

Resolution of the E. C. Y. C. I. on the Results of the XV. International Youth Day.

I.

1. The uniform international action initiated on August 1st or the mobilisation of the entire working class to fight against imperialist war, found its continuation in the campaign in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Young Communist International and was particularly promoted on the fifteenth International Youth Day. Similarly to August 1st, the events preceding and on the occasion of the I. Y. Day tended to demonstrate the growing will to fight on the part of the young workers, who, in spite of prohibitions, terrorism, and extraordinary measures on the part of the bourgeoisie, gave full expression to their determination to oppose all

attempts at a war against the Soviet Union and actively to support the latter in the eventuality of such a war.

2. The Fifteenth International Youth Day is a clear proof of the Comintern's just estimation of the international situation. The events on the I. Y. Day confirm the theses of the Tenth Plenum in regard to the aggravation of class differences, the growth of a new revolutionary wave in the labour movement, and the increased resistance on the part of the proletariat. The outcome of the I. Y. Day shows to what a degree the radicalisation of the young workers has proceeded.

3. In all countries the I. Y. Day had a pronouncedly militant character. Everywhere the bourgeoisie had taken comprehensive steps to prevent a demonstration; there were numerous arrests and in some countries the Youth Day was forbidden (e. g. in Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Greece, in part in France, and naturally in all the "illegal" countries). In spite of all these measures, the masses of young workers, answering to the call of the Communist Youth, defended their right to a public demonstration, and in many instances there ensued open and sometimes sanguinary collisions with the police (especially in China, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, and the United States).

4. The extraordinary political significance of this year's I. Y. Day lies mainly in the fact that it represents an organic continuation of the enhanced struggle against imperialist war which was initiated by the Red Day, that the demonstrations on the Youth Day had a pronouncedly militant character, and that it showed the Communist Youth organisations to be the only ones capable of guiding the proletarian youth in a revolutionary sense. In those countries where the Communist Youth organisations understood how to take advantage of the favourable premises established by the activity of the young proletarian masses and by the outcome of the Red Day, how to work up the experience gained on August 1st, and how to carry out the new tactics in connection with the campaign, the numerical participation in the demonstrations was greater than it had been in the preceding year. (This was the case in Germany, America, and in part in the Scandinavian countries.) Particular importance attaches to the activity of the illegal organisations which carried through the international campaign in the face of terrorism and sanguinary suppression (as in Italy, Poland, China, and the Balkan countries).

II.

As was the case in regard to August 1st, the course of the I. Y. Day showed the absolute necessity of a radical change in the working system of the Youth Leagues. With reference both to the work of the Leagues among the masses and to the solution of the given political and organisational tasks, the outcome of the I. Y. Day must needs lead to conclusions in regard to further work.

1. Some of the Leagues failed to conduct the I. Y. Day in the sense of a continuation of the action started on the Red Day, to increase the fight against the imperialist war menace in the preparation and execution of the I. Y. Day, and to connect the latter with the various concrete national and local demands and tasks of their respective countries.

2. In France the League failed to profit by the favourable conditions resulting from August 1st; it took no steps towards opposing the measures of terrorism. Nor did the British League succeed in mobilising the masses on a scale in keeping with the predominant position of Great Britain. In regard to the Czech League, in which liquidationist tendencies and legalist illusions found utterance, the I. Y. Day showed that the League is still lacking any mass basis for activity.

3. Work in the armies and navies, which was already insufficient on August 1st, failed to receive adequate attention on the I. Y. Day. Only in France, Poland, America, and Germany were there individual attempts at propaganda among the soldiers; but here, as in the other countries, there was no systematic work for the wholesale inclusion of the soldiers in the struggle against imperialist war. Nowhere were there any demonstrations of soldiers, nor was there any noteworthy participation of soldiers in the I. Y. Day.

4. The I. Y. Day, its preparation and carrying out, did not constitute that prologue to the change in the whole work of the Leagues which had been demanded both in the general directives regarding the Youth Day and in the separate resolutions passed by the E. C. of the Y. C. I. after the discussion of the position in the individual Leagues. The outcome of

the I. Y. Day shows that the total membership was not drawn into active participation, that there could be no mention of a real concentration of work in the factories (no factory meetings, too few factory nuclei papers, no wholesale attraction of new sections of young workers), and that nothing had been done to utilise the I. Y. Day for the organisational strengthening of the Leagues, the foundation of fresh factory nuclei, and the widespread distribution of our publications. The propaganda month included in the programme for the realisation of the ten-year Y. C. I. campaign was carried out in none of the Leagues.

5. The numerous prohibitions of a celebration of the I. Y. Day found most of the legal Leagues fully unprepared in spite of the experience gained in connection with May 1st and the Red Day, whereas the illegal Leagues were in most cases better able to deal with them.

6. The fight against the hostile organisations, the Young Socialists' International in particular, was not enhanced in any way. Neither the Vienna Congress, the Youth Day of the Y. S. I., and the Boy Scout Jamboree in England, nor the Pioneer Meeting of the Soviet Union at Moscow were sufficiently made use of in our propaganda. In this connection there was also a failure to adopt united-front tactics from below, which is one of the reasons why no particular new sections of young workers were drawn into the immediate youth action.

7. Both the Party and the mass-organisations (sport, trade unions, etc.) played a secondary rôle in our propaganda. The Parties afforded the Youth Leagues very little assistance. Certain Parties failed to pay any attention at all to the Youth Day (e. g. in France). In some cases it was even sabotaged (as in Czechoslovakia). But even in those countries in which the Parties took part in the realisation of the Youth Day, the assistance afforded was of a general nature; in no instance can there be a question of tangible help or of a leadership of the Youth Leagues by the Parties.

8. The leadership of the Leagues by the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and its West European Bureau was insufficient, while a control of the preparatory work was conspicuous for its absence. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. failed to profit by the results of the Red Day (apart from the resolution of the W. E. B.), and thus the attention of the Leagues was not sufficiently drawn to the mistakes and shortcomings that became apparent in connection with the Red Day. Nor was there an adequate support of the Leagues on the part of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and its departments in the way of instructors and instruction, material supplies, and the tangible conduct of the entire action.

III.

The campaign against the danger of imperialist war must be continued on the basis of the ten-year Y. C. I. campaign and in connection with the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution, in which connection all mistakes and shortcomings established in the course of the campaign hitherto must be radically eliminated. Only an absolute liquidation of all shortcomings, a complete concentration on mass-work in the works, barracks, and mass-organisations, and the mobilisation of the entire membership for practical participation in the realisation of the tasks imposed by the campaign, can provide the pre-suppositions for a wholesale mobilisation of the young workers and the successful execution of the campaign itself. The further campaign must, therefore, be closely connected with the question of a change of directives; it must be the first step along the new path.