Congress considers *efforts to bring about organic unity with the Young Socialist Leagues to be the primary task of the Young Communist Leagues.*

This unity is justified by the fact that the Socialist youth

also occupy an anti-fascist position and are equally interested in improving the life of the youth, in freedom, in peace, and in striving towards socialism.

There is not the slightest justification for a continuation of the division in the ranks of the working class youth. The uniting of these two Leagues, which at the present time are, in most countries, small organizations, isolated from the masses, will not only double their membership, but will render them an extremely powerful force of attraction for the broad masses of the toiling youth.

2. The chief hindrance to the direct unity of the organizations of the Communist and Socialist youth comes from the leaders of most parties of the Socialist International who act as guardians to the Socialist youth movement, and who, basing themselves on a certain section of the leading functionaries of the Socialist youth, try to fetter any free initiative of their members in the matter of unity.

In order to clear the path to this unity, the Y.C.L. organizations must exert every effort to establish fraternal relations with the organizations of the Socialist youth and work especially for bringing about the united front of the youth in practice.

The Young Communist Leagues and the Young Socialist organizations of France, Spain and Austria showed by their joint activity that the united front is not only necessary, but possible. They have smashed forever the slanderous charges made by the enemies of the united front to the effect that unity of action is a "maneuver" directed against the Socialist organizations. *The united front is the chief weapon for repulsing the fascist offensive.*

The Congress recommends all organizations affiliated to the Y.C.I. to seek united front agreements with the Socialist youth

in defense of the interests of the toiling youth, working out jointly with their organizations the basis and plan of joint action on a local and national scale, on separate questions as well as on the basis of common platforms. This is the best method of hastening and ensuring the unification of the youth.

In all cases it is necessary to make a most careful study and to take stock of the concrete conditions and practical occasions for joint struggle, and also the sentiments of the members of the Socialist organizations. In places where the Socialist Youth Leagues put forward demands or organize activity corresponding to the interests of the toiling youth, the members of our organizations must give them active support and do everything to secure the granting of their demands.

It is also necessary together with the Socialist youth to appeal to the Socialist and Communist members of Parliament and to present demands to Social-Democratic ministers (wherever such are in office) for the passing of laws and decrees to improve the situation of the youth.

3. While widely developing the united front movement, it is necessary, in the interests of the common fighting, to bring about constant cooperation between the two Leagues through the creation of joint associations. Taking as a starting point the experience of the "coordination committees" in France, and the "alliance committees" in Spain, it is necessary to set up various anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues.

When such associations are formed, the Leagues remain independent and may maintain their connections with their respective parties and Internationals.

4. In a number of countries, such as France, Spain, Aus-

tria, Latvia, and some others, the practical prerequisites for uniting the two Leagues into a single organization already exist.

A necessary condition for the formation and development of united organizations is the full democratic right of the members themselves to settle the question of the basis of unity (the platform of further struggle against capitalist exploitation, fascism, imperialist war, for the vital interests of the youth) as well as the connections of the united Leagues with the parties and the question of adherence to an International.

The Young Communist International will give the most practical help to bring about the formation of united Leagues of the toiling youth in any country. At the same time the Young Communist International announces its firm determination to fight for the unification of the revolutionary youth throughout the world, for the formation of a single Youth International.

III. Unity of the Force of the Entire Generation of Young Toilers

1. The distressed situation of the vast majority of the young generation and the increasing urge to struggle for their interests raise as *an urgent task the uniting of the forces of all the non-fascist youth organizations in a joint struggle for freedom, peace, and the rights of the younger generation.*

The Sections of the Young Communist International in France and the U.S.A. have understood the tremendous importance of this task. This is shown by their active participation in the wide united front movement of the youth which is taking place in these countries. The success of the movement in these countries only became possible thanks to the fact that

the youth from the most varied mass organizations were drawn into the discussion and elaboration of a common platform of cooperation.

There is no doubt that there exist also in many other countries extensive possibilities for the development of such a movement of the younger generation. However, in some countries (Canada, Great Britain and Switzerland), the Sections of the Young Communist International have taken only the first steps in this direction, while in the majority of countries even this has not yet been done. In many countries, the members of our Leagues do not understand the problems arising before the younger generation and have in general adopted a narrowly sectarian approach to the young people in the youth organizations formed by the bourgeoisie, simply regarding these organizations and their members as opponents. In some cases, our Leagues have tried to force upon the broad masses of the youth and their organizations a stereotyped, ready-made platform, prepared without consultation with the youth of other organizations.

2. "The Young Communist League must strive in every way to unite the forces of all the non-fascist mass youth organizations to the point of forming various kinds of joint organizations for the fight against fascism, against the unparalleled oppression and militarization of the youth, for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, for drawing these young workers to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they are to be found—in the factories, the forced labor camps, the labor exchanges, the barracks, the navy, in schools, various sport, cultural and other organizations." (Dimitroff.)

