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THE
**International
of Youth**

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



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Conference of European Sections of the Y.C.I.

IN connection with the events in China and the war in Morocco and with the preparation for a blockade and war against the U.S.S.R. by the imperialists and also in connection with a number of questions of the International Youth Movement, the Executive Committee of the Y.C.I. decided in the middle of June to convene a conference of the European Young Communist Leagues in Berlin.

The conference was fixed for July 20th, but began on July 21st, and sat for two days. In addition to a number of members of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., representatives of the following sections attended the conference.

Y.C.L. of Germany, Great Britain, France, Russia, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Poland, Balkan Federation and Scandinavian Federation.

The conference dealt with the following questions (the majority of questions were discussed at plenary sittings of the Conference, and only a small number at meetings of members of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. with representatives of separate Leagues).

1. Task of the Y.C.I. in connection with the danger of new wars.
2. Events in China.
3. The war in Morocco.
4. United Front tactics.
5. International Youth Day.
6. Trade Union work.
7. Work and tasks of Y.C.L. of France (and of relations between the E.C. of Y.C.I. and C.C. of French Y.C.L.).
8. Tasks of the Y.C.L. of Austria in connection with the split of the Austrian Socialist Youth League.
9. International Party policy of German Y.C.L. in connection with the Tenth Party Congress of C.P.G.

10. Political policy of E.C. of Polish Y.C.L.
11. Work and immediate tasks of Y.C.L. of Italy.
12. Work and immediate tasks of Y.C.L. of Czechoslovakia.
13. Work and immediate tasks of Y.C.L. of Great Britain.
14. Work and immediate tasks of Y.C.L. of Hungary.
15. Work and immediate tasks of Y.C.L. of Holland.
16. Work and immediate tasks of Y.C.L. of Switzerland.

Resolutions were passed on all these questions.

Besides resolutions, the Conference sanctioned: (1) appeals to the working youth throughout the world concerning the dangers of a new war; (2) greetings to the 24 Greek soldiers condemned for Communist propaganda; (3) manifesto to the Communist Youth of France concerning the war in Morocco; (4) appeal to all members of the Y.C.L. of Holland in connection with the crisis in the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. of Holland, and (5) letter to the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee.

The E.C. of the Y.C.I. requests that the members of the Y.C.L. in all the lower organisations of the Leagues, in all nuclei and local organisations, be acquainted with at least the most important material of the Conference if not with all of it. The appeals and resolutions of the Berlin Conference give an almost complete picture of the present-day position of the world Communist Youth Movement and an exhaustive reply to a number of important questions. The study of this material will serve as a great stimulus in the international education of the youth, without speaking of the fact that the decision of the Conference on a number of questions should serve as a basis for all the practical activities of the Leagues.

In the present letter the E.C. of the Y.C.I. limits itself to the briefest and the most summary explanation of the various decisions of the Conference.

The Struggle Against War.

One of the most important documents of the Conference is the resolution on the task of the Y.C.I. in connection with the danger of new wars. In reality, this resolution constitutes the main platform of the Y.C.I. on the war question. On the basis of an analysis of the present day international

situation, the Conference arrived at the conclusion that the war in Morocco and the intervention in China, together with the campaign against the U.S.S.R. represent the **commencement of a new phase of imperialist wars** after a seven years' "peaceful" interlude. The Conference traced out all the special distinguishing features of this stage of the war and absolutely determined the tasks of the Y.C.L. against the struggle of the war. The fact that the Conference unanimously determined its attitude towards three types of wars characteristic of the present epoch, is of special importance. The Communist Youth takes up a consistent Bolshevik **revolutionary defeatist** position with regard to any wars which are being waged or will be waged by any imperialist state. **THE TRANSFORMATION OF ANY IMPERIALIST WAR INTO A CIVIL WAR AGAINST THEIR OWN "NATIVE" BOURGEOISIE BY MEANS OF CONTINUOUS WORK AMONG THE MASSES AND THE ARMY BOTH LEGALLY AND ILLEGALLY—** such is the general line of our activities during war. The active aid to the U.S.S.R. and the colonial peoples conducting a revolutionary liberation war by all possible means—support for the defeat of one's "own" and "native" bourgeoisie by all forces in the event of a war with the U.S.S.R. or the colonies—such is the development of this policy applicable to the new features of the present phase of war. The Conference has not closed its eyes as to how difficult the carrying out of this policy will be in the event of a struggle and as to how indescribably difficult will be the situation for the revolutionary activity of our Leagues. Nevertheless, the Conference adopted this revolutionary defeatist platform with complete unanimity. This marks tremendous success, when it is remembered how the Socialists conducted themselves during the 1914-19 war (with the exception of the Bolshevik Party and individual revolutionaries such as Liebknecht, Luxemburg and others), and how the social traitors are conducting themselves at the present moment. **The present day activities of a number of sections of the Y.C.I.** already bear witness to the fact that the platform accepted by the Conference is not merely a collection of verbal promises binding on no one.

The Events in China and Morocco.

The decisions of the Conference on Morocco were a concretisation of this general policy. The Conference fully approved the activity of the French League directed against the war in Morocco; it also approved the slogans and practical line for the Y.C.L. of France. The Conference, remembering Lenin's words that one cannot "reply" to a war

simply by means of a general strike and also that one cannot simply "reply" by a revolution and that to secure victory for the revolution it is necessary to conduct prolonged, difficult and illegal work during the war, did not nurse any illusions concerning the immediate overthrow of the imperialist government of France. At the present stage which the ever-rising Labour movement of France has reached such slogans as the demand for the immediate peace with the Rifis, the evacuation of Morocco and recognition of its full independence, the slogan for fraternisation of the French soldiers with the Rifis and the preparation for a protest general strike against the war—such slogans as these are completely adequate and correct. Further development of the war will evoke a further sharpening of the class struggle in France, and then the Y.C.L. of France which has now already adopted a defeatist position, will be able to put forward new slogans and reinforce them by new activities.

Events in China have attracted the keen interest of the whole revolutionary proletarian youth of Europe. The Conference warmly greets the heroic workers and students of China. The Conference expressed its joy and pride at the role which the youth, under the guidance of the Y.C.L. of China, is playing in the revolutionary liberation struggle of China. The resolutions of the Conference were based on direct recognition of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary national movement in China. At the same time the Conference calls upon European Leagues to give most active and untiring support of the revolutionary fighters of China. What a deep gulf separates the decision of our Conferences from the false and cowardly whines "against the war" and the hypocritical sympathy for China which are occasionally made by various organisations of reformist Youth Leagues under pressure of the masses!

"United Front" Dangers.

The question of the United Front tactics was brought up at this Conference, firstly, with the aim of establishing perfect clarity as to the attitude of the Communist Youth Leagues towards the present-day tactics of the Comintern and towards the "disputable" problems of the United Front tactics which are under dispute by the "ultra-Lefts" in Poland, Italy and Germany. Secondly, the Conference dealt in detail with the immediate concrete tasks of a number of European Leagues and the conduct of the United Front tactics. Practical proposals were agreed upon with the representatives of the various Leagues and carried almost without

discussion. As far as the general attitude to the tactic of the United Front carried out by the Comintern is concerned, the policy of the Comintern, and especially the experience of the German Party in carrying out same, were only objected to by one Polish comrade at the Conference. The Conference placed on record that the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. of Poland having, under the influence of the E.C. of the C.P.P., occupied a negative policy with regard to the tactical policy of the Comintern was evidently guided exclusively by motives of Party discipline, which in such conditions was easily subjected to factional discipline. The Central Committee of the Polish Y.C.L. knew too little about the tactics of the Comintern and the activities of Germany, France, etc., to judge these questions properly. The Conference warned the brother Polish League of the danger of such an attitude to the most important international problems. Of course, the Y.C.L. everywhere always should secure the closest contact with the Communist Parties and should conduct the work under the guidance of the Communist Parties.

But in cases where one Communist Party or another through its leading organs or individual sections, they verge from the correct Bolshevik path on to one side or another, it is the task of every Y.C.L. to struggle within the Party against both Right and Left digressions for the straightening out of the Party line, to struggle for the policy of the Comintern against the erroneous policy of their own Party. **International discipline is stronger than Party discipline.** But even from the viewpoint of Bolshevising the Communist Parties, from the view of a single correct Party policy, the Y.C.L. of Poland should maintain the policy of the Comintern against the erroneous position of the C.P.P. In Germany, for instance, that was what happened. At the Tenth Party Conference, the Y.C.L. of Germany defended the absolutely correct proposals of the Comintern on various organisational questions. The Conference fully approved of the internal Party position of the Y.C.L. of Germany and the conduct of the Youth delegation at the Tenth Party Congress. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that the Conference quite correctly appreciated the internal Party policy of the German Party and League. The Presidium of the E.C.C.I. has already confirmed the correctness of this point of view of the Conference. In Italy, where the internal Party struggle is in the main once more centred around the problem of the United Front tactics and where the struggle has become most acute, the Y.C.L. has taken up a firm and decisive attitude against the "ultra-Lefts," Bordiga fraction. The Conference welcomed this step of the

Italian League. The policy of both the Italian and German Leagues should serve as an example for the Polish Central Committee of the Y.C.I., all the more so as the internal Party struggles in Germany, Italy and Poland are developing on common soil. The German and Polish ultra-Lefts, the Italian Bordigists represent a minority in these three Communist Parties which have not yet been able to convince themselves of the necessity for tactical manoeuvring, the struggle for partial demands, work in the trade unions and the most important methods of the united front tactics. With the exception of the Polish delegate already mentioned, the Conference unanimously adopted the platform of the Comintern on questions of tactics. The Conference recognised that up to the present time in the majority, if not in all Y.C.L.'s, there was more talk about the necessity of carrying out the united front tactics than actually found expression in deeds of practical realisation. All questions in dispute which served as objects of discussion with the ultra-left were solved by the Conference correctly, clearly and unconditionally. These decisions found their expression in a special resolution and there is no necessity to touch on them in detail in the present letter.

The Y.C.L. and the Y.S.L. of Austria.

In direct connection with the question of the United Front, the Conference discussed the question of the tasks of the Y.C.L. of Austria in connection with the split within the Socialist Youth League of Austria. The "Y.S.L." of Austria has recently been on the decline. During one year the Socialist League lost 10,000 members out of a total of 30,000. The members remaining in the ranks of the Socialist League are merely members on paper. 16 to 17,000 of this League who are formally inscribed as members do not take any part whatever in League activities. Among the 2-300 active and real members of the "Y.S.L." a serious opposition movement has grown up during recent times. A selection of this opposition (several hundreds of active workers of this League) has broken away from the "Y.S.L." and formed an Independent Socialist League. In the platform adopted by this new League not only the treacherous position of the Second International, but also the fruitless experience of the short-lived existence of the Second and a Half International and the Two and a Half Socialist Parties have been decisively refuted. However, the new League has not immediately decided to adhere to the Young Communist International. It considers it necessary to enter into preliminary negotiations with the Y.C.I. The Conference has entrusted the E.C. of the Y.C.I. to take up this matter and adopt the line of the Y.C.L. of

Austria which is directed to the quickest possible winning over of this new League into the ranks of the Y.C.I. based on the criticism of the half and half nature of the new League and on the conduct of a number of joint campaigns with them as approved by the Conference. The Conference pointed out the necessity of subsequent work among the opposition elements remaining in the Y.C.L. and drew up a number of concrete proposals for the Y.C.L. in connection with the recent events in Austria.

The decisions of the Conference on International Youth Day and on the Trade Union Week need no comments. With regard to remaining decisions, the decision on the work of the Y.C.L. of France and on the interrelations of the C.C. of the French Y.C.L. and the E.C. of the Y.C.I. is worth mentioning. The Conference entirely approved the work of the French League and drew up a number of immediate practical tasks, measures and decisions confronting them. As far as interrelations with the E.C. of the Y.C.I. were concerned, the Conference passed a very sharp resolution on this question in which it was pointed out to the Central Committee of the Y.C.L. of France the necessity of the closest contact with the E.C. The French comrades present at the Conference promised on behalf of the E.C. to apply every effort in order to obviate this defect in their work, which up to the present has hindered the E.C. of the Y.C.I. guiding the work of the French League in the way it should be done.

The decisions of the Conference on other questions need no explanation. All Y.C.L.'s should acquaint themselves directly with the resolutions in order to get an idea of the work and tasks of the Y.C.L.'s of Great Britain, Holland, etc.

In conclusion the E.C. of the Y.C.I. deems it necessary to remark that the Conference was of an exceptional importance for the activity and further development of the Y.C.I. It accomplished tremendous work under illegal conditions, clearly defined a common policy on all the most important questions of the International Youth Movement and drew up the most varied practical instructions for all sections of the Y.C.I. This Conference marks a stage of great significance in the work of the Y.C.I. It has undoubtedly created a firm basis for a rapid and successful move forward in the work of the revolutionary working class youth of the whole world.

Executive Committee of Young Communist International.

Theses of Comrade Zinoviev Adopted by R.C.P. National Conference

The Tasks of the Comintern and the R.C.P. in Connection with the Meeting of the Enlarged E.C.C.I.

1. Owing to its composition and the importance of the questions discussed at it, the meeting of the Enlarged E.C.C.I. had all the importance of a Congress.

The principal documents discussed and adopted at this meeting were: (a) **The theses on Bolshevisation** which, from the viewpoint of Leninism, put into a concrete form suitable for a number of countries in the present situation the general slogan of Bolshevisation, as proposed at the Fifth Congress; (b) **Theses on the Peasantry** which expound the theoretical and political views of the Comintern concerning the role of the peasantry in the present epoch, without the practical application of which there can be no real Bolshevisation; (c) Resolutions on the state of affairs in the various most important sections of the Comintern (America, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.), especially on the liquidatory tendency in the Czecho-Slovakian Party, etc.; (d) The resolution condemning the Brandler, Radek, Thalheimer group as a Right-wing group within the Comintern.

2. Among the most important subjects brought forward in connection with the work of the Enlarged E.C.C.I. were the questions (a) on the "stabilisation" of capitalism, which within certain limits was admitted by the Enlarged E.C.C.I. and (b) on the future development of the U.S.S.R. in connection with the retarded development of the international revolution.

This is how the question is presented by the entire international capitalist and Social-Democratic press and this is how it will be dealt with in our own Party and in our country.

3. "Revolution may and probably will take the form of battles lasting for years, of several periods of attack with intervals of counter revolutionary convulsions of the bourgeois system." (Extract from a recently published article by comrade Lenin, on P. B. Axelrod's pamphlet "The Proletarian Revolution," periodical, No. 26.)

This thesis, presented by comrade Lenin as far back as 1915, has been now confirmed by the trend of development of the world revolution.

4. A distinction should be made between (a) the revolutionary situation in general, (b) the **immediate** revolutionary situation, and (c) the revolution itself. "A Marxist knows perfectly well that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation and **also that not every revolutionary situation leads to revolution,**" wrote comrade Lenin as far back as 1915 (articles "Collapse of the Second International," "Against the Stream," p. 139.)

The following examples are a good illustration of this.

In Germany there were beginnings of a revolutionary situation approximately since 1914-15. In 1917-18 **the situation there was pregnant with revolution.** Towards the end of 1918 this revolutionary situation became a real revolution, which, it is true, did not resolve itself into a victorious proletarian revolution, but into a bourgeois revolution. Since 1920 and up to 1923, the immediate revolutionary situation made room for a revolutionary situation in general. In 1923, there were in Germany all the symptoms of an immediate revolutionary situation, which, however, did not resolve itself into a proper revolution. In 1925 there is no immediate revolutionary situation in Germany, but the situation is generally speaking, revolutionary.

