

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

Moscow, 4th September, 1928.

The fourth plenary session of the Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International was opened to-day under the chairmanship of Comrade Young (E. C. Y. C. I.). The discussion upon the reports of Comrades Chitarov and Gorkitch was opened.

Comrade Blenkle (Germany):

The rationalisation has greatly increased the importance of the unskilled workers. The character of the training of the workers is becoming more and more one-sided. At the same time the political activity of the young workers is increasing. The qualified workers are being replaced by unqualified, and this considerably increases the role of the young workers in production.

The prophecies of the social democrats concerning the improvement of the situation of the working class to be expected from the rationalisation have not been fulfilled. Wage increases are brought to nothing by the steady rise in the cost of living. The statistics of the exhibition "Young Germany" proved the increased exploitation of the young workers.

Our chief opponent is the Socialist Youth International which still has influence in the trade unions, the sport organisations and in the Freethinkers organisation. The crisis in the S. Y. I. is an important factor in the youth movement.

The bourgeoisie is carrying on a sham struggle against the exploitation of the youth (Exhibition "Young Germany"), but at the same time it attacks the proletarian youth by the Trash and Smut Law, the National School Law and the Law for the vocational Training of the Youth. There are good possibilities for the youth policy, and a good example of this was the participation of the youth in the recent electoral struggle with their own programme and new methods of work. (Applause.)

Greetings were then brought to the congress by youth delegations from the Dornetz Basin. A representative of the young workers organisation in Nishni Novgorod handed the representatives of the Czechoslovakian Young Communist League a wireless apparatus.

Comrade Rust (Great Britain):

The British delegation is in agreement with the reports and the political line of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. The congress must become the rallying point for all the forces, in the struggle against the danger of war and for the defence of the Soviet Union. For this the work amongst the masses must be strengthened. The Y. C. I. must improve its leadership and pay more attention to its connections with the league, and particularly with the leagues in the colonies. The Chinese league must receive greater support. The work amongst the young workers sport organisations is important and must be strengthened.

The British Y. C. L. has made progress and extended its influence upon the masses of the young workers. The League unreservedly supports the new policy of the party for the intensification of the struggle against the social democracy. The joining of the Y. C. L. by the left-wing of the British social democratic youth was a great success for the Y. C. L. To-day there is hardly a social democratic youth organisation in Britain. An important task is the practical support for the youth in the colonies. More attention must be paid to the League Against Imperialism. The left wing movement in Britain is again on the advance. The prospect is for the struggle to be intensified.

Comrade Botte (Italy):

In estimating the hostile organisations we must not content ourselves with counting their membership alone, but in

estimating their political influence. The social democratic youth organisations are declining, but on the other hand the social democratic childrens' organisations are growing. We must find out the reason why we have suffered set-backs in the illegal leagues. The Italian Y. C. L. loses many of its officials in consequence of the persecution. The reasons for our organisational weakness are to be sought for in ignorance of the real situation of the youth, insufficient participation of our lower organisations in the discussions and in directions, which are too abstract. Our newspapers must become mass organs.

Comrade Mehring (E. C. Y. C. I.), then read an appeal for a protest against the arrest of the young comrade **Peter Iskrov** in Vienna who was sentenced to death as a former member of the Y. C. L. in Bulgaria. The appeal concluded with a demand for a struggle against Austrian and Bulgarian fascism.

Comrade Fürnberg (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The first period of capitalist rationalisation caused mass unemployment amongst the working youth. The second period, however, drew the youth still more than previously into the process of production as unqualified workers. Technical training is declining. Apprenticeship in handicraft means for the employer an opportunity for gratis exploitation. The decline in the birthrate will produce fewer young workers in future years. The employment of unqualified young workers will result in wage cuts for the adult workers. Our perspective is the intensification of the struggle of the young workers. The S. Y. I. has proved that it is incapable of leading the struggle of the young workers.

Delegates of the first international youth excursion from Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Sweden then greeted the congress. Young comrades from the Berlin proletarian district of Wedding handed a banner from the Y. C. L. of Germany to the representatives of the Chinese Y. C. L. in Shanghai.