While working with all energy and initiative to carry out this extremely important task, it should be firmly remembered

that the platform and also the forms and methods of cooperation must be worked out in the most democratic manner, taking into consideration the cultural and political level, especially the questions of the youth of the given country, and the burning questions which interest various sections of the youth. Special attention should be paid in this connection to work among the peasant youth and the students.

In the fight for the uniting of the youth against reaction and fascism, it is essential for all members of the Leagues to eliminate completely sectarian methods of approach to the broad sections of the youth. It is undoubtedly necessary that they should learn to speak in the vivid language of youth, and once and for all to give up repeating stock phrases.

It is particularly important in the ideological fight against fascism to take into account the revolutionary and democratic traditions of one's own people, not in the slightest degree adopting a contemptuous attitude to the national feelings of the youth, but at the same time fighting tirelessly against chauvinism, and working to educate the youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Having in view the democratic traditions, it is essential to protect all democratic rights against fascism, and to fight against any oppressive measures against the youth, and for their economic, cultural and democratic rights.

In every place where fascist demagogues put forward slogans and promises which correspond to the feelings and demands of the toiling youth, we must propose without hesitation that the youth *should insist on these promises being immediately carried out and must begin an independent mass struggle to bring them into practice.*

4. The Congress states that the *Young Communist International will give every possible support to the youth move-*

ment against fascism and war in any country. The Y.C.I. will also give active support to the movement directed towards the organization of a world meet and the establishment of constant international collaboration among progressive youth.

IV. The Tasks of the Mass Youth Movement in Fascist Countries

1. The Congress sets before all the revolutionary organizations of the youth which are fighting in fascist countries the task of passing from the system of small circles and general agitation to direct legal and semi-legal mass activity. It is not correct to imagine that there are no legal possibilities in countries with a fascist dictatorship for the development of a mass movement of struggle for the vital interests of the youth.

Vast numbers of the youth in these countries have voluntarily or by compulsion been brought into the fascist mass youth organizations. It is possible and necessary within these organizations to develop the wide independent activity of the youth. A significant part of these youth still believe in the false ideals given them by fascism and in the fascist leaders. But on the other hand, the bitter reality of their lives and the fact that their needs and demands are not being satisfied give rise to discontent and activity which is not yet directed against the fascist regime, but is primarily in defense of their direct interests and requirements.

Our task is not to issue abstract appeals for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, but to be able to defend the day-to-day demands and needs of the youth, to support and unite them on this basis, utilizing all legal and semi-legal possibilities and subordinating the work of the illegal organizations to this task. It is essential for the youth themselves to be roused

to stubbornly demand the fulfilment of the promises which fascism gave them so that they will in this way be led to a real fight against fascism.

2. All the mass forms and measures of fascist work among the youth must be made use of with the aim of rallying the forces of the youth to the struggle for their interests, and this makes it necessary *to begin suitable forms of work in all the fascist youth mass organizations and also in the trade unions*, in every way supporting and encouraging opposition sentiment among the members of these organizations, seeking to isolate the conscious agents of fascism.

Wherever there is oppositional sentiment in democratic, liberal and radical youth circles and groups, as in Poland, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Austria, etc., it is necessary to work for the establishment of youth organizations absolutely independent of fascism, and for united action with them.

Wherever fascism prohibits and suppresses the non-fascist youth organizations, our first task is to give friendly support to their struggle, for the freedom and independence of their organizations. It is at the same time necessary to work together with them for the amalgamation of all forces of the youth.

V. The Tasks of the Youth in the Trade Union Movement

The Congress of the Young Communist International notes with alarm that only an insignificant section of the working youth are organized in trade unions and that the rising young generation of toilers is not being educated and steeled in the ranks of the trade union movement, in the spirit of militant class solidarity and devotion to the cause of the working class.

Yet the fight for the economic and cultural interests of the youth, and also the fight against the spreading of fascist influence among the youth, cannot be successful without the aid of the trade unions. This is precisely why it is necessary to work for the organization of all young workers in the trade unions, and the arrangement of diverse forms of work among the large sections of the youth inside the trade unions.

The Congress calls upon all young workers who support the Young Communist International to join the unions, to take active part in the work and to fight for trade union unity, to win by their good work the respect of their fellow trade union members. Considering the fact to be important that in some countries, as in Austria and Belgium, for example, some unions have begun to organize the young workers, the Congress urgently recommends to all Sections of the Young Communist International actively to support any propaganda and organizational steps not only of the Red, but also of the Amsterdam and other unions, to recruit the young workers.