"Revolutionary Situations."

In Russia by 1901-02 the revolutionary situation had taken a very definite form. In 1904-05 we had already a situation pregnant with revolution which, towards the end of 1905, resolves itself into a proper revolution (which, however, was not victorious). In 1906-07 Bolshevism continued to regard the situation as being pregnant with revolution. From 1908 and approximately up to 1915, Bolsheviks came to the conclusion that the situation in Russia was not pregnant with revolution, **but that the situation was, generally speaking, revolutionary, bearing in it the seeds of the second revolution.** From 1908 up to 1911 there was a seeming

stabilisation of autocracy, Stolypin's agrarian policy was interpreted by the Bolsheviks as "yet another step on the road of the transformation of Tsarism into a bourgeois monarchy." Nevertheless, the general revolutionary situation remained, and the Bolsheviks built up their tactics on the prospect of the second revolution. From 1916 onwards, the situation was again pregnant with revolution. It resolved itself into the revolution of 1917.

In Great Britain evidently the situation is in fact becoming generally revolutionary (in this connection the state of affairs in the colonies is playing a very important part). But it is perfectly clear that the situation in that country will not be pregnant for revolution for a long time to come, etc., etc.

In his pamphlet "The Proletarian Revolution and the renegade Kautsky," written in 1918, comrade Lenin "hoisted Kautsky with his own petard." The latter in 1909 ("The Way to Power") and even as far back as 1902 ("The Social Revolution") admitted the existence of an objectively revolutionary situation in Europe.

Comrade Lenin wrote, "A long time before the war all Marxists and all Socialists were agreed that a European war would create a revolutionary situation. Kautsky in 1902 ("The Social Revolution") and in 1909 ("The Way to Power") . . . when he was not yet a renegade, admitted this. Consequently to expect a revolutionary situation in Europe was by no means a Bolshevik fancy, but the general opinion of all Marxists."

In this sense a general revolutionary situation on a world scale, and a much more definite revolutionary situation as at that time, certainly exists even now: (a) The economic antagonisms which in 1914 led to the first imperialist world war have not been solved and they cannot be solved in any other way than by a world proletarian revolution; (b) A bourgeois Europe is pregnant with new imperialist wars; (c) At the same time the East has awakened and to a certain extent we are justified in speaking of an objectively revolutionary situation not only in Europe, but also in Asia; (d) The first victorious proletarian revolution has consolidated itself on a territory occupying one-sixth of the globe. The very existence of the U.S.S.R. continues to revolutionise the whole world.

By its decisions, the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International merely declared that at present the situation in Europe is not pregnant with revolution (Germany). But generally speaking the situation remains revolutionary.

Capitalist "Stabilisation" and the Tasks of the R.C.P.

5. To be exact we should speak **not of one stabilisation, but of two stabilisations.** Side by side with the partial stabilisation of capitalism in bourgeois Europe there is the undeniable development of State industries and a consolidation of the Socialist elements of national economy in the U.S.S.R. If side by side with the stabilisation of capitalist economy we did not have the development of the economy of the U.S.S.R., or if this development were very slow, or finally, if the general economic development in the U.S.S.R. were not accompanied in a sufficient degree by a corresponding Socialist development—we certainly would be running the risk of the present temporary equilibrium being disturbed in favour of the world bourgeoisie.

But we do not run this risk. There is every reason to believe that with the support of the international proletariat which the U.S.S.R. has enjoyed during the last eight years, it will be able to work successfully with its own resources for the further development of its economy and will at the same time continue to be the most important factor in the growth of world revolution, by helping the workers of other countries to prepare for their revolution.

Comrade Lenin taught us to do "the maximum of what can be done in one country for the development, support and initiation of revolution in all countries."

Under present circumstances, therefore, the tasks of the R.C.P. range from giving direct support to the revolutionary movements in other countries down to supplying cheap cotton goods to the peasantry in our own country. This is tantamount to working for the establishment of a Socialist system of economy in the U.S.S.R. and at the same time supporting the forces of proletarian revolution in all other countries.

6. From "the unevenness in the process of economic and political development, which is an immutable law of capitalism," comrade Lenin rightly deduced two things: (a) the possibility of "the victory of Socialism at first in a few or even in one separate capitalist country," and (b) the possi-

bility that these few or even that this one country will not necessarily be countries of higher developed capitalism (see especially notes on Sukhanov).

The experience of the Russian revolution has shown that such a first victory in one country is not only possible, but that, given a number of favourable circumstances, this first country of the victorious proletarian revolution can (with a certain amount of support on the part of the international proletariat) hold out and establish itself firmly for a long period even in the event of this support not taking the form of downright proletarian revolutions in other countries.

But at the same time, however, Leninism teaches us that the final victory of Socialism, in the sense of complete guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois conditions, is only possible on an international scale (or in several important countries).

"The Russian proletariat cannot by itself achieve a victorious Socialist revolution. But it can give the Russian Revolution an impetus which will create favourable conditions for a Socialist revolution; it can give it, so to speak, a start. It can considerably facilitate the entry of its main and most dependable ally—the European and American Socialist proletariat—into the decisive struggle." (Lenin, 1917, "Letter to the Swiss Workers.")

"Looking at the situation from a world-historical viewpoint, one can have no doubt whatever that it would be hopeless to reckon on an ultimate victory of our revolution if it were to remain solitary, if there were no revolutionary movement in other countries." (Lenin, XV., 129, 1918.)

"When three years ago we considered the question of the tasks and prospects of victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, we always said that this victory cannot be a permanent victory unless it obtained the support of the proletarian revolution in the West; that a correct appreciation of our revolution is only possible from the international viewpoint. In order to stabilise our victory, we must bring about the victory of the proletarian revolution in all or at least in some of the most important capitalist countries," (Lenin, Vol. XVIII., Part 2, p. 189; 1920.)

This fundamental principle of Leninism stands good even now.

The Development of the World Proletarian Revolution.

7. As to prophesying how long the development of the international Socialist revolution can take, lacking concrete historical experience, the R.C.P. could not help, especially in the beginning of our revolution, making certain miscalculations in this respect.

There was a time (1918) when all of us expected the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany and in several other countries in the course of several months or even weeks.

The German revolution came much later and when it came it was not a proletarian revolution, but a revolution which destroyed the power of Wilhelm the Second, but not that of the bourgeoisie. However, even this revolution in Germany, accompanied as it was by revolutionary convulsions in a number of other countries, was sufficient to allow the proletarian revolution in Russia to gain time and to establish itself.

It became evident that: (a) the trend of development of world revolution was slower than expected: (b) but at the same time it also became evident that the first victorious proletarian revolution (U.S.S.R.) can hold out alone (with a certain amount of support on the part of the workers of other countries) much longer than it seemed possible at the beginning of the revolution.

8. "A complete victory on a world scale cannot be achieved in Russia alone. It can only be achieved when the proletariat in the most important countries, or at least in some of them, will be victorious." (V. I. Lenin, March 13th, 1919, Vol. XVI., p. 61.)

"We live not only in a state, but in a system of states, and a prolonged existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist States is unthinkable. In the end, either the one or the other will be victorious." (V. I. Lenin, March 18th, 1919, Vol. XVI., p. 102.)

These fundamental principles of Leninism stand good even now. The question is, however, how the words "prolonged existence" or "in the end" are to be interpreted. At first it seemed that "in the end" would be in the course of a year or two, or even in the course of a few months. However, the trend of events showed that we reasoned thus only "in the beginning of the beginning" (comrade Lenin's ex-

pression). Already in 1921, comrade Lenin wrote: "Ten to twenty years of correct relation with the peasantry—and victory is guaranteed on a world scale (even if the growing proletarian revolutions are retarded), otherwise, there will be twenty to forty years of the horrors of white guard terror." (See "Bolshevik," No. 7, 1925, p. 76.)

These most important programme declarations of V. I. Lenin, as well as his subsequent declaration on the role of the East (1923) must not be left out of account for a single moment.

"Thus at the present time we are faced with the question: will we succeed with our backward peasant agriculture, and with the state of ruin in which we find ourselves in holding out until the West-European capitalist countries will have completed their development towards Socialism? . . . Our civilisation is too low for a direct transference to Socialism, although we have the necessary political premises for it."

The years which have passed since 1917 and all the phases of the world revolution from 1917 up to 1925 in a certain sense can be looked upon as "the beginning of the beginning." The situation which has arisen now on a world scale can be described with comrade Lenin's words: "protracted with no definite decision either one way or the other," adding now: with a definite tendency towards the victory of the Socialist revolution.

Is the Victory of Socialism Possible in One Country?

9. Generally speaking, the victory of Socialism (not in the sense of final victory) in one country is no doubt possible. In his controversy with comrade Trotsky on the question of the United States of the World, comrade Lenin in 1915 wrote as follows: "As an independent slogan, the slogan of the United States of the World would be hardly correct, firstly, because it merges into Socialism; secondly, because it may give rise to an incorrect interpretation concerning the impossibility of the victory of Socialism in one country and concerning the relation of such a country to other countries."

"The unevenness of the process of economic and political development is an immutable law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of Socialism at first in several or even in one separate capitalist country is possible. The victorious proletariat of such a country, having expropriated the capitalists and organised Socialist production, would rise against the remaining capitalist world, attracting to itself the oppressed classes

of other countries, making them rise against the exploiting classes and their States." ("Against the Stream.")

On the other hand, the existence of two antagonistic social systems side by side creates a constant menace of capitalist blockade and other forms of economic pressure—armed intervention, restoration, etc. Therefore, the only guarantee for a **final victory of Socialism**, namely, a guarantee against restoration, is—a victorious Socialist revolution in a number of countries.

This does not by any means imply that it is impossible to establish a complete Socialist system in a backward country like Russia without the "State aid" (Trotsky) of countries more developed technically and economically. A composite part of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, is the assertion that "the actual development of Socialist economy in Russia will become possible **only after the victory** of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe" (Trotsky, 1922), an assertion which dooms the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to fatalist passivity in the present epoch. Against such "theories" comrade Lenin wrote about the "Infinitely stereotyped deduction, learned by heart during the development of the West European Social-Democracy, which assumes that we are not yet ripe for Socialism, that we have not, to use the expression of some of these "learned" gentlemen, the necessary objective premises for Socialism" (Notes on Sukhanov).

One should always bear in mind comrade Lenin's programme declaration made in his last article on co-operation, which is of particular importance in the present conditions, and in which he says: "State control over all the means of production, State control in the hands of the proletariat, union between this proletariat and the millions of small and smallest peasants and the retention of the leadership of the peasantry, by this proletariat, etc., is not all this required for the construction of a complete Socialist system out of co-operation alone, which formerly we regarded as a purely commercial movement and which, to a certain extent even now under NEP, we have the right so to regard? This is not the establishment of a Socialist system, but it is all that is essential for such construction. . . I am prepared to say that for us the centre of gravity could be now transferred to cultural work, if it were not for international relations and the need to fight for our position on an international scale."

This shows that the country of the workers' dictatorship, being the main base of international revolution, must look upon itself as the most powerful lever and support of the revolution. On the other hand, the ruling proletarian party of this country must do its utmost to build up a Socialist system, convinced that such a system can and will be victorious, provided the country can be protected from all attempts at restoration; in other words, by a correct policy towards the peasantry within the country as well as in connection with international relations, the R.C.P. must overcome all difficulties arising out of the retarded pace of development of the world revolution.

10. Since the end of 1920, comrade Lenin used to say that "now we must not only talk of a respite, but of serious opportunities for new construction of a longer duration." But later, in 1920 and 1923, comrade Lenin regarded our position as a "respite."

Great Britain and the World Revolution.

This "respite" must on no account be looked upon as something transitory, something of the nature of a "bivouac." The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., under the guidance of the R.C.P., must boldly plunge into the work of establishing Socialism now, bearing in mind that our revolution itself is part of the world revolution and that our success in the construction of a Socialist economy is in itself an important factor in the growth of the world proletarian revolution.

11. The historical experience accumulated by the Comintern during the past eight years (1917-25) shows that not only the question concerning the rate and time-table of the growth of the world revolution, but also the question of its route are solved not quite the same way as was thought in the beginning of the revolution. In view of the newly-arisen world situation it is becoming more and more probable that in the near future the revolutionary development might proceed through Great Britain and the Far East, as well as through the Balkans and South-East Europe. The revolutionary wave is on the ebb just now in Germany (as compared with 1923), but a revolutionary situation is ripening in a country like Great Britain. National liberation movements are growing and extending. All this has an enormous world historical importance.

12. The important revolutionary processes noticeable in Great Britain bestow particular importance to the attempts

at rapprochement between the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. and those of Great Britain. Our trade union delegation was quite right, when at the recent conference in London, it made considerable concessions to the British Trade Unions in the interests of reaching an agreement. At the same time it should be borne in mind that whatever be the agreement with elements adhering to Amsterdam, it can only be durable if the necessary pressure is brought to bear by the masses. The Comintern policy for international trade union unity is proved to be of complete justification. This policy must be extended and developed.

At the same time, the Russian trade unions fully realise that the Profintern must be preserved absolutely and must be strengthened as the organisation of the revolutionary elements of the world trade union movement until such time as it will be possible to achieve trade union unity on an international scale.

"Trotskyism" and the Need for "Bolshevisation."

13. Our practical differences with Trotskyism on the question of Comintern policy were not in the least concerned with the question as to whether the tempo of the international revolution is slackening or not. Since the Third Congress of the Comintern, the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the Executive of the R.C.P. have fully realised that a slowing down was taking place. The dispute with Trotskyism was and is on the question as to what should be the tactics of the Communist International during this period of retarded development of the World Revolution.

Comrade Trotsky's exaggerated and incorrect appreciation of the Anglo-American rapprochement compelled him to thoroughly revise the Leninist theory of imperialism (the question of ultra-imperialism). At the same time, comrades Trotsky and Radek, and those who shared their views, gave whole-hearted support to the tactics of the Brandler group in 1923—a group which endeavoured to interpret the tactics of the united front as tactics of coalition with the Social-Democrats.

Such is the real difference between the Lenin policy of the Comintern Executive and Trotskyism.

14. With definite reservations and limitations, a parallel can be drawn to a certain extent between the present tasks of the Comintern and the tasks confronting the Russian

THE INTERNATIONAL

Bolsheviks in the epoch between the two revolutions, approximately between 1908 and 1914.

Hence, the policy of Bolshevisation, which is accompanied by the struggle against liquidatory tendencies (the Right in Czechoslovakia), as well as against ultra-Left tendencies.

15. The Comintern has a period of particularly hard, complicated and responsible work before it. The task of the R.C.P. will consist in giving adequate support to the Communist International during this period fighting now against all "funereal" tendencies with the same energy and manner which Bolshevism displayed in a previous period in its fight against the liquidators.

16. In connection with the situation which has now arisen on the international arena, two perils threaten our Party: (1) a **tendency to passivity** resulting from a too wide interpretation of capitalist stabilisation noticeable in some countries, as well as of the retarded tempo of the international revolution, the absence of a sufficient impulse to energetic and systematic work in the establishment of a Socialist system in the U.S.S.R. in spite of the slower tempo of the international revolution, and (2) a **tendency to national limitation**, a tendency to forget the obligations of international proletarian revolutionists, an unconscious ignoring of the close dependence of the fate of the U.S.S.R. on the, if only slowly, developing international proletarian revolution, a failure to understand that not only does the international revolutionary movement stand in need of the existence, consolidation and increase of the power of the first proletarian State in the world, but that the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. also stands in need of help on the part of the international proletariat.