Comrade Grossen (Roumania):

Roumania is playing an important role in the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The Roumanian revolutionary youth has had to make great sacrifices. Despite the white terror the Roumanian Y. C. L. is developing well. We must systematise the struggle of the Y. C. L.'s in the Balkan countries.

Comrade Pionier (China):

An important problem for the Chinese Y. C. L. is the winning of the masses. The supplementary organisations are a great assistance for this purpose. The political level of the members must be raised by increasing the Leninist educational work (Applause).

A comrade from the Russian youth then proposed a resolution concerning the 14th International Day of Youth. The delegates rose in their seats in honour of the victims of the Day of Youth in Berlin, Warsaw and Shanghai.

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Moscow, 5th September, 1928.

The fifth plenary session opened this morning under the chairmanship of Comrade **Barbé**. The discussion upon the reports of Chitarov and Gorkitch was continued.

Comrade Hrsel (Czechoslovakia):

The leftward development of the working youth is expressed in independent strikes, in the growth of the opposition inside the Socialist Working Youth organisations etc. The reformist leadership of the S. Y. I. is developing more and more to the Right.

We are not fighting practically enough against the danger of war. Up to the present we have not been successful in founding illegal military newspapers.

We are compelled to work illegally owing to the persecutions to which we are subjected. The inner-party crisis also affected our organisation and we have to admit that we did not criticise the Party early enough.

Comrade Leo (Germany):

The work in the factories is at a standstill. The best factory groups which we have in Germany arose in the political and economic struggles. The chief factor for our work in the factories is liveliness. We must introduce new methods of agitation adapted to the character of the factory. We must connect political questions and a special educational work for the youth with our activity in the factories.

We utilise our experiences in the factories by organisational conferences and by the publication of group newspapers and bulletins. We are planning to form an organisational school for the whole of Germany.

The best preparation for illegal work is to get a good foothold in the factories (Applause).

Comrade Billoux (France):

The Congress of the Comintern did not accidentally deal with the problems of the working youth. The bourgeoisie is preparing for war with a struggle for the winning of the youth. The bourgeoisie is receiving the support of the social democracy in this. The so-called left wing social democrats are also warning the working youth against the Bolsheviks. The schools are being ever more strongly militarised.

Our league has influence upon the masses of the young workers. We also have organisations in the colonies.

Our weaknesses are: insufficient influence upon the non-party youth, no organisational utilisation of our political successes, poor work in the mass organisations, insufficient utilisation of the split in the social democracy. We have had great success in the work amongst the recruits and the reservists (Applause).

An old Communist was then elected to the Presidium of the congress (storms of applause, the French delegation singing the "Carmagnole").

Comrade Adamtchik (Poland):

Our league fights actively against fractionalism both in the party and in the youth. We took part in the armed struggles with all our might. Our league has grown and is taking on a mass character. It has achieved bolshevist mass work.

We entered the election campaign independently and mobilised the young workers for their special demands. We are continuing a sharp struggle against right wing tendencies. The social democracy is playing the role of fascist agents. We must strengthen the fight against the danger of war and against the persecutions.

Comrade Sam (U. S. A.):

The militarisation of the youth in the U. S. A. is very important. The bourgeois youth organisations have mass support.

Rationalisation has increased the number of young workers in industry. The fight of the young workers against the rationalisation is increasing. The young workers strikes in California are an example of this. The activity of our league is growing and its membership has increased.

A letter of greetings from the Y. C. L. of Canada was then read to the congress.

Comrade Vartanyan (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The policy of increasing our attention to the bourgeois youth organisations is correct. We must fight against these organisations with special methods. The increase of our work in the supplementary organisations will increase our influence on the young workers.

Fractional struggles still exist in the U. S. A. and Poland. The Y. C. I. will continue in the future to hold the leagues back from fractionalism as far as possible.

The most important tasks of the leagues are the work amongst the masses and the fight against the right wing danger.

