## THESES

## Concerning the Mutual Relations between the Communist International and the International of Communist Youth \*).

I.

1. The Communist International of Youth stands on the platform of the resolutions passed by the first Congress of the Third International. It declines to formulate its own political program and adhers in full to the program of the Communist International, reserving the right to be independent in its organisational work. The Communist International of Youth is a part of the Communist International.

2. The Communist International of Youth does not represent a party in itself. It is a political organisation and, in common with the other organisations of the young with which it is in touch, it aims at taking an active part in every struggle for a proletarian revolution, and before all in those branches which more particularly concern the young, such as antimilitarist propaganda, anticlerice' education, the economic safeguarding of the young, and the teaching of proletarian youth. The whole work, moreover, is deliberately opposed in its spirit to the activities of the Social-patriotic and independent organisations of the young, where the proletarian youth is being educated to serve the interests of the Social patriots and the Independants, who are standing in the way of the revolution or even acting as counter revolutionaries.

3. The Communist International and the Communist International of Youth strive to keep in organisational touch with each other. The International of Youth delegates its representatives to the leading organs of the International movement, and the delegates of the International have the same reciprocal right. The Communist International supports in the most energetic way the International of Youth.

The relations between the Communist Parties and the organisations of Communist Youth are determined as appears from the following:

1. The organisations of the Communist Youth decline to formulate their own political program and work, although preserving independence in their organising work, in close touch with the Communist Party in their country.

2. Each delegates its representatives to the central organs of the other, and both enjoy the same mutual rights.

3. The Communist Parties support the organisations of Communist Youth with all available means.

II.

The Pan-German Committee of "The Free Socialist Youth of Germany" discussed the question of the International of Youth in its February session, assigning to it the first place on the order of business. After the report about the Conference of Youth, held in Berlin, came the discussion on the programme of the International.

The discussion centred upon two points: the relation of the International of Youth to the Third International, and the relation of the sections of the Youth in the separate states of Germany to the corresponding local Communist parties. Some of the delegates were afraid the program did not sufficiently insist on the independence and freedom of action of the Youth

in their relation to the local parties and to the Third International. In opposition to this view the following resolutions were decided upon:

1. The relations of the International of Youth to the Third International are the same as the relations to the latter of the separate Communist Sections of adults existing in the different German States. Whereas in the National Unions of Youth the special economic and educational aims of the young have great significance, therefore is necessary a large liberty of action in relation to the organisations of adults. The International of Youth is an almost exclusively political body. It enters as an integral part into the Third International, in order to achieve the greatest possible unity of programme and tactics.

\*) Editor's note. The following theses are being printed as stuff for discussion only.



Original from PENN STATE Adopting such a position, the International of Youth is able to exercise its own political influence in a much more active way than if it stood outside of the Third International as a "fraternal organisation". And this also spares the useless waste of technical and organising forces needed for double apparatus.

2. The Youth shares the programme of the local Party or Section affiliated to the Third International. If there are two Communist parties in any country, this is due either to an actually deep, fundamental divergency between them, or to a temporary process of class consciousness in formation, reflecting only a transitory state of thought. In the first case the affiliation of both Communist Parties to the International is impossible—to say nothing of the influence such a deep divergency would have on the local organisations of the Youth and the International of Youth. The Third International does not want — as the old International did—any adherence to its programme in words alone, without a participation in deeds. It demands in consequence an adherence not only to its principles, but to its tactics as well, as far as this is possible, in all countries, considering the difference of the conditions and the faster or slower pace of development.

Therefore if both parties in any country stand alike on the platform of the Third International, it follows—this is due to the character of this International—that both parties are alike in substance, and the organised Youth need not enter into a conflict with them. But if the parties do not both adhere to the Third International, the abyss that separates them is so deep that the Youth could not be a war companion of both, and must side with one or the other.