The R.C.P. must be alive to these two perils and must offer energetic resistance to both these possible tendencies.

Results of the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I.

April, 1925

I. The Main Factors which Determine the Position of the Leagues.

The present political position of the Communist Youth Leagues is marked by the following characteristics:

(a) The necessity of working together with the Parties in the Bolshevisation of the Communist Youth Leagues.

(b) Increasingly difficult conditions of work in comparison with the immediate past, especially among the masses of the proletariat and peasant youth.

(c) A certain decrease in the membership of the Communist Youth Leagues; as a result of persecution (France, Italy and some other countries, in spite of everything, show an increase in their organisation);

(d) An increase in internal dangers—ideological deviations—as a result of a certain slackening in the tempo of the World Revolution.

There are now some new factors in the world position which during the last decade was marked, in respect of capitalism, as the epoch of proletarian revolution. These factors became revealed "through the democratic pacifist era," and found their expression in the disappearance of any immediate revolutionary situation in Central Europe (Germany, Austria, Hungary and others). But all these new factors do not change the real character of the epoch as an epoch of proletarian revolution. Throughout the world antagonisms continue to grow; with every day there is fresh news about the development of the class struggle; the much-talked of "stabilisation"—i.e., the durability of capitalism—experiences new and overpowering blows (the Balkans, France, Great Britain, Colonial movement, etc.). In our time class antagonisms are becoming more acute; they result oftener in conflicts than was the case before the war.

Communist Youth Leagues have recently been in very difficult straits owing to the repression on the part of reaction. The mass work of the Leagues has suffered most therefrom. But also the internal activity of the Leagues is endangered; the decrease of the possibilities of carrying on mass work naturally results in abnormal internal conditions of development for the Leagues. The German League was most affected by the decrease in the number of West European supporters of the Communist Youth Leagues, as an unavoidable result of the general political position. The cause of this is fairly apparent. This loss was to a certain extent counteracted by our brother Leagues in France, Italy and other countries, but still this state of affairs causes great difficulty in our work and confronts the League with the old, though always new, question of how to connect the inner activity with mass work.

II. The Chief Tasks of the Communist Youth Leagues.

In the theses of the Bolshevisation of the Sections of the Comintern, the winning over of the entire young workers to the Y.C.L.'s is marked out among the tasks of Bolshevisation. What does this interpretation of the question mean? The theses on Bolshevisation give a perfectly clear answer: It is absolutely essential to win over that generation of workers which has grown up under conditions of the World Imperialist War and during the early stages of the World Revolution. The entire proletarian youth of the new epoch must be grouped together in opposition to the bourgeois leaders of the Labour aristocracy who form the chief support of Social-Democracy in all countries.

The last Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. was held during a specially historic period. It is true the difficulty which arises in finding new ways to gain our own aims was eased somewhat by the activity of the Executive of the E.C. of the Y.C.I.. The general tasks of the League were determined by the decisions of the Executive of the Y.C.I. Special stress was laid on the great political role of the Communist Youth Leagues, in the report of the E.C. of the Y.C.I., in those countries where Communist Parties still show strong signs of Social-Democratic influences (Czechoslovakia among others). *It is a well-known fact that the chief condition of Bolshevisation consists in overcoming Social-Democratic tendencies and traditions, whether these exist in acute or mild, in open or covert forms.* Communist Youth Leagues are not indifferent, nor will they ever be

indifferent to this struggle within the Party which decides the problem of Bolshevisation, which leads the Communist movement either into the morass of Social-Democracy or on the broad path to the development of a proletarian revolution. In this respect the task of the Leagues will be determined by the necessity in participating in the inner Party struggle in order to support in every way the policy of the Comintern, i.e., in order to focus all our forces on the struggle for Bolshevisation. Still, quite apart from the task of transforming Communist Youth Leagues into mass organisations, they must become the real reserve of the Communist Parties. The political education of the reserves consists in being included in the advanced guard—the Party and the Comintern—of the struggles which are being carried on against deviations from Communism. Whilst forces are being concentrated whilst the fight is being carried on for correct political policy, the best revolutionaries are developing who are destined to take the lead in a new ascent in the working class movement. It is not possible to mark out in an exhaustive manner the Bolshevisation of the Communist Youth Leagues, if the conditions, the position and the attending circumstances are not more exactly analysed and we restrict ourselves to mere stereotyped methods; for in this case the way to Bolshevisation consists mainly in transforming Communist Youth Leagues first and foremost into mass organisations; secondly, in conducting Leninist education of the youth into the right channels and fighting all deviations from Communism; and thirdly, in developing a real reserve of the Communist Parties—a reserve which is composed of workers who are free from Social-Democratic tendencies.

III. The Working and Peasant Youth and the Communist Youth Leagues.

These are the main points at issue. But how is the task of the re-organisation of the Communist Youth Leagues into mass organisations to be understood?

Unlike the Russian Youth Leagues, the other Youth Leagues cannot undertake the task of including the peasant youth on a large scale. At the Enlarged Executive and at the sessions of the Political Commission, certain attempts were made to characterise the Communist Youth Leagues, in opposition to the Parties of a more comprehensive organisation, i.e., organisations consisting not only of young workers but also of peasant youth. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. was absolutely justified in rejecting the proposals

made in this respect and stressed the fact that Communist Youth Leagues should remain organisations of the proletarian youth. The various cadres of young workers have still a long way to go before they are all absorbed by the Communist Youth Leagues. There is in this respect a great deal of work to be done. All our forces, all the means at our disposal, must be concentrated on the conquest of the entire young workers without exception. That by no means signifies that work in the country, as formerly, should remain the Achilles' heel of the Leagues. The youth in the country which is at present being brought under the influence of the Communist Youth Leagues must become our ally; the proletarian sections, the young agricultural workers and the youth belonging to the small peasantry, crushed under the weight of taxation, must be brought under the influence of the Communist Youth League. In contradistinction to the R.L.Y.C.I., it is not possible for the other Communist Leagues to devote equal attention to the middle peasantry. Under capitalist conditions, the laws of private property make the middle peasants a power of varying significance, politically vacillating. But the neutralisation of the middle peasants pre-supposes that we have not only the negative duty to nullify the influence of the middle peasantry as regards the proletarian struggle against capitalism, but that we are faced with still greater political work of transforming these peasants into political allies of the struggling working class.

IV. Leninism and the Activity of the Communist Youth Leagues.

The activity of our Leagues should not in future be of a chance nature, but must be continually determined organically by Leninist teachings. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. has drafted definite instructions as a guide for the re-organisation of this work. *At this juncture it is not possible to be a Leninist and a Bolshevik if we fail to understand how to link up practical work and the revolutionary struggle with the Leninist theory of imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.* For, can the anti-militarist struggle on the basis of the teachings of Lenin on imperialist war and the necessity of its development into a civil war, or colonial work be conducted if it is not done in connection with the teachings of Lenin on the role of the colonies and of the connection of the proletarian revolution in capitalist countries with the uprisings of the oppressed peoples in the

colonies and semi-colonies? But neither can organisational work, economic struggle, etc., be properly conducted without the knowledge of Leninist tactics in regard to the economic struggles of the workers, etc. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. laid stress on the connection between practical work and theoretical education as the basis of Leninist Youth education. Further, in the field of ideology, of tactics, of organisation, the Communist Youth Leagues must be imbued with Marxist and Leninist theory in their entire activity in the struggle against capitalism. Comrade Bukharin, in his report at the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I. on Leninism and Marxism, very correctly drew attention to the opinion of Marx, who distinguishes his theory of the class struggle from all others. Marx points out that he did not discover the class struggle, that bourgeois scientists had done so before him. But in contradistinction to the others, he championed the view that the dictatorship of the proletariat was an unavoidable result of the class struggle. It is perfectly clear that the entire struggle and field of work of Communist Youth Leagues must be subordinated to this idea. It is merely a question as to whether the Leagues are in a position to recognise their work on the basis of the directions laid down by the last Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I., whether they will understand how to become a real outpost of the working youth and to carry these along with them in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V. Current Tasks should be Subordinate to the General Aims.

At the Plenary Session of the E.C. of the Y.C.I. attention was drawn to a number of successes of other Communist Youth organisations, both in the field of internal activity and in that of mass work. By degrees, Youth organisations are developing into the centre-point of the entire activity of the Communist Youth League; our economic propaganda, our demands, conferences of the young workers, the conduct of strike movements—all this increases the mass influence of the Leagues on the working and peasant youth and now the anti-militarist struggle has a much firmer basis than formerly. In the internal activity we are faced more definitely with the necessity of beginning mass education and the mass development of the League members and to subject to this task the formation and preparation of active cadres.

In present day circumstances, the danger of deviations is increasing in an unusual manner. The slackening pace of

the world revolution may lead to demoralisation, disappointment and even to despair in the ranks of the proletarian youth. The danger of narrow practicalism which eventually leads to opportunism, the danger of Left sects are continually imminent. These dangers are all the greater now, when our opponents are mobilising their entire strength against us in the endeavour to kill the consciousness of the inevitability of the world revolution in the ranks of the masses. These dangers can only be avoided by the Y.C.I. devoting more attention to the questions of theory, in order to understand the pending dangers and be in a position to meet them with theoretically clear perspectives concerning the world revolution, and finally that it secures ways and means of imbuing all fields of activity with revolutionary Marxist Leninism.

Such are the tasks of the Y.C.I. in the new epoch. The Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I., in addition to the chief tasks concerning Bolshevisation and Leninist education of the Communist Youth Leagues, drafted a series of practical problems in close connection with the general work and the position of the movement in each individual country. Mention was made at the Enlarged Executive of resolutions dealing with economic work, organisational work, work in the country, in the children's movement, etc. At special commissions instructions were formulated for a number of the most important Leagues—America, France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Scandinavia, etc. The Leagues, subsequent to the Enlarged Executive of the Y.C.I., have been strengthened and are more prepared to fight; such results offer the greatest security for the successful surmounting of the difficulties which lie on our path to victory.

PETROVSKY



The Imperialists at Work

SINCE 1912 Lyautey has been pursuing in Morocco what the imperialists call a policy of "pacification." In other words, the militarists have been carrying on for 13 years blind warfare against the dissenting tribes in order to compel them to submission. When "diplomatic arguments" (read corruption and barter of consciences for honours or gold) have not been sufficient, force has been resorted to, "punitive" expeditions being sent out against the tribes not yet subjected formed from those tribes already subjected. The Moroccans have been compelled to kill one another for the benefit of the rich colonists, the big industrialists and the large bankers!

Famous European civilisation has penetrated into Morocco either by means of the distribution of honours and money or by dirt. This is what the imperialists call "pacification."

But suddenly we find that these punitive expeditions, these little skirmishes which were so triumphant for the "pacifiers" have been transformed into great battles raging on a front of 200 kilometres and that the "rebels" are even threatening the royal residence of Marshal Lyautey.

"Pacification."

What is it that has happened then? Only a few weeks previously Marshal Soudard had stated that everything in the Moroccan garden was beautiful and that very soon our new France of Northern Africa would be as peaceful and would be as secure as the great Parisian boulevards.

The first communiqué announced that the Riffis had made a surprise attack on the French outposts through which they had succeeded in penetrating and that flying columns had been hastily dispatched to the field of operations in order to free the posts and drive back the Riffis into their own territory. However, after a year's reign of the Bloc des Gauches, all the "official" declarations have been speaking of nothing but peace, universal disarmament and the concord of nations within the League of Nations, etc. The people, who had allowed themselves to be lulled to sleep with sweet

illusions about the end of all war and who had been deceived by the manifold "symbolic jests" of the false democrat, Herriot, were plunged into a soporific tranquility. They were brutally awakened by the warlike clamour of all the chauvinists of the last massacre, by all the armchair strategists, and by the titled lackeys of the bankers and the Comité des Forges, of the mines and railways, etc., who filled the pages of their kept press with their high-flown language steeped equally in self-interest and patriotism.

Then the worthy "Populo" (the nickname for the French Socialist paper "Populaire") always confident in democracy, learnt with stupefaction that Poincaré had started hostilities as far back as May, 1924, when he gave the order for the occupation of the dissenting zone north of Ouergha; that Herriot had been continuing Poincaré's Moroccan policy in complete agreement with Lyautey and that he had supplied the latter with money and the necessary men for pursuing his operations; that Lyautey had organised a blockade of the Riff territory, erecting a belt of blockhouses for preventing the Riffis obtaining supplies of cereals from the rich valley of Ouergha and that Painlevé had patriotically followed Herriot in this adventure which has tragically ended in a new war.

Continuity of Foreign Policy.

Thus, in speaking of peace, the democrats of the Bloc des Gauches have pursued the same policy as the Bloc National; they have prepared and started a war!

This leg-pulling was so well organised that the people did not notice that anything was wrong! Therefore, everybody was stupefied when Herriot claimed "**Honour for his Government having—on the information of General Lyautey—foreseen the Riff offensive and taken every measure to ward it off,**" and when Painlevé declared "**That he had only continued the Moroccan policy of his predecessor and that the events that were happening arose from the measures taken by Herriot.**"

The people are now becoming bad-tempered because they are beginning to realise that the Bloc Nationale and Bloc des Gauches and the Socialists included bear the same responsibility in preparing the war, while the Bloc des Gauches is all the more responsible in so far as it started the war whilst circulating promises of peace. As a matter of fact, the more the government becomes embroiled in the war, the more fre-

quently Painlevé makes patriotic speeches about the conclusion of the war in the defeat of Abd-el-Krim, the more the Social-Democrats get entangled in the new holy alliance for the defence of the "Moroccan Fatherland," and the more the reactionaries howl for a war to the finish, the more the opposition to the war grows among the masses. Together with the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the C.G.T.U., the workers of town and country, those of the middle classes, the artisans, the small traders and peasants are all demanding with more and more insistence **immediate peace with the Riffis.**

All this great mass of exploited people is beginning to realise that the taxes are becoming heavier and heavier, that the cost of living is becoming dearer and dearer and that more and more blood is being shed. They feel that new milliards and new hundreds of victims are to be squandered in Morocco for the profit of "haute finance" and big business behind Lyautey, which have imposed their will on the sinister triumvirate: Painlevé-Caillaux-Briand.

Will this mass have the strength to force the conclusion of peace before a world butchery like that of 1914-1918 breaks out again? The prelude of that war, remember, was the Moroccan wasps'-nest. Yes, if the present movement becomes more extensive and if the opposition to war, from being merely pacific, becomes more violent. **But for this it is necessary that the metal workers refuse to manufacture instruments of death, that the railwaymen and seamen refuse to transport them and that the French soldiers and the Riffis fraternise instead of killing one another!**

The Struggle for Peace.

The Painlevé Government, seeing that the opposition movement is increasing and becoming more decisive, is endeavouring to stamp it out by all kinds of repression. They are tracking down, searching and arresting all workers and militants who are taking a stand against the war. Strict police measures have been taken among the imperialist states in order to track down Communists and to prevent their revolutionary agitation which tends to nullify the plans for colonial expansion of the capitalist states. In order to make the Moroccan war a success, the French, Spanish, Italian and British imperialists have been compelled to find a common basis of agreement in spite of the antagonisms which divide them. An agreement has been reached between the Spanish

and French Governments with the consent of Great Britain to set up a land and sea blockade against the Rifis and further that negotiations with Abd-el-Krim will not be entered into, without a preliminary agreement between those States who share the Moroccan protectorate.