The dissolution of the leadership of the Polish Y. C. L. is an attack of the right wing fraction and we must oppose it energetically.

Comrade Nicolaou (Greece):

The Greek Y. C. L. has increased its membership. We have carried out various political campaigns and organised 15,000 young workers. We also have influence on the peasant youth. We have increased our work in the army. The same is true of labour struggles. The masses of the young workers participate in the strikes. We have a decisive influence in the sport organisations of the young workers.

Comrade Tinenlin (China):

Despite the winning of the masses of the Chinese youth, the Y. C. L. has not a sufficient basis in the mass organisations. The proletarian youth has increased its political activity and it is now carrying on a revolutionary struggle. We are also engaged in stirring up the peasant youth.

The students' organisations and the petty-bourgeois youth have played out their revolutionary role and have become counter-revolutionary.

An important task is the creation of international connections and the exchanges of experiences between the colonial youth and the youth in the motherlands.

The Y. C. L. of China must clarify the role of the Party and the youth. If we want to fight against war we must certainly capture the masses.

Comrade Stassowa (I. R. A.):

Up to the present the youth has not paid sufficient attention to the International Red Aid. The I. R. A. is important for the youth because it fights against fascism and white terror and fights for the release of the proletarian political prisoners. The social democrats have reserved a section of the Matteotti Funds for the youth. Your leagues must take up active connections with the I. R. A.

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Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The sixth session took place yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of Hrsel (Czechoslovakia). The discussion upon the speeches of Comrades Gorkitch and Chitarov was continued.

Comrade Lippe (Norway):

We must increase our work in the trade unions. We must found youth sections in the unions. The Norwegian League does not work enough in the sport organisations. It is necessary to found supplementary organisations. The co-operation between the leagues in the imperialist countries with regard to the anti-militarist work must be improved.

The Executive should send the leagues instructors in order to improve their work.

Comrade Miura (Japan):

In Japan there exists a State youth organisation which has over two million members, chiefly recruited from the ranks of the peasant youth. The Japanese league has made a start with the anti-militarist work. Social democratic youth organisations, both right and left wing organisations are now growing up. An opposition has been formed in these organisations and it is the task of our League to win this opposition.

Comrade Jurr (Red Jungsturm, Germany):

The chief aim of the bourgeoisie is to militarise and make fascists of the young workers. The fascist youth are getting a foothold in the factories. The "Young Banner" organisation

openly propagates the defence of the Fatherland. The vacancies in the Reichswehr are being filled up from the ranks of the fascist republican youth organisations. For this reason we have founded our organisation. Its chief task is the fight against the danger of war and the education of the proletarian youth for the struggle against the bourgeoisie. By lively methods of work we can win the masses of the youth and educate them for our aims.

Comrade Williamson (U. S. A.):

The rationalisation and the increased exploitation of the young workers has produced a left-wing tendency. Despite favourable opportunities the American league has won neither politically nor organisationally. The immigration increases the masses of the unskilled young workers. The working youth from the country districts are migrating to the towns where they increase the supply of cheap labour power. We must found youth sections in the new trade unions. The influence of the bourgeois youth organisations is growing, but there is no oppositional movement to be seen. The percentage of young workers in the American league is falling, whereas the percentage of students has increased in the last few years. This state of affairs must be altered. The party leadership fails to see the great changes which are going on in America and believes that the new policy of the E. C. C. I. only applies to Europe. From this idea right-wing errors result. The policy of the Y. C. I. is the only basis for a struggle against fractionalism. We must pay increased attention to the revolutionary movement in the Latin-American countries. (Applause.)

Comrade Achja (Esthonia):

Before the insurrection the Y. C. L. of Esthonia did good mass work. Its anti-religious, land and anti-militarist work were also good. At that time it was therefore impossible for the bourgeoisie to use the regular troops. After the insurrection we built up an illegal organisation and did mass-work in the sport organisations and in the cultural organisations and amongst the socialist youth. The Esthonian league is now increasing its anti-militarist activity and founding groups in the army for the struggle against imperialist war. (Applause.)

