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**The Young Communist International, the sole  
Successor of the First Youth International.**

**For the 20th Anniversary of the First International Conference of the  
Proletarian Youth, held on 24th August 1907, and for the Thirteenth  
International Youth Day on 4th September 1927.**

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**Manifesto of the E. C. Y. C. I. on the 20th Anniversary of the  
Founding of the Youth International.**

All to the Mass Struggle Against the Imperialist Danger of War!

All to the Demonstration for the International Young Workers!  
Young Workers, Soldiers and Sailors!

At the end of August for the 20th time we celebrate the  
foundation of the Youth International.

In August 1907 (24—26) for the first time representatives  
of young workers' organisations of different countries met in  
Stuttgart at an international conference. At this conference the  
First International Alliance of Youth organisations was formed.

The great question at the Stuttgart Conference was the  
struggle against imperialism, against imperialist war. It was

the stormy revolutionary spirit of Liebknecht that inspired this  
conference!

The proletarian youth organisations which had been formed  
spontaneously towards the close of the century in most European  
countries were the result of struggles against militarism and  
against capitalist exploitation of young workers and apprentices.  
They had to fight not only against the bourgeoisie, the officials  
and police, but also against reformist leaders in the Social  
Democratic Parties and trade unions who put all obstacles in  
their way. Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin were alone in  
the revolutionary Left wing of the II. International. The Bol-  
sheviks and especially Karl Liebknecht supported from the very  
beginning proletarian youth organisations.

Karl Liebknecht the dauntless fighter in the anti-militarist struggle was also President of the Stuttgart Conference. Under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht the first Youth International and its revolutionary programme came into being.

Karl Liebknecht, the brave fighter against imperialist war and Socialist treachery, the originator of the slogan: "not class peace but civil war", the leader of the Spartacus and the founder of the Communist Party of Germany at that time issued a clear call to the youth for struggle. The proletarian youth accepted the call for struggle with enthusiasm. During the dark days that ensued, the Youth International remained faithful to Liebknecht's commands and was the brightest star in the fighting revolutionary movement.

In spite of all attempts at suppression by reformist parties and trade union bureaucrats the proletarian youth remained true to the revolutionary decisions of the Stuttgart conference. On the outbreak of war when the Social Democratic leaders were unmasked as the worst war agitators and the II. International fell to pieces the proletarian youth was the first to rally the ranks of their International organisation for international campaigns against war.

It is to the memorable historical credit of the proletarian youth movement that in the days of blackest treachery, the deepest disgrace of the international labour movement, it held aloft the flag of internationalism, of irreconcilable class struggle and many took the lead in the struggle against war.

Proletarian youth organisations learnt the lessons of their struggle against war and reformism at the IV. International Youth Conference in Berlin 1919. The representatives of a large majority of all youth organisations and especially of those organisations which had remained together during the most difficult years of the war decided unanimously there to: transform the international Union of Socialist Youth Organisations into the Young Communist International.

The Young Communist International, which is the immediate development of the first youth international, works and struggles today in the spirit of the Stuttgart Conference, in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht, the memorable leader of the international youth movement.

Today this struggle is more pressing than ever.

Just today on the anniversary of the Stuttgart conference it is more necessary than ever to remind young workers of the teachings of the world war and to hold aloft the revolutionary tradition of the international proletarian youth movement.

The danger of a new world war is nearer than ever. For months imperialists have been and are carrying on intervention in China. British imperialism is preparing war against the Soviet Union, it leads and supports white guard attacks on Soviet Russia, organises an economic blockade against the Soviet Union and is working perseveringly for the creation of an imperialist war front against the only workers' State in the world. Preparations for war are being carried on feverishly. Capitalists are preparing the complete subjection of the labour movement in future wars by the new reactionary laws.

#### War is the order of the day.

Young Social Democrats just like the old deny the great danger of war. They even continue their agitation and campaign of lies against the Soviet Union more intensely and thus help the bourgeoisie to surprise the workers with the new war and to mobilise against their Russian brothers.

#### They prepare a second 1914.

This time their inactivity is still more criminal, their treachery more disgraceful. Now it is a question of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers of all countries, the liberation struggle of the Chinese people is at stake.

Young workers, comrades!

Do you want to participate in this treachery?

Never!

They know today that you are not to be deceived so easily. Therefore the Social Democratic leaders, those same people

who were fought during and after the war like a pestilence by Liebknecht and the Youth International, who have ever kept away from international class and the youth international, who have betrayed a hundred times proletarian internationalism and the principles of the Stuttgart Conference, these people today under an appearance of joy celebrate the Stuttgart Conference as the descendants of the Youth International.

How ridiculous and incredible is such a pretension? Ask the Social Democratic Youth leaders where they were in 1914—1918 when the Youth International of Stuttgart was fighting, ask them what they did in 1919 when the same International joined the Communist International, ask them what they did with Liebknecht, how they carried out the decisions of Stuttgart and what they are doing today against imperialist war and for the demands of the youth workers! Make them answer you why they today, who are celebrating the Youth International which is effective throughout the whole world under the title of the "Young Communist International", why they are besmirching it and reject any kind of joint struggle with it!

These are the people who never have had anything in common with our Youth International and the spirit which inspires it, who on the contrary are its greatest opponents, — reformists.