For the moment, therefore, difficulties of an international order would seem to have been smoothed over. But does this mean that the deep antagonisms that exist for instance between France and Great Britain concerning the African continent have disappeared? No, but Great Britain is at the present time encountering serious difficulties in her own colonies; revolt is surging up in Egypt and India; Canada is little by little becoming detached from the great British Empire, Great Britain's imperialist designs on Mosul and Syria have in general been counteracted. Therefore, under the guarantee that France will not seize the entire Riff territory and will respect the former treaties, Great Britain gives her a free hand and supports the Franco-Spanish Entente.

The Franco-Spanish agreement has been all the more easily reached, in so far as Spain hopes that thanks to this double collaboration—political and military—it can resuscitate its shattered prestige and re-conquer its Moroccan territory.

The delicate question which might re-awaken discussion again is that of the **right of succession** which the French Government has claimed, declaring that the moment that the Spanish renounce continuing the subjection of the tribes grouped around Abd-el-Krim, France, being attacked, has the right under the terms of the treaties to replace Spain and to penetrate with her troops into the Riff territory in order to conquer the Rifis and thus establish the security of her own territory.

The Conflicting Interests of Spain, France and Great Britain.

As certain French industrial and financial circles are conducting a campaign for the conquest of the Riff mines, and as no one can ignore that Lyautey is their creature, the British imperialists who understand all this are opposed to putting this **right of succession** into practice, which Spain itself will not tolerate despite the present agreements.

It is a question of finding out who will gain the upper hand in France among those who are content—for the lack

of something better—with the present protectorate and those who want to secure the Riff territory profiting by this war to consolidate conquest.

The popular wave of opposition against the war can also play a great role here, for the longer it lasts the greater will the international complications become.

In the event of military penetration into Riff territory in virtue of this famous Right of Succession which they are endeavouring to establish, it would not only be Great Britain and Spain which would object, but also Italy, who, despite of so-called present cordial relations, regrets that it is systematically excluded from the great international problems. It would not lose the opportunity of profiting from a disturbed situation for bartering the Tunis possession to France. Finally, Germany, now partially revived economically, would use the first favourable opportunity and the first international complications for more forcibly presenting the question as to the revision of the Eastern frontiers.

The grave colonial danger is now compelling the Western imperialists to come to terms; but their present agreements will be no more tenable than the preceding ones and will not prevent the return of further international complications, which, in the present political and economical state of Europe, can only lead to another world war.

It is quite evident that Great Britain and France are making every effort to force Germany to accept a Security Pact which would bind her up definitely to the Entente Powers and it is equally evident that this move is directed against the U.S.S.R. It is absolutely clear that this is a supreme attempt to create a united imperialist front against Soviet Russia, whose influence grows in the same proportion as the Western imperialists become threatened in all their Eastern and Far Eastern colonies.

The war against Communism on which the capitalists are engaged within their own States is complicated by a blind collective struggle of the same States against the citadel of Communism. To destroy Soviet Russia would be to deal Communism a terrible blow and, in so far as they might reach agreement, the imperialists will not fail to continue their struggle against the U.S.S.R. and to use the first favourable opportunity for declaring war.

Unity Against Imperialist Wars.

The vigilance of the world proletariat must be keener than ever and the international united front of the workers and peasants must become a live reality, a power capable of counteracting all the designs of the imperialists. If to-day, this international United Front plays the role of supporting the liberation movement of the Chinese people and the war of the French Imperialists in Morocco, to-morrow it must be ready to oppose any imperialist enterprise against Soviet Russia.

Fimmen was perfectly correct when he declared a year ago that Russia was the last rampart against world reaction. The Socialist workers and the reformist syndicalists are beginning to understand how right he was and to what degrees of treachery certain of the Social-Democratic leaders have fallen. In France they are drawing nearer and nearer to the revolutionary proletariat; they are actually making a united front for the struggle against war in Morocco and China, just in the same way as but yesterday the workers of the British Trade Unions formed a united front against the Dawes Plan and joined hands with the Russian workers.

The International slogan of the workers must now be more than at any other time: **Unity of the trade union movements and united front of the workers and peasants for the struggle against imperialist wars and the triumph of Communism which alone will bring peace.**

P. SEMARD.



The Struggle for the Trade Unions

THE negotiations between the British and Russian trade unions have terminated in an agreement, which offers a fairly extensive and stable foundation for further joint work on behalf of the struggle for trade union unity; it gives an opportunity in the immediate future to answer the new acts of sabotage of the Amsterdam International with a widespread international campaign which will extend far beyond the limits of the British and Russian trade unions. The Russian trade unions have sent their reply to Amsterdam. They have repeatedly suggested that a conference be convened without any previous conditions in order to discuss the Amsterdam International and the R.I.L.U. There can be no question of a simple entry on the part of the Russian trade unions into the Amsterdam International. It is now Amsterdam's turn to speak. A negative reply will result in the immediate convening of a similar conference on the part of the British trade unions and the intensification of the struggle within the Amsterdam International against the present reformist leadership.

Hence it is clear that we may anticipate a great struggle on behalf of trade union unity. Up to the present, however, we have done very little positive work among the masses of the young workers on behalf of this struggle. It seems, even as though in certain leagues there is a lack of clarity about the real significance of the struggle and on this account of the new tasks in this field, which in this case will find us absolutely unprepared. If this were to happen it would be a crime against the young workers and the working class as a whole. All our leagues and every member of the Young Communist International must understand clearly that (1) the struggle for the trade unions represents in the present critical position the basic task of the Communist Party; (2) the struggle for unity means the struggle for the trade unions.

Communist Parties in the majority of countries have not yet secured definite influence on the majority of the workers

in their respective countries, because they have not yet understood how to win the majority in the trade unions. Our comrades must now understand better than they have ever done that there is no real mass work without systematic continuous work in the trade unions and the conquest of same. The path to win over the majority of the working class is practically always by means of winning over the trade unions, and to-day this is especially true in view of the fact that the situation is not a specifically revolutionary one. Communist Parties must now prove that they are just as able for the task of carrying out daily trade union work and wage struggles as they were of fighting and dying on the barricades in the workers' cause.

What Does Unity Imply?

The most actual question to-day in trade union life is that of trade union unity. Workers want to carry on the struggle against the capitalist offensive and understand that without trade union unity it is impossible to carry on a successful struggle. On this account, the reformist leaders of the Amsterdam International are absolutely opposed to trade union unity, because this will signify the beginning of a serious struggle against the bourgeoisie, because unity will turn the trade union organisations into real fighting units for the workers. Hence the struggle for unity is a struggle for the revolutionisation of trade unions and their conquest by the Communist Party. This fact alone should be sufficient to gain the active participation of the Communist Youth League on behalf of the trade unions.

The struggle for the special demands for young workers which the Y.C.L. is carrying out must be closely linked up with the work of the trade unions. Our practical experiences during the past few months have demonstrated that wherever our Leagues have tried to carry on their economic struggle, apart from their struggle for the conquest of trade unions, there has been no success worth mentioning, not only in regard to the improvement of working conditions or wages, but even in mobilising large masses of young workers for the struggle. (Our German comrades have had especially bitter experiences in this respect.) But wherever the Communist Youth Leagues have carried on their struggle in close connection with their members in the trade unions and the struggle for the mobilisation of trade unions for the demands of young workers, here our industrial campaigns and the congresses of young workers have had definite success. We see proof of these facts in the French and Italian Leagues.

The masses of young workers will continue to regard our economic struggle in an abstract light until they realise that it is not a question of mere talk, but that we do not promise to improve their difficult position only by means of the Communist Youth League, but we are mobilising them in order to struggle in conjunction with the working class through their economic organisation, the trade union, for the special demands of the youth. Any negation of the necessity and importance of work within the trade unions is equivalent to a negation and sabotage of the improvement of the economic position of young workers.

It will not be possible for us to give the masses of the young proletariat any real guarantees that our methods of struggle will really assist their daily interests until we get quite clear about the work in the trade unions and the mobilisation of young workers for unity.

Our Work in the Unions.

It is no easy matter to interest the trade unions and adult workers generally for the special demands of the proletarian youth, hence the Y.C.L. must use every opportunity that offers. One of the chief reasons for this lack of interest on the part of the trade unions may be found in the historical development of the trade union movement, the absence of a Communist Youth Movement prior to the war and the mistakes that the Communist Youth Leagues have committed in respect of the trade union question by having done so little work for the trade union movement. Class solidarity rests on reciprocity. The young workers demand special attention from the trade unions and the working class demands the special attention of the young workers to the trade unions. It is not sufficient to complain about the sabotage of the reformist leaders whose endeavour is to stem the activity on the part of the youth in the trade unions. Communist Youth Leagues must understand quite clearly that all difficulties and obstacles must be overcome and the masses of young workers interested in the trade union struggle.

Prior to the war, the Socialist Youth movement did not play any special role in the workers' movement and had no great influence on the Second International. Even to-day no one in the Second International seems to be conscious that a Socialist Youth movement exists. The posi-

tion is quite different in the Communist International. The Communist Youth movement has great influence here and plays a fairly important role in the revolutionary workers' movement. We may even say that the young workers have a place of honour in the Communist movement. And why is this? Simply because young workers, during the war and since the war, by their remarkable and heroic struggle against the imperialist war and later by their valuable support in the formation of the Communist Parties in the various countries have proved to the revolutionary section of the working class that they constitute tried and faithful allies.

The revolutionary Labour movement has now entered into another phase in its development. Just as in 1915 at the Berne Conference the struggle against imperialist war was the main task and demanded the mobilisation of all our forces, so to-day the struggle for the unity of the trade unions is the task which attracts the masses of the workers and can bring the great majority of the proletariat on to the revolutionary path. In a position such as we have to-day, it can be proved whether the young workers understand the decisive significance of this struggle on behalf of the further development of the revolution, whether they are able to carry on petty daily trade union work with the same enthusiasm which they demonstrated during and after the war at the barricades. The influence of the young workers in the trade unions and of the workers generally will be determined in the immediate future by their participation in the struggle for the unity of the trade unions. If the young workers undertake to perform such work in this struggle as they did in 1915 and 1918 against the war, then the complete support of the demands of the youth by the trade unions will be assured.

Win the Youth for the Unions.

The task of the Communist Youth International and its sections consists in mobilising generally the young workers on behalf of trade union unity and trade union work generally. We know that it is much easier to interest young workers in the immediate revolutionary struggle. There is no doubt but that there is a far greater attraction for young workers in the struggle against imperialist war than in the petty daily tasks within the trade unions. But the Communist Youth Leagues must be capable of carrying out every task which the different stages in the development of the revolution bring. In Germany there are 3,500,000 young workers, in America 6,000,000, in Great Britain 2,000,000, and in France 1,500,000 and in other countries still many

hundreds of thousands. Only an insignificant fraction of their number is organised in the trade unions and participates in the struggles of the working class. Our task to-day, when the struggle for unity in the trade unions plays such an important role in the further development of the revolution, is for the Y.C.I. and its sections to awaken these millions of indifferent young workers, bring them into the movement, and in this or that way bring them into participation in the struggle for the unity of the trade unions. This is the best of the hour.

This, we must know, is a serious and difficult task, but it must be fulfilled. There can be no excuse for failing to carry out this task. It would be equivalent to the failure of the young workers to fight against imperialist war if to-day they should fail to concentrate their forces on the struggle on behalf of the trade unions in close connection with our own economic struggle. The Bolshevisation of the Communist Youth Leagues signifies amongst other things making them capable of carrying out the special task which every change in the situation demands. The impending struggles on behalf of the trade unions will show how far our sections have proceeded along the road to Bolshevisation.

VUJO.



Third National Congress of the Y.C.L.G.B.

THE Third National Congress of our League was held in Manchester on July 11th and 12th. The representation was exceedingly good and delegates were present from all the important industrial areas of the country. The essential features of the Congress were, firstly, the thoroughly practical consideration of the situation of the working youth and the tasks of the League which were viewed from a standpoint in complete agreement with the political line of the Party Congress held a month earlier. Secondly, the unanimity and enthusiasm of the delegates which is a reflex of the progress of the League. The determination and spirit of this Congress was a tremendous improvement over the Second Congress.

It would, of course, be folly to ignore the weaknesses of the Congress. We are well aware of them. The theoretical weakness, the political inexperience and the absence of experience in mass work in the League all found expression. The Congress, however, ruthlessly examined these weaknesses in a spirit of Bolshevik criticism and its decisions were directed at the elimination of these faults and the building of a Bolshevik youth organisation.

The fact that the decisions of the Congress were based on a clear understanding of the political situation and a realisation of the defects of the League, and that these decisions have marked the beginning of the bolshevisation of the League justify our view that the Congress was a success. We can further state that this Congress is an historical achievement for the Young Communist International.

The building in Great Britain, the mighty imperialist power and home of classical reform, of a well founded and growing Communist Youth organisation must not be underestimated.

"The Political Situation in Great Britain."

The basis of the decisions of the Congress was the Theses on Bolshevisation, which analysed the political situation in line with the decisions of the Party Congress and on the basis of this analysis proceeded to outline the next tasks of the League in relation to its present position.

The theses stated "British capitalism has been very deeply affected by the world crisis of capitalism." Great Britain is in the throes of a tremendous economic crisis. British capitalism is not becoming stabilised, it is becoming de-stabilised. The over-capitalisation of industry, the competition of the Dominions and Crown Colonies, the growing national revolutionary movement and the steady driving of Britain from the world's markets by the United States are the chief factors determining this crisis. "British capitalism is now unable to maintain a large section of the white workers in better conditions than their fellows, as it used to. It is unable to cope with the continued enormous unemployment. The capitalists are seeking a way out by reducing the standard of the working class. That is why we are witnessing an organised capitalist offensive against the wages, hours and conditions of the workers in the chief industries. But these violent attacks against the workers are only increasing and intensifying their discontent, destroying their illusions and hastening the progress of the revolutionary education of the masses."

"Taken together, these circumstances mean that a revolutionary situation is developing in Great Britain, i.e., they deprive British capitalism of all hope of recovery, let alone further expansion. We are witnessing the stage of the breakdown of the domination of capitalism in Great Britain and the beginning of the era, when the working class enters the struggle for power."

The Bolshevisation of the British League.

The Congress declared that in view of the objective situation and the weakness of the League that bolshevisation in Great Britain means the building of a mass League by winning the leadership of the young workers in daily practical struggles first and foremost, which must be accompanied by a fearless and resolute fight against the influence of the reformists and opportunist.

The report of the Executive Committee in no way over-estimated the progress of the League; it was cautious and critical. The Congress unanimously adopted the report and well understood that **the smallness of the League is the great barrier which must be overcome.** Every delegate was imbued with the understanding of the need for recruiting, recruiting, recruiting. The Congress energetically emphasised that **recruiting is essentially a political question.** "Unless we are successful with our recruiting work we will not only be unable to fulfil our tasks, but we will also be faced with grave dangers especially in view of the growth of the **reformist youth movement.**"

This understanding found clear and practical expression in the section of the Bolshevisation Theses entitled Factory Groups, Re-organisation and Recruiting, wherein it was emphasised that the formation of factory groups depended on energetic recruiting. This section also dealt with the need for developing the life of the groups and working persistently towards the complete re-organisation. It is important to note that not a single voice was raised against the factory groups and the necessity for the complete re-organisation on that basis. On the contrary the delegates earnestly discussed the extreme weakness of the groups and the detailed and practical measures necessary to improve this work. The factory group work was also considered in a special conference of factory groups and concentration groups representatives.

Partial Demands.