Comrade Boiko (Bulgaria):

The Bulgarian league approves of the policy of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. The bourgeoisie with its youth organisations is attempting to win back its influence on the working youth. With fascism and terror it is also working in this direction. The league is fighting against fascism by its mass actions, its work in the country, by forming supplementary organisations and by utilising all possible legal methods. The parties in the illegal countries do not support the leagues sufficiently. Examples of this can be seen in China, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. We must co-ordinate the work of the Balkan leagues better in the future.

Comrade Gross (Holland):

The Dutch league has led strikes of the working youth, organised conferences of the young textile workers, worked out a practical programme for its economic work and had fair success in its anti-militarist work, particularly in the harbours. The relations of the league with the revolutionary movement in Indonesia are very weak. The E. C. of the Y. C. I. must give the small leagues more support.

Comrade Gregoriev (Soviet Union):

Without first winning the masses of the working youth it will be impossible to turn the coming imperialist war into a civil war. The youth strikes prove that the influence of the social democrats on the working youth is declining. The bourgeois attack upon the economic situation of the working youth and upon their political rights results in a radicalisation of the youth. We must strengthen our political, economic and factory work as also our activity in the supplementary organisations.

In the Young Com. International also there is a Right wing danger. This expresses itself in the underestimation of the danger of war, the poor carrying out of the international actions and the right wing errors in the united front tactic.

Comrade Holmberg (Sweden):

The rationalisation can also lead to a reduction of the number of the young workers employed in the various factories and industries. Nevertheless, the role of the young workers is growing. The fighting spirit of the youth is also growing. We must strengthen our anti-militarist work. The Swedish league has commenced the work of reorganisation. Successes have been achieved in the formation of factory groups. We have been able to carry out a number of strikes. Our last congress which took place in May, decided to form revolutionary youth sections and to introduce new methods of work. The league is now taking part in the elections with its own programme and its own candidates.

Comrade Mitrovitch (Yugoslavia):

We agree with the corrections made by the fifth congress to the decisions of the second congress of the Y. C. I. concerning the supplementary organisations. For the illegal leagues the chief question is the connecting up of the legal with the illegal methods of work. The dangers of illegal work are: sectarianism, legalistic tendencies and a neglect of the illegal methods. The league in Yugoslavia has done much to liquidate the party crisis. The Balkan secretariat set up connections between the E. C. and the Balkan sections.

Comrade Williams (Belgium):

The social democratic youth organisations are declining, but the catholic youth organisations are growing. These latter organisations set up factory groups and groups in the army and put forward partial demands. We must strengthen the groups of the league in the large factories and introduce new methods of work.

Comrade Young (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The rationalisation makes it necessary for us to put forward wage demands. The introduction of large masses of unqualified or partly qualified young workers into the process of production causes the decline of apprenticeship. The scientific organisation of labour in industry alters the methods of youth training. The leagues must demand qualified trade training for young workers.

Comrade Wagner (Czechoslovakia):

We are in agreement with the general criticism made against our league. However, the positive side of the question must also be considered. Through our conferences we have had successes in our organisational work. Our aim is to win the young workers in the large factories. We have founded new factory groups and had success in leading labour struggles, for instance in the strike of the young workers in Bohemia. The youth movement has consolidated itself. Our chief task is to set ourselves concrete tasks and carry them out systematically.

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Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The seventh session of the youth congress was opened to-day under the chairmanship of Comrade Benario. The discussion upon the reports of the Executive was continued.

Comrade Mahmud (India):

The difficulties of the work of the revolutionary youth in India are tremendous. 160 million of the Indian population have not yet attained the age of 25 years. Children of six years of age are being employed on a wide scale in the factories. Tens of thousands of children under ten years of age are employed in the coal mining industry. 22% of the workers employed in

the textile industry are children and young workers. The wages of the latter are from 25% to 50% of the wages of the adult workers. The youth in the country districts are also terribly exploited. The young workers are unorganised. The existing youth organisations are petty bourgeois, religious or militarist.