It is exceedingly important to work with the trade unions for gaining work, and for social insurance, for the young unemployed. It is essential to work for concrete aid for the unemployed youth and especially for the girls, by organizing all kinds of vocational courses, lodgings, night shelters, special workshops, and clubs for girls. Work among the youth in the various kinds of labor camps is of particular importance at the present time.

VI. The Tasks of the United Front in the Sport Movement

The Congress emphasizes the importance of developing a sport movement of the youth, independent of the bourgeois state, and calls upon the Sections of the Young Communist

International to cooperate actively in the unification of the worker sports organizations in every country, and in bringing about international unity of the workers' sport movement. However, it should be borne in mind that the workers' sport movement in most countries, even the united organizations, have in their ranks only a minority of the young toiling sportsmen. It is therefore necessary to take active part in bringing about cooperation and even an amalgamation of all sports organizations in which large numbers of young toilers are to be found.

While participating in the mass sports organizations in fascist countries it is necessary to fight against chauvinist and military propaganda of the fascists among the athletes. The fight of the masses of sportsmen for their immediate demands should be assisted and given leadership.

One of the most important immediate tasks in cooperating with the large masses of young athletes is to carry on a joint fight against carrying out the Olympic games in fascist Germany.

VII. Participation of the Youth in the Anti-Imperialist People's Front

A most important and immediate task in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the formation of a powerful youth movement on the basis of combating illiteracy among the younger generation, for the freedom of national culture, for healthier and better conditions of life and work, for democratic rights and liberties against oppression, slavery and exploitation.

With this in view the organizations affiliated to the Y.C.I. must establish closer relations with all mass youth organiza-

tions, especially with the national revolutionary and national reformist organizations. Cooperating with these and other mass youth organizations, allowing for the differences existing between the diverse strata of the youth in the various districts of one and the same country, it is necessary to create various types of rural, Indian, Negro, student, women's, cultural, athletic and other youth organizations for the sake of an amalgamation of the forces of the younger generation on the basis of a wide platform of struggle in the interests of the toiling youth, and also to broaden and unite such organizations wherever they are to be found.

Another Kuomintang

The task of drawing the youth into the anti-imperialist people's front demands that work be commenced on the establishment of a new type of mass youth organization of a national liberation character which would include the widest possible strata of the youth and the national revolutionary and national reformist organizations, in place of the narrow political groups isolated from the basic masses. These organizations should carry on activity not only in the cities, but where the basic masses of the rural youth are. They must organize their work so as to satisfy all the essential requirements and demands of the youth and educate them in the spirit of revolutionary hatred for the imperialist oppressors, in the spirit of devotion to the cause of emancipation of their own people from any form of exploitation and slavery.

The most important task in China is to create a mass movement of the entire youth and their organizations to fight for better living conditions for the toiling youth, for a higher cultural level, for democratic freedom, and in order to secure greater active participation of the youth in the fight of the people to save the country from the imperialist invaders.

VIII. *Against Fascism, for Socialism, for a Free and Happy Life of the Toiling Youth*

The Congress of the Young Communist International greets with pride and joy the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets. A happy socialist future is wide open before the youth of the Soviet Union. At the bottom of their education lies Stalin's great solicitude for the human being.

Under the wise leadership of Stalin, the great teacher and best friend of the young toilers of the world, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the youth of the Soviet Union are marching from victory to victory in the struggle for the building of a classless, socialist society, which knows no exploitation of man by man.

The Land of Soviets, carrying into life the revolutionary tenets of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, has become an invincible stronghold of the international proletariat in the fight for freedom and peace.

It is the task of the youth Leagues widely to popularize the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to rally the youth to the support of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., and to its defense against world imperialism.

Fascism is preparing an attack on the land of peace and labor, and brings the greatest menace to the toilers of all countries. However, notwithstanding the painful difficulties and hard living conditions in the fascist countries, as in all capitalist countries, the forces are growing which shatter the domination of the bourgeoisie. "The relation of class forces on a world scale is steadily changing in favor of the growing forces of the revolution." (From the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.)

The following words uttered by the fearless fighter of fascism, Comrade Dimitroff, should guide the struggle of the whole revolutionary youth:

“We want to find a *common language* with the broad masses in order to fight against the class enemy, to find the path by which we can finally end the *isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses of the proletariat and all the toilers, and by which we can put an end to the fatal isolation of the working class itself from its natural allies in the fight against the bourgeoisie, against fascism.”

Our path was shown us by Lenin and Stalin.

Our path was pointed out by the helmsman of the Communist International, Dimitroff. It is a path of consolidation and organization on the basis of a wide united front of all forces of the young generation of toilers.

We consecrate all our forces to the salvation of the youth from fascism and the danger of imperialist war, and to the fight for a free, joyful, and happy life of the youth.

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