The Congress concretely instanced the need for putting forward immediate demands in every field of struggle. Partial demands are of the greatest importance in Great Britain at this time during the big economic crisis when the masses are awakening and the left-wing developing. This was well understood by the Congress as was also the necessity for combining the partial demands with the final aim and revolutionary perspectives.

A clear understanding on the question of the partial demands is of tremendous importance, especially in view of the fact that the activity of the League must be based to a large extent on the Minority Movement, which is the growing organisation of the Left-wing trade unionists, but whose activities are necessarily finding a definite reflection in the workers' political organisations.

The Congress in no way under-estimated the role of the

Minority Movement, its importance to the League and the necessity for crystallising the Left-wing in the Labour Party.

The Congress was naturally most concerned with the struggle for immediate demands on the field of economic trade union work, the main plank in the activity of the League. On the basis of the experiences in running industrial campaigns, workshop and trade union activity and participation in several youth strikes the Congress was able to clearly lay down the lines of future work. The great stress laid by the Congress on the economic-trade union work has been amply justified by the developing capitalist offensive, the lock-out of the textile workers, and the political crisis caused by the stand of the miners.

It was decided that the industrial campaigns be continued and factory campaigns developed. Most important was the decision to take the first steps in the organisation of young workers' conferences.

These decisions on economic-trade union work, which were made in a realistic spirit in relation to the actual situation of the working youth, also dealt with the necessity for forming efficient fractions in the trade unions and linking this work up with the enrolling of all members in the trade unions. Already the overwhelming majority of the members are trade unionists. The importance of the struggle for International Trade Union Unity and the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee was fully dealt with, as was also the necessity for the organisation of all young workers in the trade unions with full rights and at lower dues payments.

By special resolutions it was decided to extend and develop the young miners campaign on demands adapted to the changed situation in the industry and to launch a big campaign amongst the young unemployed.

The United Front.

For the first time a Congress of the League came up against the United Front tactic as a practical and urgent question. The discussion on the United Front arose on the Labour Youth movement. After certain errors, mainly due to the inexperience of the League, the question of the fundamental attitude to and understanding of the role of the reformist youth organisations is now fairly well understood by the members. All uncertainties were finally cleared away by the comprehensive resolution adopted by the Congress.

The discussion centred around the struggle against the foremost reformist youth body, the Guild of Youth of the Independent Labour Party.

It must be said quite frankly that the discussion showed that many comrades did not understand the United Front tactic as a means of a more bitter and merciless struggle against reformism and that there is no contradiction between the United Front tactics and this struggle.

Whilst this question was cleared up in the Congress and complete unanimity obtained, this decision has by no means entirely eliminated the ideological confusion of the membership. Mistakes have been made, but they are being firmly opposed by the Central Committee who are issuing special educational material.

Leninist Educational Work.

The Congress not only clearly defined the nature of Leninism and emphasised that "the teachings of Lenin must guide us in every field of activity," but also indicated the practical steps to be taken. The tasks were described as being:

- (a) Mass Work based on Leninist teachings amongst the working youth;
- (b) Educating the members of the League;
- (c) Educating the active members (officials) of the League.

Even before the Congress, practical steps had been taken by the Central Committee in organising week-end schools and preparing the political minimum training syllabus.

The good discussion which took place on the educational work augurs well for the future. This is of the greatest importance in Great Britain where theory has always been treated with a certain amount of scorn, as the theoretical level of the members is low and the mass educational work very poor.

Colonial and Anti-Militarist Work.

The question of the colonial work was placed to the forefront in the tasks of the League. The Congress discussed both the theoretical and practical aspects of this work and declared with complete unanimity its support for the struggle of the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples and the fact that "the liberation of the colonial peoples as

well as of the British working class can only be achieved by the break-up of the British Slave Empire." It stressed the necessity for vigorous mass educational work against the imperialist prejudices of the young workers and in particular education amongst the League members. It accurately analysed the situation in India and declared that the revolutionary liberation of India from the yoke of colonial oppression can only be achieved if the working class assumes the role of the leader of the masses' struggle.

A resolution of greeting to the Indian Youth and a resolution expressing solidarity with the gallant struggle of the Rifis were enthusiastically carried.

The Bolshevik anti-militarist work came in for a big discussion especially because the elaboration of the League and Party's programme for the Forces has raised it to a practical level. The Congress not only re-affirmed the principle standpoint of the Y.C.I. on anti-militarism, but pointed the way to the intensification of the anti-militarist activity which is of overwhelming importance because of the danger of new imperialist wars and the use of troops in industrial disputes.

The Congress sent an illuminated address to its Budienny Regiment.

The Congress decided that the time was ripe to commence the transformation of the children's organisation from isolated sections to a self-governing mass Children's League. Many sections have already taken steps in that direction, particularly the Young Pioneers of Greenock.

Mention must be made of the decision to extend the campaign for the formation of a workers' mass sports movement under the auspices of the General Council of the T.U.C.

Without doubt this Congress marks a big step forward on the part of the Y.C.L. of Great Britain. All questions affecting the future tasks of the League have been satisfactorily dealt with. The role of the League as the only leader of the working youth has been clearly established. It was a Congress of realism, mass work—bolshevisation. The bolshevisation of the Young Communist League has commenced.

WILLIAM RUST.

Juvenile Unemployment in South Africa

A TERRIBLE spectre haunts the working class of every capitalist country of the globe. It is the perplexing question of unemployment—adult and juvenile. This grave problem is a direct result of the present economic system, and to all class-conscious workers it is the cancer of the decaying capitalist system. No matter what government holds the reins of office—Conservative, Liberal or Social-Democrat—it cannot be radically cured unless the very ones who are unemployed, together with those who are employed and who are suffering as a result of this system of society, take over the instruments of production and the land in the name of the working class.

If we care to analyse the position in South Africa, we would find that it has taken a course quite different from that usually taken in other countries. The problem is indissolubly bound up with the "native" question—a favourite phrase used by South African politicians. The skilled European workers of the land are in favour of a "white" South African policy of governing the people of South Africa. The people desire to see the negro native in South Africa "kept in his place"—namely to relegate him to his former barbaric state. From the economic consequences of capitalism in South Africa we can see that more and more the negro natives are leaving their primitive abodes and are toiling in the industrial centres of the country. These negro natives perform the unskilled work of the land, and their steady grip on the industrial position has created uneasiness in the mind of the South Africans, who wish the country as a sort of paradise for the European races. Says Col. Creswell, the "Labour" leader and Minister of Defence, as well as of Labour in the present Nationalist-Labour Government:

"What those consequences are the last census of South Africa tells in the plainest possible terms. I do not intend to weary you with a long series of figures and statistics, but I wish to tell you that the Director of Census, whose duty it was to analyse exactly and carefully the facts of population in the Union and to trace the changes and tendencies shown

between the previous census in 1911 and our recent census of 1921, has placed before me the deliberate conclusion: if the tendencies of the last ten years are to proceed unchecked, it is mathematically certain civilisation as we understand it must give way in South Africa to conditions in which no nation of our type can prosper or perhaps exist."

Let us take the case of the European worker in industry. He performs the skilled work of the country and plays the dominant part in the Labour movement of South Africa. The following is the growth of the population:

Year	European	Non-European (not available)
1871	294,000	" "
1881	436,000	" "
1891	620,000	2,779,000
1901	880,000	3,657,000
1911	1,276,242	4,697,000
1921	1,519,488	5,400,000

Natives Used Against White Workers.

As a direct result of the policy of the capitalist agents of the land, more and more negro natives are being brought into the industrial life of the country, and the European workers are being gradually ousted from employment. In relation to the conditions of employment in the Cape Peninsula generally during the year 1923, the Inspector of White Labour reported a feature which has important bearing on the question of providing openings for juveniles. He stated that the figures for 1923 revealed "a marked displacement of unskilled and semi-skilled white labour by coloured labour, whereas there is evidence that the skilled white worker continues to hold his own and has not suffered very seriously from unemployment."

The "native" question plays a very important part in the economic life of the country. The negro natives are a source of cheap labour for the capitalists, and this factor has reacted seriously on the standard of the highly-paid European worker. But more than this, these negro natives—the proletariat of South Africa—are beginning to organise themselves for better conditions. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.) has a big membership and has great and important tasks before it. Professor Brookes, in an article entitled "The Economic Aspect of the Native People," says: "More striking even than this exotic, lopsided, industrial training of a few individual natives, is the vast and

far-reaching industrial revolution which has, since about 1885, transformed 35 per cent. of our native population into town dwellers." Unemployment too is affecting the negro native masses, and we can say like Prof. Brookes "in spite of the huge amount earned in wages on the mines, neither the Natal nor the Transkeian native is prosperous, nor are his prospects as pleasant, as was the case 30 years ago.

"The money earned on the mines is squandered; social ties are weakened; and families are broken up by the long absence of the breadwinner."

Great Unemployment Among European Youth.

"What to do with our boys" was a familiar cry to the observer of public events of importance in South Africa during 1924. A government official, Mr. Warrington Smyth, Secretary of Mines and Industries, made this emphatic statement at a lecture held in the University of Cape Town:

"Since last Easter (1924), 16,000 boys in South Africa have come out into the world, of whom we suddenly realised we could only give employment to one-half."

The above statement only referred to European lads and does not include the negro native youth. The statement created quite a stir in the peaceful life of the country. A quotation from one of the leading papers of the land, "The Cape Argus" will suffice:

"'What to do with our boys' is at this moment less acute in Germany, at all events, than it is in South Africa. It is certainly rather more than less acute in most European countries."

The following figures give an idea of the position of European juveniles seeking employment, as recorded from official sources:

Month	Cape Town	Johannesburg	Durban
1922			
January	236	196	151
July	340	422	234
1923			
January	376	647	254
July	512	767	292
1924			
January	719	727	314
February	721	1,007	400
March	668	1,159	415

It is interesting to give the reasons of this crisis of the juvenile unemployed from the petty bourgeois quarter. One gentleman, Professor F. Clarke, of the University of Cape Town, declared: "Clearly these figures mean that the increased births of the boom years, 1903-1908, are now beginning to tell in the juvenile labour market, and that just at a time when scope for employment is below normal." That this is not the cause for juvenile unemployment can be referred to a statement made by Mr. Lowe, Secretary of the Johannesburg Juvenile Affairs Board, "that 1904 to 1906, the latter part of the period quoted by Professor F. Clarke, were lean and not boom years, so that the 'birth-rate jump' in those years at any rate was not likely to be attributable to prosperity."

Another point of view which the capitalist class of South Africa impress upon "the man in the street" is that this juvenile unemployment is due to our faulty educational system.

But how is the Juvenile Affairs Board going to solve this problem? This is their way of tinkering with this problem of capitalism:

Employers should provide openings for European juveniles wherever possible, even if it means "stretching to do so." Some employers, the Board understand, are trying schemes whereby European boys are employed to begin with in semi-skilled work (such as packing), which has hithert been done by non-Europeans. The object is to give them opportunities of learning, so that they may qualify for positions as foremen, salesmen, etc. What matters in all such experiments is not so much the actual character of the work with which the boy begins, as the prospects it holds out to energy and ability. If more European boys in future will have to start at the bottom, it is all the more necessary to keep the way open to them.

Yet there is another cause for this crisis. In 1923, the S.A. Party Government under the leadership of Gen. J. G. Smuts, an Education Administration Commission was appointed. Before this body, the Y.C.L. tendered evidence as to the basic reason why unemployment was so acute in this country. This Commission declared that in order to solve this problem, a "back to the land" policy should be adopted.

Since June 17th, 1924, a new Government was elected. This Government—the Nationalist and Labour Parties—represent the ideals of the rural capitalist and that of the highly-paid skilled European worker, who is so anxious to uphold the "white" South African standard and "keep the nigger in his place." As soon as this Pact Government took the reins of office it enunciated its policy of a "white" South Africa. Instead of choosing the terms "skilled" and "unskilled," they preferred to use a "civilised" or an "uncivilised" policy in order not to hurt their negro native supporters as well as advancing the cause of a "white" South Africa. Says the Prime Minister, Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog:

"As civilised labour shall be regarded all labour done by persons whose manner of life comes up to the standard commonly adopted as decent from a white man's standard.

"Uncivilised labour must be regarded as labour done by people whose object is confined to satisfying the mere needs of life as understood by undeveloped and savage races."

The direct result of this policy of the Pact Cabinet was to dismiss thousands of adult negro natives from the railways and other industrial undertakings, and place thereon white youths, who in many cases had not the physical capacity to perform their tasks. "The mere substitution of white for black in existing jobs can only intensify—the very thing we should avoid—competition by blacks for what work there is. And to lessen this fatal direct competition by black and white must be the conscious constructive goal of national policy," is the verdict regarding the Pact Government "substitution" policy, by Prof. W. M. MacMillan in a pamphlet on "The Native Question."

The real solution of this grave problem of modern life lies in the wholehearted solidarity of all sections of the working class. The Communist, unlike the Social-Democrat, sees that the only path to a classless order of society of the workers lies in the efforts of all class conscious workers to preach unity among the workers in the factory, in the mine and on the land. It is not principally our educational system that is at fault or other such petty matters, but it is the construction of our modern society—the "haves" and the "have nots." Let us all together unite both in action and in word with one mighty effort.

Away with capitalism! Speed the Social Revolution!

S. A. ROCHLIN.

Cape Town, S.A.

Situation of the Chinese Youth

Industrial Revolution.

DURING the last few years the national economy of China had gone through a real industrial revolution. Only recently, about 50 or 60 years ago, China, whose national economy was based on agriculture, came face to face with the capitalist West and was defeated. In the process of its penetration into China, West European capitalism undermined the old foundations, disintegrated the old social relations, pauperised the peasantry and called into being new social forces which are now active, thereby creating a competitor and an antagonist—the Chinese bourgeoisie and proletariat.

China, which has large stores of natural wealth (China has in the bowels of the earth 1,500 milliard tons of coal with a world store of 6,000 milliard tons: a ton—61 poods), became very rapidly industrialised. This is shown by the following figures which illustrate:

(a) The import of machinery and its parts into China: in 1903 imports amounted to 2,169,500 taels (a tael—75 cents); in 1920 imports amounted to 34,273,361 taels, that is, 16 times more.

(b) Growth of the textile industry organised in accordance with the latest development of technique:

Year.	No. of Factories	No. of Spindles.
1891	2	65,000
1918	48	1,272,946
1920	63	1,422,832
1922	109	2,915,262
1924	No exact data available	4,351,000

This table shows the actual growth of capitalism in China. The contributing factor was the European World War which

absorbed all the forces of the West European Powers and America in the struggle against Germany, thereby allowing Chinese industries to develop comparatively without hindrance.

Under the Heel of Imperialism.

But the further free development of Chinese industries is impeded by the oppressive policy of the world imperialists who have seized all the most important arteries of the country (railways, sea transport, mines, metal factories, electrical power stations, finance departments, the Customs, etc., etc.). This prevents Chinese industry from competing with foreign manufactured goods and it endeavours to get out of this difficulty at the expense of increased exploitation of the masses (in textile, silk weaving, tobacco and small industries) and mainly at the expense of children's and women's labour.

The Working Class of China.

Workers employed in backward branches of industry, in trade, as well as artisans, servants, rickshaw coolies, etc., number five millions. Of these five millions, two millions constitute the proletariat employed in the big industries.

The Working Class Youth.

These two million workers include about 250,000 young workers under the age of 18. As to the young workers employed in the home industries, they number 10 million, 2 million being apprentices and foremen. Most of them are under the age of 18.