The communist youth have already carried on considerable activity and have organised meetings and demonstrations and an anti-war campaign in which the chief slogans were "Down with imperialism and down with imperialist war!" We must establish a closer contact with the Y. C. I. More attention must be paid to the supporting of the colonial youth, particularly in India. (Applause.)

Comrade Anderson (Finland):

After the destruction of the legal organisations by the fascists, our league recognised the necessity of founding illegal organisations. Our league works chiefly in the factories. Good work is also being carried out in the sport and youth organisations. The young workers are carrying on a campaign for the ratification of the Russo-Finnish-Norwegian agreement for trade union unity. They are conducting a permanent campaign for the defence of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Andrzejewski (Poland):

The Pilsudski government is persecuting the youth movement in Poland with all the means at its disposal. The main aim of the ruling powers is to militarise the youth in preparation for war against the Soviet Union. The winning of the leadership of the young workers is only possible with iron determination and discipline. Our league had achieved certain success in the building of factory groups and in conducting mass actions in the trade unions. Our central committee opposes the central committee of the party and supports the party minority. The fractional struggle has weakened the work of our league. We request the congress to put an end to this fractionalism.

Comrade Tapsel (Great Britain):

Next year the Boy Scouts are organising an international meeting. It will be the task of our leagues to work amongst the delegations to this meeting. Despite the growth of our membership, the number of factory groups have diminished. The chief reasons for this are: the terror of the employers and also of the trade union officials, the fluctuation, the mass unemployment and the lack of trained officials. We organised a national school with fair success. We have also strengthened our district committees. We have organised youth sections in the Labour League of Ex-Servicemen.

Comrade Leibbrand (E. C. Y. C. I.):

We must pay more attention to the work of our opponents. Our greatest enemy is the Socialist Youth International. Despite its numerical weakness, the S. Y. I. has still influence upon the young workers. It would be incorrect to exaggerate the crisis in the S. Y. I., because in some countries there has unfortunately been a consolidation of the socialist leagues. The number of social democratic organised children is also growing. In a number of countries the opposition is declining and we must therefore strengthen the leadership of the opposition. The bourgeois youth organisations are also dangerous opponents. We must pay more attention to the opposition inside these organisations, study their methods of work, find out the correct methods of struggle against them and react more energetically to their policy.

Comrade Vassiliyev (Tenth Army Division of the Y. C. I.):

We must spread and utilise the experiences of the Y. C. I. everywhere. We must strengthen the international connections, particularly with the Red Army. (Applause.)

Comrade Yakubovitz (Poland):

There is no political basis for the fractional struggle in Poland and it has taken on impermissible forms. The result

has been a weakening of the work of our league. The Y. C. I. and the C. I. must do everything possible to put an end to this situation. With regard to the split in the league in Western Ukraina, this is not widespread. The split off elements are mostly intellectuals.

Comrade Siegenthaler (Switzerland):

The small leagues are losing members. The Swiss bourgeoisie is now attacking the workers. The trade union bureaucrats are splitting the unions and expelling the revolutionary elements. We must commence to form red trade unions. The Y. C. I. must render more support to the smaller leagues.

Comrade Limanovski (Poland):

Our league has been strengthened under the leadership of the present C. C. It has become a mass organisation. Its activity has been increased. At the 4th congress of the Polish Comparty our league supported the minority in the party against the right wing errors of the majority. Our league is working for the consolidation of the party and against the attempts of the right wingers to split our league. This Congress will show the correct policy and we are convinced it will consolidate our league.

Comrade Geminder (E. C. Y. C. I.):

The stagnation in the leagues is caused by the unsatisfactory inner life of the leagues. Therefore it is necessary to introduce more youthful methods. Up to the present only the German league has introduced new methods. The rest of the leagues are only commencing to do so. We must utilise our experiences upon all fields of work. The educational work must be systematically carried out. We must train our officials for all fields of work as this has been done in the German league. Our propaganda in the league press is still very casual, it must be systematised.