This enormous human mass is subject to unheard of inhuman exploitation by native as well as foreign capitalists. Thousands of as yet undeveloped child organisms are drawn into the orbit of capitalist production.

The Childhood of Hereditary Proletarians.

For instance, the "Industrial Worker" stated in its issue of September 19, 1924: "Careful investigation of the cotton and silk mills of the Chang-Sha province of China has shown that 40 per cent. of the workers employed in this industry are children. These industries employ children between the ages of 6 and 12, and it happens that these children spend their whole life in these factories, as the mothers frequently bring the babies with them when they come to work, where they lie among the heaps of silk cocoons in the intervals between

feeding time. As soon as the child is old enough it is taught to sort cocoons, removing the bad ones. The finger-tips of these children are a deadly white from continual immersion in very hot water in which the cocoons are soaked before they are sent to the winders. Although this work is very laborious and the children work long hours, they receive only miserable pay. In Chang-Sha, where labour is paid better than elsewhere, they receive 15 to 20 cents a day and most of them work the whole week."

Here is another picture from the life of the proletarian children which we have culled from the columns of an English imperialistic newspaper, "North China Daily News": "One has only to look at these dirty, and tired ragged children who are evidently suffering from the effects of underfeeding, and who are brought to the factories in wheelbarrows, 10 to 15 in each, accompanied by their parents or relation or frequently by "foster parents," whose property they are in the true sense of the word, to realise to what extent children's labour is exploited."

Conditions of Labour of the Youth.

The usual working day of the Chinese working class youth fluctuates between 12 to 16 hours with rare deviations towards an 18-hour day and with still rarer deviations towards a 10-hour working day. There are no regulations and no protection of labour whatever. Children and young workers are employed in all branches of industry, including dangerous and injurious industries, for instance in the matchmaking, chemical and glass industries, as well as in smithies and in heavy branches of the transport service, etc. They are employed on night work as well as day work, just like adult workers, without a dinner interval and a weekly rest day. They can get leave of absence for one day every two months, with a deduction from their wages for that day. Preventive measures against accidents do not exist, even in enterprises equipped in accordance with the latest achievements of technique. While the percentage of killed and seriously injured in the mining industry is five, it is much higher in the case of children and young workers, in view of long working hours and their general exhaustion. Sanitary and hygienic measures for the improvement of labour conditions are conspicuous by their absence. For instance, there is only one hospital with 20 beds in Tanshan, where 13,000 workers are employed. As there is no river near by there are no baths or douches for the workers, with the result that they do not wash for years. Neither adult nor young workers

and children receive any wages when they are sick or have met with an accident. Sometimes they receive half-pay, but this is a very rare occurrence. As the organism of young workers and children is worn out by too hard labour and under-feeding they frequently fall asleep at their work, and then they are inhumanly beaten by the overseers or foremen. This is done very generally and for this hellish labour, young workers receive only 20 to 30 cents a day (the general average pay is 16 cents a day), which amounts to half the existence minimum—of the very low Chinese minimum. It is not to be wondered at that under such conditions the workers at the bench die from sheer exhaustion. Moreover, 90 per cent. of the Chinese youth and children employed in the industries suffer from tuberculosis, skin diseases or are cripples. This is only a faint outline of the conditions under which the Chinese youth have to work, especially in the factories owned by the native capitalists.

Exploitation by Europeans and their Guardianship.

The young workers' labour conditions are not any better in the European concessions and settlements, namely in those parts of the towns where foreigners are masters and have their own administrative and juridical organs and their own regulations. This is shown very vividly in the report of the Commission which investigated child labour in Shanghai and was appointed by the Shanghai municipality. Shanghai is the largest industrial centre in China. The Commission investigated labour conditions in 275 enterprises employing among them 173,272 workers. Most of these workers are employed in the textile and silk-weaving factories in the foreign concessions. A whole series of large enterprises connected with the land and sea transport service, shipbuilding, arsenals, etc., were not inspected. But all the figures which have been published give an appalling picture of the conditions of child labour which is mainly exploited by the foreigners (nearly 60 per cent. of the enterprises which have been inspected belong to foreigners).

The following table gives a picture of labour conditions in factories which have been inspected and which employ not less than 500 workers.

Type of Industry.	No. of enterprises.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Children.	Total.
Silk	51	2,760	27,785	1,509	11,257	12,766	43,311
Textile	38	23,579	61,158	2,636	5,307	7,933	92,730
Tobacco	5	3,705	7,377	247	318	565	12,147
Metal	3	2,520	450	—	—	—	2,970
Various	4	1,290	1,400	—	—	—	2,690
Total	101	33,854	98,670	4,442	16,882	21,324	153,848

This table shows us that children form 14 per cent. of the proletariat employed in heavy industry. It should be stated that under the heading "children" (boys and girls) only persons under the age of 12 are given. Those older than 12 have been placed by the Commission into the category of adults who work under the same conditions.

The following table shows the total number of enterprises which were inspected.

Type of Industry.	No. of enterprises.	Men	Women.	Children.	Total
Heavy	101	33,854	98,670	21,324	153,848
Medium	56	7,143	6,933	1,253	15,329
Small	118	3,744	318	33	4,095
Total	275	44,741	105,921	22,610	173,272

The above statistics are, of course, not complete, as they are limited to certain territories and industries. But they give nevertheless an idea of the place young workers occupy in the industries which are mainly in the hands of Europeans.

"Protectors" of Child Labour.

As already stated, the main tasks of this Commission was to investigate the conditions of *child labour*. The Commission did not publish any material bearing directly on this question, but an idea can be easily formed of the conditions of child labour from the following proposals which this Commission recommended as "*desirable*" to the Shanghai Municipality.

1. No Children under the age of 10 to be employed. The age of children is fixed by their outward appearance, and not by documentary evidence.

2. To limit child labour to 12 hours a day, night work by children permissible. Only one hours' interval for breakfast and dinner.

3. To give children one holiday every fortnight.

If such are the "radical" deductions made by the annexationists and exploiters, one can easily imagine how terrible is the position of the little slaves of the capitalist machine.

Young Workers' Strikes.

In view of all this it is not at all surprising that in spite of being downtrodden and backward, the Chinese working class youth frequently rise in protest against the existing forms of exploitation. Thus for instance, we have been told of a strike of 300 boys and girls, employed in the tobacco

industry in Shanghai, which ended in a compromise decision in favour of the employers. There have been several such strikes of Chinese workers. The main demands of the young strikers are: first of all, they protest against ill-treatment at the hands of foremen and overseers, and then they demand a shorter working day, higher pay, better conditions of labour, etc., etc.

Young Workers Employed in Handicraft.

The position of young workers employed in handicraft and in the small home industries is worse still than the position of young factory workers. Most of the 2 million apprentices are young workers under the age of 18. Their position is desperate: enslaved and oppressed, they not only work for the benefit of their masters, but are also their own and their wives' slaves in the full sense of the word. During their period of apprenticeship (3 to 5 years) the young workers do not receive any wages. Apprentices work at least 16 hours a day. But as a rule they rise with the dawn and go to bed at midnight. During all these hours they work without respite. The masters do not only exploit apprentices, but there is hardly a day without chastisement. Their cultural level is lower than that of young factory workers. They are not allowed to organise in unions or guilds, and, generally speaking, the guilds are against the improvement of the position of the young workers employed in handicraft and in the home industries, as they are the enemies of the latter. The only way out is—to run away, which frequently happens.

Struggle for the Emancipation of the Youth.

All this provides a clue to the fact that foreign capitalists, especially during the last few years, are not only importing manufactured articles into China, but also capital for the establishment of their own factories and works in the country. China is becoming not only a market of foreign goods, and a source for raw material, but also an enormous and inexhaustible market for cheap labour beyond all competition by means of which international capitalism is endeavouring to lower the general standard of life of the proletariat throughout the world.

The organisation of the young workers of China and of the stubborn everyday struggle on the part of the Chinese prole-

ariat for its direct economic interests, is one of the foremost tasks of the Chinese Young Communist League, which must concentrate most of its forces on this work.

As this struggle is directly affecting workers throughout the world it must find an echo in all countries in the form of opposition to the imperialist aspirations and colonial policy of Great Britain, France, America, Japan as the chief enemies of China and its working class.

N. FOKIN.



How the Youth Live and Work in the Soviet Union

(The Mannheim Social-Democratic "Volkstimme," January 17th, published an article in the Youth supplement entitled "The Sufferings of Young Russian Workers." Other Social-Democratic publications published statements on the condition of the young workers in the Soviet Union which in no way correspond with the facts. Hence we are here printing a statement from comrade Rogoff, member of the Central Committee of the R.L.Y.C.U., and chief of the Economic Trade Union Section of the Central Committee of the Russian Youth League.)

IN view of the publication of an article on the "Sufferings of the Russian Youth" in the "Socialist" press, which is absolutely contrary to the actual facts, we feel impelled to acquaint the young workers of the West with the work and life of the young workers in the Soviet Union by means of this short sketch.

The main achievement of the October Revolution for the youth consists in the fact that young workers are not regarded from the point of view of increased exploitation and adjuncts of increased gain, but that they are regarded as the reserve forces for skilled workers in Socialist construction. This point of view has its reflex in the Soviet Union Code of Labour Laws in operation since the early days of the October Revolution.

I. Youth in Industry.

At a particularly difficult moment in the economic position of the Soviet Union, in 1922, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets issued a decree in accordance with which certain forms were established for the percentage of apprentices in individual industries "with a view to the protection of industrial cadres to supply vacancies in the ranks of qualified workers." Thus, in accordance with this law, the apprentices must constitute the following percentages of the workers generally; metal industry, 8 per cent, textile industry, 6-8 per cent, and in the polygraphic industry, 13 per cent.

These measures not only permitted the number of apprentices to be maintained in industry, but even helped to

increase their number. Thus, by the 1st October, 1923, there were 168,900 apprentices, and on the 1st October, 1924, this number had been increased to 179,600. That is to say, an increase of 10,700 apprentices in one year. On the whole there were 74,000 young workers employed on October 1st, 1923, in ages varying between 14 and 23, and 802,206 on October 1st, 1924, thus constituting more than 15 per cent. of the total number of workers in industry. The number quoted, 187,000 by the "Socialist" "Volkstimme" and the "Sozialistischen Jugendinternationale" for October 1st, 1922, is an invention pure and simple.

The Sixth Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, November, 1924, stressed the significance of the young workers in industry and recorded in its resolution that one of the chief tasks of the economic organ is to maintain the status of the number of apprentices.

II. The Training of Qualified Workers for the Ranks of Communist Youth.

The Soviet Union Code of Labour Laws did not rest content with determining the number of apprentices in industry. The decree of the All-Russian Central Committee on this point acted as an impetus to increase the work of providing factory and workshop schools. The network of factory and workshop schools has attained unusual dimensions. According to the reports of 251 schools, the position is as follows:

	Number of Newly Opened Schools.					Un-dated.
	Prior to 1921	1921	1922	1923	1924	
Total ...	22	40	106	71	10	2
Per cent. ...	8.8	16	42	28.4	4	0.8

In 1922, 106 schools were opened for factory and workshop courses, which fact may be explained by the circumstance that the attention of the economic, trade union, Party and Youth organisations was concentrated on the creation of these schools. A workshop school is a Leninist school. The workshop schools are real class schools, schools for the working youth. The composition of learners in these schools confirms this fact; in 1923 and 1924, the pupils in accordance with their social standing were as follows: workers' children 87 per cent., peasant children, 6.6 per cent., employers' children, 6 per cent, other sections, 0.4 per cent. Included in this 0.4 per cent. children from other sections, there are many children of home-workers and handicraft workers.

Young workers may be proud of the workshop school, not simply because it is a school where one learns, but also because it is a school which has been created by their own hands. The percentage of the members from the ranks of the R.L.Y.C.I., and the R.C.P., who frequent these schools, is a proof of this fact; at the close of their school year, 1923-24, the composition of these schools was: R.C.P. members, 2.3 per cent, R.L.Y.C.I. members, 60.8 per cent., Young Pioneers, 0.6 per cent., non-Party, 36.3 per cent. The number of non-Party in the school year 1924-25 was greatly reduced by the mass entry into the Youth League during the Lenin week, January, 1925.

The Factory School.

These factory and workshop schools have generally a 3-4 years' course and prepare workers not only for a definite trade, but also provide a good general education and make the workers Communists, who consciously mould their lives. These workshop schools are the creation of the working class and therefore Trade Union Congresses and those of the Party and Youth Leagues devote great attention to them in their work and in their resolutions. The complaints of the "Volkstimme" and "Sozialistische Jugendinternationale" are absolutely unfounded when they write: "There is only a small number of technical schools, absolutely inadequate for the number of the apprentices. From the ranks of the leather workers only 35 per cent. and from the ranks of canalisation workers only 25 per cent. frequent these technical schools." The Socialist press, which utilises the inadequate information about the life and work of the young workers in the Soviet Union, wants to mislead the young workers with the cry: "There is only a small number of technical schools," but so that you will not know the real state of affairs, it must be recorded that on the 1st January, 1924, there were 942 technical schools in the Soviet Union, or more correctly put, factory and workshop schools, with 68,819 pupils.

In the school year 1924-25, 1,500 apprentices were received into the schools, that signifies that there are 73,000 apprentices in the technical schools, or 50 per cent of all apprentices in the Soviet Union. And this number is not at all so small for the Soviet Union, when compared with other countries, especially when you remember that the schools are continually increasing. Schools are being established in those branches of national economy where hitherto none existed, for example, mining, fishing, forestry, etc. In the various branches of the metal industry 52 per cent. of the

apprentices of 14,000 youths are distributed in 168 schools, whereas in 1922 there were only 55 schools with 3,450 apprentices. But what do the figures given by the "Volkstimme" and the "Sozialistische Jugendinternationale" allege? "35 per cent. of the leather workers and 25 per cent. of the canalisation workers." Young workers are here being properly misled; from the ranks of the leather workers the percentage is not 35 per cent. but 29 per cent. (why we will explain later) and from the canalisation workers, of whom there are only 1,520 in all Soviet Russia, there are only 10 apprentices and for these there is no school. Only people who are intent on picturing the position of young workers in Soviet Russia in its worst light can find cause for complaint, because there is no school for 10 canalisation apprentices, whilst they purposely overlook the 14,000 youths in the metal industry and the 10,000 in other branches, who are learning their trades.

Why does it happen that only 29 per cent. of the apprentices belonging to the leather industry frequent factory and workshop schools and in the other industrial branches only about 50 per cent. and not 100 per cent. of all the apprentices? This may be explained by technical reasons. There is a large number of small factories, especially in the leather industry, where it is impossible to establish schools. Wherever in the ranks of the small industries the workshops are fairly close together, factory and workshop schools are formed on a district basis. But in Soviet Russia, because of its enormous expanse, there are very many small industries which are situated 10 to 100 versts apart, so that it is absolutely out of the question to establish a school. Those apprentices who do not receive instruction in factory and workshop schools, are taught in groups or even individually. Education of apprentices is encouraged and master hands are interested by the fact that the Supreme Economic Council has specified definite payment for instructors of those groups and special premiums for masters to give individual instruction in order to speed up the training of qualified workers. These premiums are between 5 and 20 per cent. of the basic workers' wage. Just as in the factory and workshop schools also for individually taught apprentices, a definite apprenticeship period is determined for every trade and every industry in accordance with a specially drawn-up programme, which is drafted in factory commissions composed of representatives of the factory council, of the factory management, of the engineers, and of the Communist nuclei. The pupils themselves participate in the work of the Commission. Even with home workers, who can only employ one or two appren-

tices, instruction is carried out in accordance with the programme and a previously determined period of apprenticeship. From all these facts it is perfectly clear that all the apprentices of the Soviet Union must receive instructions in factories and workshops; thus 50 per cent. frequent factory and workshop schools and the remaining 50 per cent. are taught individually or receive group education in the industry itself.

III. Wages, Working Day and Health of the Youth.

We get a clearer picture of the endeavour of the "Volkstimme" to pervert facts when it deals with the question of wages. The article alleges: "The wages are very low and in accordance with official figures, which are undoubtedly over-estimated, they are 9.2 roubles (approximately 20 shillings) in the metal industry per month, and in the mounting branch, 7.01 roubles." First of all these official figures are under-estimated, since these figures represent the tariff stages without additions which the majority of young workers receive. Further, the figures 9.2 and 7.01 roubles are budget roubles, which must be multiplied by one and a half in order to reduce the sum to gold roubles, and finally, the statements made in the "Volkstimme" and the "Sozialistische Jugendinternationale" regarding wages in the metal factory are contrary to fact. The increase of the wages of apprentices is in accordance with the following table:

Industry.	Oct., 1922. Rs.	Dec., 1923 Rs.	Jan., 1924 Rs.	Nov., 1924. Rs.*
Average in all branches of Industry	7.76	13.39	14.70	19.02
Metal Industry	8.95	12.60	15.27	16.97
Textile Industry	7.60	15.33	16.45	18.93
Mining Industry	11.52	10.51	12—	14.12
Provision Industry	13.35	21.15	22.18	23—

* 1 Rouble—2s. 2d.

From this table of wages in some important branches of industry you get a completely different picture from that which "Volkstimme" presents. In this table only the wages of youths up to 18 years of age is given, i.e., the pupils of factory and workshop schools, of groups and of individual instructors. The earnings of young workers are, generally speaking, very much higher; for example, the average wage for apprentices is that of the 2nd and 3rd category* and of young workers that of the 3rd

* Salaries and wages in Russia are divided into 17 categories, beginning with 1.

and 4th categories. This by no means indicates that the wages of young workers have attained the maximum, for they increase in accordance with the wages of all workers, corresponding with the steady growth and reconstruction of industry. The All-Russian Trade Union Council has published a circular addressed "To all Trade Union Organisations," in which it proposes to enquire into the fact whether the wages of apprentices are actually in accordance with their qualification. If it should be true that the qualification is higher than the wage paid, then the apprentice is to be promoted to a higher category. The increase in the wage corresponding with higher qualification enables the apprentice to develop more quickly and is both in his interests and in the interests of the industry of the proletarian State.

Social-Democratic Lies About the 6-hour Day.

The "Volkstimme" and the "Sozialistische Jugendinternationale" state that "the official 6-hour day for young workers is non-existent." In this way these papers want to secure gratitude for their "disinterested" care for young workers in the Soviet Union, but fortunately the position is such that young workers in the Soviet Union do not require this interest on the part of foreign "friends." The position as regards working hours is as follows:

The Percentage to the total number of all Apprentices.

Duration of Working day.	From 38 gubernia of U.S.S.R. in 1923	From Reports of Factory Inspectors in 1913
4 hours and under	29.9	Less than 8 hours
5 hours and under	1.4	only 3.4
6 hours and under	57	—
7 hours and under	1.8	—
8 hours and under	9.6	14.3
9 hours and under	more than 8 hours only 0.3	26
9-10 hours	—	4.1
10 hours	—	26.3
10-11 hours	—	9.9
11 hours	—	4.1
More than 11 hours	—	11.3

From this table of working hours for apprentices and the comparison made with the year 1913, it can be deduced better than anywhere else that the young workers of the Soviet Union do not require this advocacy and the wailing about the

miserable position of the "Russian Youth." The daily hours of work for apprentices in 1922 were on an average 5.6 compared with 9.6 in 1913. The entire young workers of the Soviet Union attained this great achievement only thanks to the victory of the October Revolution and it is conscious that these achievements are only possible in a proletarian State. At the same time however the working youth of the Soviet Union know very well that the young workers in capitalist countries are living under much worse conditions and instead of 5 or 6 hours they must work 9, 10 and 14 hours. The infringements against the regulation of working hours for apprentices are diminishing in accordance with the general improvement in the position of the working class and by means of the increased control on the part of the State organisations: labour inspectors and assistants (solely from the ranks of the young workers) and also representatives from the Trade Unions, Communist Party and Young Communist Leagues.

Health.

As regards the health of young workers, we must take into consideration on the one hand, the results of the slavish conditions of workers in pre-revolutionary days and on the other hand the difficult position during the time of the imperialist and civil wars. The percentage of cases of illness, in Moscow, town and gubernia, for the year 1923 is for the town 39.8 per cent. and for the gubernia 31.6 per cent. In considering these data we should remember that the textile industry is predominant in Moscow, an industry especially injurious to health. In the Soviet Union generally, the percentage of illnesses is considerably less.

The nature of the illnesses of the apprentices is given as follows:

	Per cent.
Anæmia	43.6
Illnesses of the respiratory organs	22.8
Tuberculosis	9.6
General undevelopment	6.5
Illnesses of the blood-vessels	5.0
Digestive illnesses	1.7
Eye Complaints	1.0
Other Illnesses	9.8

From these data we can see that more than 50 per cent. of the illnesses among apprentices are due to anæmia and

general undevelopment, which may be explained as being the results of the trying period which we have just experienced. What measures have been taken to improve the health of the young worker? The Doctors Commission reports as follows:

	Per cent. of all Apprentices.
Rest Homes	39.8
Holidays	20.6
Treatment in Ambulatoria	18
Sanatoria	17.2
Kurorts	2.4
Hospitals	1.4

We should add that a far greater number of apprentices were sent to rest homes than is here stated.

We must inform the young workers of the West that the cost for sending away young workers to sanatoria, rest homes, etc. and improving their health by sport activities is borne by the proletarian State, the Soviet Union. When we consider the enormous development of sport both on land and water in summer colonies and by means of excursions into the country, which endeavours receive the support of all the organs of the proletarian State, then we must acknowledge that everything is being done to improve the health of young workers and that during the coming year the bad results of the past will be made good and anæmia, exhaustion of the organism and tuberculosis will be wiped out.

IV. Trade Unions and the Communist Youth Leagues.

Whence do the "Volkstimme" and the "Jugendinternationale" get their information about the mutual relations between the Youth Leagues and the Trade Unions? They write: "Even the official youth organisation 'Komsomol' (R.L.Y.C.L.) which endeavoured to pay attention to the interests of the young workers, received a rebuff from the All-Russian Central Committee of the Trade Unions. The resolution of this organisation stated that the attention on the part of the 'Komsomol' on behalf of the interests of the young workers was completely superfluous." We know nothing about any such resolution, and the relationship between the Youth Leagues and the Trade Unions absolutely excludes the possibility of any such resolution. Still, we shall endeavour to give these "Socialist" boys an official report so that if they must lie, then at least let them lie with moderation. The "Pravda," February 17th, 1924, published

"Theses on the Mutual Relations between the Trade Unions and the R.L.Y.C.L.

"§1. The necessity to win the masses of the workers for the Trade Unions and the conduct of the work for the improvement of working conditions, modes of life, and education, demand from Trade Unions and the R.L.Y.C.L. the closest organisational contact and work."

In our opinion this leaves no room for doubt. Where is the Youth League ignored here? Where do we find "the order not to interfere"? A fabrication quite worthy of the "Socialist" Youth International. Of course, it is quite another matter that the Trade Unionists themselves work in the ranks of the youth. The protection of the interests of the adult workers by the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union (not in accordance with the example of the reformist Trade Unions of the West) comprises also the demands of the young workers. All organisations of the Soviet Union have a definite aim in view and in order to attain our ultimate aim, Communism, work is divided among all organisations. The economic demands of the young workers are supported by the Communist Youth Leagues, firstly, by their active representatives in the Trade Unions, who take an active part in Trade Union work, a fact which may be seen from paragraphs 3 and 5 of the above-mentioned theses:

"§3. The Russian Communist Youth League carries on work among the youth, endeavours to discover the requirements of young workers and introduces these into general trade union work, sends active officials to trade union organs and takes the initiative in raising questions with regard to young workers in trade unions.

"§5. In order to maintain contact between the trade unions and the organisations of Young Communist Leagues and to effect the participation of these in trade union work, especially that section of work which affects young workers, the Russian Young Communist League delegates its representatives in a consultative capacity to all organs in the trade union movement. In the strong trade union organisations with a high percentage of young workers, the R.L.Y.C.L. in agreement with the trade unions sends representatives for permanent work in the apparatus of same."

That this representation is actually effected and that the Youth League participates in the work of the trade unions,

is proved by the fact that in the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, which issued the "order not to interfere" there are five representatives of the Central Executive of the R.L.Y.C.L. There are 40 representatives of the Central Executive of the R.L.Y.C.L. in the Central Committee of the Trade Union centre, 17 in the Council of the trade union centres which are carrying out continuous work in the Presidium of these Central Committees. In addition to this in every gubernia, in every trade union, there are from 10 to 13 representatives of the League who are appointed by the trade unions.

At the recent Congress of the Trade Unions, in which representatives for the British section of the Amsterdam Trade Union International were present, a large section of young delegates took part. At the Congress of the Textile Workers' Union, there were 134 delegates under 23, out of a total of 600 delegates. This gives proof of the large percentage in trade union work and only Socialist gossips can make talk about disagreement between the trade unions and Communist Youth Leagues. And not only in the leading trade union organs will you find representatives of the Young Communist League. In the Soviet Union there are 30,000 minor trade union organs (factory councils, trade union councils, workers' councils), and practically in all of these representatives of the R.L.Y.C.L. nuclei are to be found who actively participate in the work of the lower organs and their commissions.

With these statements we shall now close this short sketch of the position of the young workers in Soviet Russia. The growth of the R.L.Y.C.L., which in January, 1925 had a membership of over one million, proves that this is the actual and only leader of the working and peasant youth, which in the future will act as the advance guard of the International Communist Youth Movement.

The malicious attacks of the "Socialist" Youth International are only a proof of their own weakness.

W. C. ROGOFF.

Educational Work

The Syllabus of the Y.C.L.G.B.

Here is given a condensed resume or review of the Training Syllabus of the British League, for purposes of information and study for our other English-speaking Leagues.

1. **Preface.** Outlines stages of Y.C.L. educational work. (Masses political minimum and cadre). Necessity of political minimum. Task of training group leader to extend and develop material. Necessity of individual study. Basis of syllabus.

- (a) Fundamental principles of Leninism.
- (b) Practical tasks of League: combination of educational work with active participation in class struggle.
- (c) Syllabus divided in two parts:
 - (i) Theoretical.
 - (ii) Practical.

2. Guide for Group Leaders giving Following Points.

- (i) (a) Aim of the course. (To provide members with elementary understanding.)
- (b) Method of course.
- (c) Necessity of participation of all students and recapitulation.
- (d) Necessity for taking notes and for class secretary.
- (e) Preliminary list of books for class leaders as follows:—

A.B.C. of Communism; Leninism; Lenin and Britain; Programme of Y.C.I. Decisions of Fourth Congress of Y.C.I. Lenin and the Youth. What the Y.C.L. stands for. Instructions for Building Factory Groups.

Also advisability of class members studying these books individually.

- (f) Importance of reports.
- (g) Written report of each member to examiner.
- (ii) Method of illustration for lessons given, viz.:
Practical examples from students' own experiences.

LESSON ONE.

Capitalism.

1. The conditions of the young workers commencing with conditions in the factories or locality. The young worker in politics, trade unions and war. The contrast: conditions of capitalist class youth. Conditions of whole working class. Cost, profit, ownership, means of production, profit system. Industrial crises. Wages and profits.

2. Value and surplus value. Exploitation.

3. Contradictions of capitalist economy. The class struggle, classes opposing interests.

4. Competition, over-production. Unemployment, boom and slump, colonial markets. Main characteristics of capitalist system:

- (a) Classes, means of production privately owned.
- (b) Class war as consequence.
- (c) Production therefore for profit, not use.
- (d) Capitalist system competitive system. (Competition between capitalists, or anarchy in production.)

5. The State. State machinery of class subjections. Methods of state rule:—

- (a) Violence and armed force. Army, Navy and Air Force legal machinery.
- (b) Ideological means. Imperialist education: religion, press, including boys' papers and magazines, sport, cinema, social clubs, boy scouts.

6. Democracy. Disguise of democracy. The democratic illusion. Capitalists utilise democratic shams to quieten workers, but do not limit themselves to constitution. Italian fascism, Bulgarian White Terror, German fascism, attacks on Soviet Russia.

7. Solution. Workers must organise for overthrow of capitalism, to smash capitalist state, and set up in its place workers' rule, bringing collective ownership means of production and distribution, end of classes, and, finally, **Communism.**

LESSON TWO.

What Are We Fighting For? Communism!

1. Characteristics of Communism:

- (a) Common ownership means of production. No exploitation.
- (b) Production for use.
- (c) Regulation of production (according to social need, eliminating anarchy and over-production).
- (d) Socialist re-organisation on youth labour. Youth, and youth labour dealt with from educational standpoint.

2. Proletarian Dictatorship. Liquidation of former class antagonisms (armed and ideological). Workers' state creates foundations of Communism. Led by Communist Party. Characteristics of transition period:

- (a) Parliament abolished. Centralised workers' government elected from factory, operating through local councils, drawing masses into administration.
- (b) Disarmament of bourgeoisie, arming of proletariat, disenfranchisement of bourgeoisie, suppression of their political activities.
- (c) Workers' state monopoly of education, complete universal and equal education for all children.
- (d) Political equality and rights for all workers.
- (e) Nationalisation of key industries, state monopoly of foreign trade.
- (f) The Russian Revolution.
- (g) Conditions of youth in Soviet Russia.
- (h) The Report of the Trade Union Delegation.
- (i) The code of Labour Laws for young workers.

LESSON THREE.

How Capitalism Leads to Social Revolution.

1. Development of capitalism. Trustification, monopoly, finance, capital. The bankers and industry.

2. Imperialism. The search for raw material, markets and spheres of investment. The imperialist struggle. The four important imperialist powers. U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Japan. In addition to these is the U.S.S.R., where the working class rules.

- (a) The British Empire, one-third of the world, 450 millions, 10 per cent. British, of these a small handful masters of the whole empire.

(b) Militarism result of imperialism.

(3) Imperialist propaganda among the workers. British Empire based on bloodshed, wars, oppression, the slave trade, etc. The British labour aristocracy. The development of imperialism throws increasingly heavy burdens on home working class. Class conflicts become more acute.

(4) Imperialist suppression leads to colonial revolts.

(5) War inevitable. Imperialism the stage of great wars. Imperialist wars shakes foundations of capitalist society, and hastens its downfall, and leads to workers' revolt.

(6) The Epoch of Socialist Revolution. Conflicts between capitalists and working class, capitalist and colonial peoples, and between capitalist groups, leading to breakdown of capitalist system and to united revolution of the working masses at home and in the colonies. These developments accelerated by imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the first break in the imperialist chain made by the Russian Revolution converting one-sixth of world from capitalist domination by Soviet Rule.

LESSON FOUR.

The Organisation of the Working Class.

1. Industrial Revolution, 1760. Enclosure of the common land. Beginnings of the proletariat. Combination Acts. Reform Bill of 1830. The franchise. Repeal of the Combination Act of 1825. Chartist Movement. 1850, rise of Craft Unions. English capitalism gaining monopoly of world market. Concessions to British workers. Birth of Labour aristocracy. 1887, organisation of unskilled workers. Development of competition. Germany and America enter the world market. The former English markets become competitors. 1883. Formation of Second International. No Socialist mass parties in Great Britain. Socialist societies sectarian or opportunist.