Comrade Ilinski (Soviet Union):

The report of the E. C. Y. C. I. underestimated the work and the successes of the Y. C. L. in the Soviet Union. We have done good work in the national question, in the fight against the class enemy, against religion and against the counter-revolution. We must utilise the experiences of our league in the national question in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

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Moscow, 6th September 1928.

The 8th session was opened this afternoon under the chairmanship of Comrade Gyptner. The discussion on the reports of the executive was continued.

Comrade Longo (Italy):

Italian fascism has built up strong youth organisations and is paying particular attention to the children's organisations in order to train the youth in militarism from their earliest years. Attendance at school means simultaneously the duty to join a children's organisation. These youth organisations are being trained upon military lines. The prohibition of all revolutionary youth organisations forced the young workers to enter the fascist youth organisations. We must therefore increase our work inside the fascist youth organisations.

Comrade Christensen (Denmark):

The Danish bourgeois youth organisations have won very few workers and recruit themselves mostly from amongst the peasant youth. The christian youth organisations on the other hand have a rather great number of young workers in their ranks. We must strengthen our work towards our opponents. Denmark represents the key to the Baltic Ocean. We did good agitational work by distributing leaflets and agitational material on the occasion of the visit of British warships to Danish ports.

Comrade Onofrio (Argentine):

The situation of the young workers under the rationalisation demands a very special sort of work from us. The work of our league was expressed in strikes on the part of young workers. We have also done good work in the sport organisations and in agitational work.

Comrade Schueller (E. C. Y. C. I.):

We must issue the slogan of self-criticism in our leagues. The change of tactics in the Comintern would have been impossible without self-criticism. The most important result of this congress must be the adoption of new methods of work more adapted to the youth by our leagues. We must increase our fight against the enemy organisations, especially the reformist youth organisations, and extend our supplementary organisations. The best way to fight the bourgeois youth organisations is offered by the colonial question and by the danger of war. We must found Y. C. L.'s in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. National-revolutionary youth organisations may exist parallel with the Y. C. L.'s but they are not obligatory. The Y. C. L.'s must retain their political character and introduce new methods of work.

Comrade Milano (Uruguay):

American imperialism is penetrating into Latin-America more and more. It is our task to develop the revolutionary movement.

Comrade Bohl (Austria):

The struggle against fascism is important. Bohl then dealt with the lessons of the Vienna insurrection on the 15th July as far as the communist youth is concerned.

Comrade Pereira (Brasil):

There are good prospects that the bourgeois-democratic revolution will develop into a social revolution. The rationalisation is worsening the economic situation of the working youth. The textile factories employ children of eight and ten years of age. The support accorded by the Y. C. I. to us is weak and must be strengthened. Our league has fine possibilities of speedy development.

Comrade Szuets (Hungary):

In consequence of the terror the communist youth in Hungary are compelled to work illegally. The bureaucrats sabotage the organisation of the young workers and denounce the opposition in the unions. The league must carry out mass work in the sport and cultural organisations.

Comrade Contreras (Mexico):

American imperialism has forced its way into Latin-America. The young workers and children are being terribly exploited. The revolutionary youth represents an active force in Sandino's movement. The fight against clericalism and the work for the enlightenment of the young workers is very important. We intend to form an anti-imperialist militia as a defence organisation.

Comrade Rossen (Bulgaria):

The work amongst the peasant youth is very important, because the army consists for the most part of young peasants. Our leagues do not work sufficiently in the peasant youth organisations. The illegal leagues do not work conspiratively enough. The Balkans represent a basis for war against the Soviet Union, therefore it is necessary to increase the mass work and the anti-militarist work. We must fight against the liquidatorial tendencies which have arisen as a result of the difficult illegal conditions of work. It is necessary to improve the work of the Balkan Secretariat.

Comrade Gallopin (France):

The French league has had successes upon the organisational field. It organised an orgconference to discuss thoroughly all organisational questions.

Comrade Ackermann (Latvia):

Since the fourth congress the illegal youth organisations in Latvia have increased their membership. Despite the terror, the executions and the imprisonments we are making progress. The Latvian league has learned to work illegally. The connections between the leagues in the Baltic states are very important.

Comrade Don (U. S. A.):

describes the effects of the rationalisation on the working youth. The rationalisation resulted in a leftward movement. The American league must liquidate the fractional struggle and fight against fractionalism in the party.

Comrade Matagu (China):

The Chinese young workers work from 12 to 13 hours a day. Many young workers join the mercenary army because they are unemployed. Chinese conditions are drawing the youth more and more into the class struggle. We must pay more attention to the mass organisations and connect general political questions with our partial demands.

Comrade Kaplan (U. S. A.)

dealt in his speech with questions of the Workers Party. He declared that the most important question for the party was to bring the fractional struggles to an end.

Comrade Vorings (Greece):

The Greek league is fighting against the white terror and strengthening its anti-militarist work. Many soldiers have refused to do strikebreaking work. The Red trade unions have commenced to organise youth committees.

Comrade Marriot (Canada)

described the progress made by the Canadian league in its anti-militarist work.

Comrade Sulimov (Corea):

The young workers in Corea are terribly exploited. The peasants of Corea are being pauperised and this produces good possibilities for the development of the revolutionary youth movement. The chief task of the league is to fight against the danger of war and to consolidate its organisation. The Corean youth is carrying on a struggle for the introduction of labour protection legislation.

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Moscow, 7th of September 1928.

The ninth session was opened to-day under the chairmanship of Comrade Holmberg. The discussion on the reports of the Executive was continued. After declarations by the Czech and Mongolian delegations and by a Polish delegate,

Comrade Navara (Spain)

declared: The Y. C. I. has paid too little attention to the Spanish league. The Spanish league is working under the most severe conditions of illegality. We are beginning to adopt youth methods. We have had good success in the anti-militarist work.

Comrade Gorkitch (closing speech):

A deficiency of the discussion was the fact that important questions like those of the children's movement, the fluctuation of membership, the work in the mass organisations and the preparation for illegal work were not dealt with concretely

enough. The present situation is characterised by a certain stagnation. We must increase self-criticism within the leagues, consolidate the International leadership, prepare our congresses by more thorough discussion and control the carrying out of the congress decisions. Organisational questions can only be solved in connection with political questions. The improvement of the work of the fractions represents an important task. Not the membership but the political influence of the leagues is decisive. The illegal leagues are working with great self-sacrifice. We must prevent the work of the staff of instructors from being turned into a new departmental work. We recognised the deficiency of our work with regard to the Red Aid. We must pay more attention to the smaller leagues and for this purpose it is necessary to improve the reporting work of the leagues (Great Applause).

Comrade Chitarov (closing speech):

59 comrades from 36 countries took part in the discussion. There was a unanimity concerning fundamental problems. Our chief opponent remains the Socialist Youth International. We must pay more attention to the bourgeois youth organisations. The trade union question was insufficiently dealt with in the discussion. In all colonial countries where an industrial proletariat exists we must found Y. C. L.'s. We welcome the sharp criticism of individual comrades of the work of the Y. C. I. The improvement of the apparatus is necessary and the control of the carrying out of the decisions must also be improved. The Czechish league must participate in the party discussion and carry on a struggle for the policy of the Y. C. I. We must increase the support accorded to the leagues in Uruguay and Mexico. The speeches of the Chinese comrades here prove that they have correctly understood their problems. We must continue to give correct instructions. The Chinese Y. C. L. must increase its connection with the masses of the young workers. We must found a Y. C. L. in India. We welcome with great pleasure the representative of the Hungarian Y. C. L. which is taking part in the work of the congress despite the terror in Hungary. The task of the Hungarian Y. C. L. is to penetrate into the masses. We recognise the correctness of the declaration of the representative of Mongolia concerning the struggle against the Right wing danger. We hope that the Arabian youth will recognise the correctness of the policy of the Y. C. I. and realise the errors of its officials. The world congress must suppress the group struggle in the American league and create unity upon the basis of the Comintern policy. The fractional struggles in Poland have no political basis. We must put an end to the group struggle in the Polish league.