2. The Labour Party. 1900, formation of Labour Party. Formed to represent interests of trade unions in Parliament. Labour Party marked a stage forward in the historical development of the working class. A considerable section of the working class, though confused, realised the necessity of their own political party. A stage in the develop-

ment towards the building of a genuine revolutionary party. The Labour Party the prey of the trade union bureaucrats and the opportunism of the so-called Socialist organisations. The I.L.P. and the S.D.F., and particularly the Fabian Society, grafted themselves on to it, representing the Liberal influences within the Labour Party. Consequence of world war rise of Third International and Y.C.I. Trade unions strengthened in number during war, still fail to carry on revolutionary struggle against capitalism. The Labour Party dominated by the I.L.P., recruited great masses within its ranks, through trade union affiliations, but does not represent the interests of the working class.

3. What is a Party? Classes and Parties. A political party is the organisation of a class and represents its interests in the economic and political spheres. There may be two or more parties representing the interests of different sections of one class, e.g., Liberal and Tory parties representing different interests of the bourgeoisie.

A working class party is not a genuine party and representative of the interests of the workers if its policy and programme is not one that is in the interests of the workers, but one which supports capitalism.

4. Why is the Labour Party not the party of the working class? The Labour Party despite its composition not a genuine working class party. Not a party which represents real interests of working class. Labour Party as a whole is not based on revolutionary class struggle against capitalism for Socialism, but a collaboration with capitalist class, and avoiding the struggle for overthrow of capitalism, strives for reforms within its framework. (There exist local sections of the Labour Party which do not pursue such reactionary activities, but mainly the Labour Party follows the lines indicated above.) Leadership. (Support of the war, Henderson's Cabinet post, shooting of Connolly, the Labour Government, Thomas). Instrument in the hands of the capitalists. The Labour Party developing into the third party of the bourgeoisie. The working class party, the Communist Party.

5. The Communist Party. The Communist Party based on the revolutionary class struggle, and represents the interests of the working class; is the vanguard and leader of the working class. While representing the interests of all workers, fighting for all oppressed masses, the Communist Party organises its ranks from the foremost, boldest and most intelligent elements of the working class.

Individual membership. Centralisation. Discipline. (A worker cannot become a member of the Communist Party merely by joining a trade union, but can only enter it when he accepts its programme, and is prepared to work for its realisation.) The Communist Party; a mass party, mass influence and leadership, large numerical membership. There can be only one Communist Party in the country. The Communists work in the Labour Party, and the Communist Party claims affiliation to the Labour Party because large masses of the working class are organised in the latter. The Communist Party must work among them in order to win them for the Communist Party.

6. The Independent Labour Party. The I.L.P., reformist before the war, developed middle class outlook to highest point during and after war; developed to third party of the bourgeoisie; the capitalists handed machinery of British Government to Cabinet composed of I.L.P., which faithfully carried out the interests of the capitalists. Examples: Dawes Plan, bombing of Irak, Emergency Powers Acts against workers, I.L.P. dominates Labour Party, imposing on it middle class policy of class collaboration and Labour imperialism. Many sincere workers follow the I.L.P. misguided by reactionary leadership. Task of Communist Party is to win these workers to the revolutionary class struggle. United Front.

7. The Young Communist League. Mass organisation of the working youth. The organisation of the working class which has the task of enrolling all young workers within the ranks of the working class and organising them to take part in the class struggle alongside rest of workers.

8. Red Trade Unions. R.I.L.U. and the Minority Movement. The Trade Unions are mass organisations of the working class which rally all workers on the basis of their immediate demands. The trade unions are in no sense competitors of the Communist Party. Trade Unions the schools of Communism; tasks of trade unions under proletarian dictatorship.

9. Minority Movement reaction against the old-fashioned British craft unionism and sectionalism. Against the methods of reformism and the reactionary Right-wing. Minority Movement a political movement, and in no sense a disruptive and splitting movement.

10. Trade Union Unity. The Communists whole for class division in political parties, stand firmly against splits

in trade union movement; and for national and international trade union unity.

LESSON FIVE.

1. Why a Young Communist League? Resolution, Fifth Congress of the Comintern. Necessity of revolutionary reserve, schools for Communist parties, special position of working youth and their psychological peculiarities. Early revolutionary youth movements. The form of the organisation. Y.C.L. mass organisation and leader of the working youth. Mass school of Communism for the working youth for overthrow of capitalism and dictatorship of the proletariat. Carries on economic struggle; the struggle against militarism for the disintegration of the capitalist armies and formation of Red Armies. Leninist education, support of the colonial peoples and national revolutionary struggles. Communist children's movement. Sole leader of the working youth.

2. Young Communist League and the Party. Party leader of whole working class. League politically subordinate to party, but retains organisational autonomy. League not second edition of Party. Participation of League in Party life. Organisational connections between Party and the League.

3. Other working youth organisations. I.L.P. Guild of Youth, Labour Party Young People's Sections, continental Socialist Youth organisations. Appendages of Socialist democratic parties against class struggle. Struggle for liquidation of reformist youth. United front tactics. Youth sections of the Labour Party. Formation of fractions and united front tactics. Against youth sections in the trade unions. Recruiting of young workers systematic task.

4. Mass organisations and mass work. Partial struggles and demands linked with revolutionary aim. Re-organisation on factory groups. Characteristics of Bolshevik Mass Organisation. Strongly centralised, strictly disciplined, full confidence in leading organs. Y.C.L. section of Y.C.I. accepting decisions. Leninist League. Bolshevisation.

LESSON SIX.

Factory Groups.

Necessity of factory groups. What is a factory group. Factory groups and economic struggle. Work of factory

groups. Recruiting in factory groups. Illegality. Complete re-organisation. Every factory our stronghold.

LESSON SEVEN.

Economic Struggle.

Why economic struggle? Deterioration of young workers' struggles. Legalisation of youth exploitation. Y.C.L. is leader of fights for immediate demands. Participation in the general economic struggle, Communist Party and trade unions. Minority Movement. Socialist re-organisation and juvenile labour. Economic programme of Y.C.I. Special programmes for special industries, young miners, young engineers, etc. Work in the trade unions. Fractions. Industrial campaigns. Workshop activity. Factory campaigns, unemployment. Our unemployed programme.

LESSON EIGHT.

Struggle against Imperialism.

1. Colonial question. Imperialism and militarism. Liberation of the colonies. Against imperialist war. Second International and the colonial question. Leninist teachings on the colonial and national questions. Imperialist powers and colonial peoples. The British Empire, the French Empire. Common interests of working class and oppressed colonial peoples. The world's federation of Soviet Republics based on Socialism. Tasks of the Y.C.L. Organise and support Y.C.L.'s in colonies and dominions. Organise and support large mass national revolutionary movements, youth in colonies and dominions. Propaganda and enlightenment among working youth at home against nationalist and imperialist prejudices for colonial youth. Work amongst colonial youth in Britain. Immediate demands for the colonial countries. Minimum wage, equal wage for equal work, six-hour day, full political rights, etc.

2. Militarism in the capitalist system. Army, Navy and Air Force composed mainly of young workers and middle class and aristocratic officers. Function of military forces, subjection working class in Great Britain and colonies. Pursue policy of conquest and war against rival imperialists. Development of militarism. Technical warfare, heavy guns, aeroplanes, tanks, poison gases. Working youth bears chief burden in "peace" and war.

3. War inevitable under capitalism. Growing danger of imperialist war. Defence of the fatherland.

4. Pacifism. "No More War Movement." Socialist Democrats. Disarmament, arbitration, Geneva Protocol. Pacifists oppose war on principle. Pacifism utopian. Pacifism treachery to cause of workers.

5. Individual refusal of military service. The General Strike. The disproof of the general strike slogan. Proletarian revolution only method of preventing imperialist war. Destruction of capitalist army. Necessity of Red Army. Nature of Red Army. Discipline. Functions of Red Army; Education. Role of Red Army; fights for its own abolition.

6. Struggle for immediate soldiers and sailors demands. Bolshevik anti-Militarist work.

LESSON NINE.

Our International Organisation. From Second to Third International. The Y.C.I.

1. Need for international organisation. Workers have no fatherland, but workers whole world have common interests. Socialist revolution—world revolution.

2. The Communist Federation, 1848. Marx. Communist Manifesto.

3. The first International, 1864, London. Reasons for collapse. Beginning of Imperialism, conflicting tendencies. Paris Commune, 1871.

4. Second International. Growth of working class. Birth of Socialist mass parties. Mass organisations of working class. Failure and treachery of the Second International. Reformism in place of our revolutionary struggle. Legality and constitutionalism. parliamentary majority, etc. The Left-wing of the Second International. Lenin and Liebknecht. Victory of reformism. Collapse of Second International. World War. Russian Revolutionary Party in Second International. Second International loose federation. Confined to white workers. Second International after the war. Second International tool of the capitalists against working class. Left-wing of the bourgeoisie. Examples, Germany, Hungary, Russian Mensheviks, British Labour Government.

5. Third International, Zimmerwald. Lenin and Liebknecht. 1916, Kienthal. 1917, Russian Revolution. 1919, formation of the Communist International, and mass parties, leader of world revolution. Not mere federation of independent parties, but one world-wide centralised body. International of workers of the whole world, without distinction of race, sex or age, based on revolutionary class struggle, Marxism, Leninism.

6. The Young Communist International. Socialist Youth International, 1909, Stuttgart. Revolutionary opposition of youth in Second International. Socialist youth faithful to international Socialism during war. Socialist youth and Zimmerwald. Young Communist International, 1919. Berlin Conference. Affiliation to Third International. Transformation of S.Y.I. into Y.C.I. The Berlin Programme. Second Congress, July, 1921. Role and function of the Y.C.I. Third Congress, December, 1922. Economic demands, Socialist re-organisation of juvenile labour. Factory groups. Fourth Congress, July, 1924. Mass work. Bolshevisation of the Y.C.I. Y.C.I. section of the C.I. International Day of Youth. Socialist Youth International after war. Socialist Youth International reformist central European organisation, appendage of Socialist democracy. Y.C.I. only genuine working youth organisation.



are well on the way to be in line with the most advanced organisations. According to the statistics of November, 1924 (and since then the total membership of the R.L.V.C.I. has increased by 200,000) 300,000 of the 900,000 members of the League are from the national territories and republics. In this number are not included the so-called national minorities who are also quite considerable. For example, there are the Jewish Young Communists, who number 4,000 and carry on the work in the Jewish language, the Tartars outside of the Tartar and Crimean Republics who number 9-10,000, then there are the Letts with 2,000 and the Germans with 2,000 (the organisation of the German Republic on the Volga territory is not included), etc.

What are actually these organisations in the national territories and Republics? Do they consist entirely of Russian settlers?

No, this is not the case.

The statistics of the growth of the organisation during a few months in the past year show that the new members are chiefly from the ranks of the native youth. For example, in the Dschety-Su territory, there are only 431 Russians in comparison with 1,359 natives, and in the Fergana district, 73 Russians out of 1,893 natives. In the Tartar Republic, however, there are 1,372 Russians and only 981 Tartars, but here we must remember that in the Tartar Republic the conditions of both sections of the inhabitants are practically the same. In accordance with the conference of nationalities of the R.C. of the R.L.V.C.I. at the end of November last year a definite instruction was issued for the organisation of new members from the ranks of the native youth.

The Conference pointed out the basic shortcomings which consist in the inadequate participation of the youth from home industries and young agricultural workers who constitute chiefly the most exploited strata. Thus in Central Asia there are only 5,000 of the agricultural labourers out of a total of 30,000 in the V.C.I. This number is naturally inadequate, but the youth employed in home industries is organised even in a still lesser degree.

The actual condition of the native active membership is the second question which is of extreme significance for our national organisations. In spite of cultural backwardness, in spite of the fact that in the beginning the leading cadres

were exclusively young Europeans, still we have attained by persistent work great successes. The active membership in Central Asia was composed of 44.2 per cent. of natives (these are data from the middle of last year* when national division had not yet been concluded and, therefore, the inclusion of active members from the ranks of natives was more difficult. In the Caucasus the Russians and the other non-Caucasian members form only 17 per cent. Also those territories which were formerly backward in this connection have by degrees attained a general level. In Kirghizia, where the Kirghis constituted only 26 per cent. of the active membership, we have now 40 per cent. natives amongst the active membership.

It is notable that amongst the native active membership the percentage of girls is a very insignificant one; this also holds good with regard to the number of girls in the entire organisation. The fact that they marry early and the impossibility for them associating with men blocks the way for girls entering the V.C.I.

Communists, however, do not want to submit to these circumstances. In many districts it has been necessary to lower the age entrance in the V.C.I. of girls to 12 (for already at 13 and 14 the girls are women) and even transition stage nuclei for girls were organised. Simultaneously the V.C.I. is carrying on a struggle for the abolition of customs which deprive women of independence and freedom. There are even cases where women themselves cast aside the veil. We find many girls, who have broken away from their slave-like existence, in the workers' Communist University of the East in Moscow, and still more in the various educational institutes in Central Asia, Kirghizia and other backward territories.

The pilgrimages of the agricultural labourers in Kirghizia and Central Asia, at the beginning of the year when they go to the towns in order to gain some knowledge there, are a proof of the existing great desire for learning. Last year some groups composed of a hundred or two hundred from the most far-away Nomad villages came to Tashkent in order to join the workers' faculty. Of course, they were not all admitted, for the resources of the Soviet Power are

* The national divisions in Central Asia consist in the former three territorial units (Bukhara, Khiva, Turkestan) which have been substituted by the national republics Uzbekistan, Turmenistan, Tadgir, etc. In this way the national republics scattered nationalities have been formed into compact national republics.

still too small to provide for the education of all in our educational institutes. But annually with the assistance of the Y.C.L. thousands of youths enter the educational institutes. In Central Asia alone in the schools for the liquidation of illiteracy, 5,000 juveniles have received instruction.

The Y.C.L. does not limit its activity to helping the youth to enter educational institutes. Political and agitational activity in the Youth League in the national tongue is increased every month. For example, at present in Azerbeidjan there are 270 political circles of the first stage, 58 of the second, 12 Lenin circles, which comprise 70 per cent. of the total number of the Young Communists. In Dagestan, we have 66 circles comprising only 38 per cent. of the Young Communists, but conditions in Dagestan are such that this number may be considered high. In the territories of Samarkand and Fergana in Central Asia, we have 118 circles, which include 50 to 60 per cent. of the young Communists. In addition to all this, the work is carried on in clubs and reading rooms.

The R.L.Y.C.L. has a nationality press consisting of 19 daily papers, with a total circulation of from 40-50,000 and eight periodicals with a circulation of 25,000. This circulation and also the number of publications is naturally inadequate.

In conclusion there is one basic question which must be mentioned. Our Western comrades are naturally conversant with the discussion in the R.C.P. in connection with comrade Trotsky's attitude. The chief fault of Trotskyism is the under-estimation of the peasantry and of the peasant question. The national question is in reality a special form of the peasant question, a question of the mutual relations between the peasantry of the former oppressed nationalities. From this it is quite clear that the R.L.Y.C.L. is endeavouring to justify its right to the name of "Leninist" Communist Youth League and is untiringly following the Leninist policy in the National Question. The facts which we have recounted go to prove this.

L. KALIOSNIKOFF.



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