The Communist Youth must fight against the danger of war on the basis of the Comintern policy. Remnants of a Right wing danger still exist in the communist youth. Examples are: the underestimation of the danger of war, insufficient carrying out of international actions, deviations in the united front tactic, the Red Day action of the Czechish league, etc.

We must mark concretely the change in our work by altering our methods of work. Our new methods must be adapted to the ideology of the young workers and must show understanding for the needs of the youth. We must strengthen our work in the trade unions and in the mass organisations and strengthen our educational work. The reason for the stagnation in our chief leagues is that dry-as-dust methods have been used in carrying out our decisions. The congress has created all the preliminary conditions for the development of our leagues to Bolshevist mass organisations. (Great Applause.)

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Moscow, 8th of September 1928.

The tenth session was opened yesterday afternoon under the chairmanship of Comrade Loverna (Italy).

Comrade Leibbrand (E. C. Y. C. I.)

then made a speech on the second point of the agenda: The Agitation and Propaganda Methods of the Y. C. I.

The discussion showed unanimity in the questions of applying new methods of work and in the question of youth policy. The youth leagues still have a party character. The

preliminary condition for good methods of work is a correct appreciation of the ideology of the youth. The chief cause of the fluctuation of our membership is the incapacity to bind the youth to our organisation. The varied interests of the youth demand various methods. With regard to our methods of work we can learn from the bourgeois youth organisations, naturally without taking over their system. We must base ourselves upon the social situation of the young working class and prevent the political character of the youth movement from being weakened. The new methods increase the political activity of the youth, as has been shown by the experience of the German league. It would be wrong to limit ourselves to agitation and propaganda. We must embrace all fields of work, in the trade unions, in the factories, etc. The character of the factory group work makes the introduction of new methods difficult because the sessions of these factory groups are illegal or too short. We must introduce Sunday sessions of the groups, and organise Sunday schools and excursions. It is very important that the local organisations support the work of the factory groups.

Our meetings and festivals must be made more interesting by recitations, music and theatrical performances. It is necessary, however, that these should be connected with topical political questions. A uniform clothing makes demonstrations more impressive. The parades on the International Day of Youth had a good psychological effect.

We must improve the internal life of the league by transferring administrative matters to the officials. We must supplement our lectures by stories, pictures and revolutionary entertainments.

In order to fight against the fluctuation it is important that new members should be accepted with some degree of solemnity. Interesting introductory courses concerning the role of the Y. C. L. must be organised, as also entertainment evenings. New members must not be overloaded with work, but it is important that they should be given something to do. We must consider that new members coming from the children's leagues are interested in entertainments. We must encourage light athletics and connect our country outings with the work amongst the peasantry and land workers. It is necessary to increase our educational work. The best way is to combine week-end courses with excursions, games, etc. Another important task is the organisation of young workers' clubs. As far as the illegal leagues are concerned we have no experience concerning the introduction of youth methods. We must collect and utilise these experiences. Dangers of the new methods are: Too much entertainment, concessions to the ideology of the petty bourgeois sections and the isolation of political questions in the cultural work. We must prevent these dangers arising by combining the youth methods with other fields of work. The carrying out of the our new youth

methods demands a strengthening of our educational work for the training of officials, the issuing of political literature and the organisation of special courses. The Y. C. I. must improve its publishing activity. The introduction of youth methods will make it possible to win greater influence upon decisive sections of the young working class.

The first speaker in the discussion upon the speech of Comrade Leibbrand was.

Comrade Don (U. S. A.):

The American league has commenced to introduce new methods. It has organised factory circles, circles, clubs for sailors and soldiers.

Comrade Novakova (Czechoslovakia):

We must improve our work in the factories, the factory group newspapers and the work in the country. Our league has achieved good success in its recruiting work by arranging competitions. It is necessary to issue youth literature.

Comrade Massie (Great Britain):

The chief difficulty is the passivity of the British league and its Central Committee. We must introduce new methods upon all fields of our work.

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The Business Manager.