The Youth International of Stuttgart has developed enormously. Today 20 years after its first conference, the network of its Sections extends throughout the whole world and the membership is 2½ million; in its ranks fight the Chinese coolie, the British miners, the working youth of the Soviet Union, European and American young workers. In its ranks there are thousands of soldiers and sailors of the imperialist armies. The fighting working youth of the whole world adheres to its ranks. And today it issues its call of warning and to struggle.

Young workers, comrades!

Proletarian youth will have to make the biggest sacrifice in the imperialist war. It must therefore stand in the first rank in the struggle against war as it was wont to do formerly in the struggle under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht.

The Young Communist International calls on you on the occasion of the anniversary of the Stuttgart conference and the XIII. International Youth Day — inaugurated during the war as the international day of struggle of young workers — to strengthen your struggle against imperialist war and the attacks of capitalism. It calls on you to celebrate these days by demonstrations, manifestoes against war preparations and on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Celebrate with us the international struggle week August 28. — Sept. 8. and the XIII. International Youth Day, Sept. 4.

Come to the international demonstration of the Y. C. I. on August 28. in Stuttgart! Demonstrate for struggle under the banner of Karl Liebknecht, under the Communist International!

We do not believe that with the celebration of such days everything is attained, but we believe that they serve to rouse the young workers for mass struggle and to fidelity to the teachings of Lenin and Liebknecht:

For the economic and political demands of young workers!

Against reaction and Fascism!

Against imperialist war preparations!

For the Chinese revolution!

For the defence of the Soviet Union!

For the fraternisation of soldiers!

For the overthrow of our imperialist governments and victory of our Socialist fatherland, the Soviet Union!

For the transformation of imperialist war into victorious revolution!

For the Young Communist International!

Moscow, July 1927.

Executive Committee of the  
Young Communist International.

# Appeal of the C. I. on the 20th Anniversary of the I. International Youth Conference.

To the Young Communist International!

To the Young Communist Workers in all Countries!

Comrades,

We send you our warmest Communist greetings for the 20th anniversary of the First International Youth Conference.

The Young Communist International is the rightful inheritor of the great revolutionary fighting traditions of the Socialist Youth International which was founded twenty years ago in Stuttgart. It suffices to mention the name of Karl Liebknecht in order to bring before our eyes the glorious past of the International Youth Movement. The youth has followed honestly and courageously the path shown it by Liebknecht twenty years ago at the Stuttgart Conference.

Persecuted by the police and all organs of the capitalist State, it has realised from the beginning the importance of illegal work. Exposed to the mistrust and the suppressive attempts of the social democratic and trade union bureaucracy, it has, right from its beginning, swam against the stream. It has grown up right from the beginning in the fight against opportunism. Today, when the danger of war is again approaching, when a fresh great treachery is being prepared, when in every capitalist country passivity in the face of the preparations for war constitutes the most dangerous and criminal form of opportunism, we think especially of the great historical merits which the youth movement gained in the period of the

socialist Youth International before and during the imperialist war by its anti-militarist work and by its actions against the war.

The great traditions of the old international youth movement have passed to the Young Communist International and the Communist Parties. The young Communist movement, which for twenty years has faithfully upheld the revolutionary banner, will also in the present attack of the counter-revolution, in the approaching war fulfil its revolutionary task. May the memory of the twenty years past connect our Young Communist organisations still more closely with the mass of the young proletarians.

Inseparably connected with the revolutionary ideas of Lenin and Karl Liebknecht, indissolubly allied with the masses of the young workers of all countries, faithful to the traditions of the Stuttgart Congress, the Young Communist International will along with us achieve victory and annihilate all the forces of imperialism and militarism until the world triumph of the social revolution.

Long live the Young Communist International!

Moscow, July, 1927.

The Presidium of the Communist International.

# The Red International of Labour Unions to the Young Communist International.

To Revolutionary Young Workers and Young Trade Unionists of all Countries!

Comrades!

At a time when capitalist and imperialist attacks on the revolutionary section of the working class throughout the world are becoming more intensified, the XX anniversary is being celebrated of the day when in Stuttgart revolutionary young workers of various countries met at an international conference. Since this first step for international contact between Socialist youth organisations, a fundamental change has taken place both within the working class and within capitalist economy. The imperialist development of world capitalism is driving towards an unavoidable conflict between capital and labour, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. At this period of the acute class struggle in all capitalist countries, at the time of the attack of the world bourgeoisie on the elementary rights of the working class, the place of young workers is at the side of the fighting revolutionary proletariat. Faithful to the traditions of the revolutionary youth before and during the war, it is its duty to lead the struggle against imperialist war, which is being actively prepared now by the bourgeoisie; it is its duty to lead the struggle against the increased capitalist exploitation of the working class and to struggle against reformism and opportunism in the ranks of the working class itself.

This struggle must be mainly carried on in the trade unions. The reformist trade union bureaucracy in the Amsterdam Trade Union International continually proves itself to be an instrument of the bourgeoisie in the struggle against the revolutionary working class. The revolutionary youth must lead the struggle against the trade union bureaucracy, all the more so since the reformists do nothing for the improvement of the position of young workers.

The Amsterdam Trade Union International, which is endeavouring to carry on joint work with the Socialist Youth Inter-

national "for the improvement of the position of young workers" is really endeavouring to keep young workers away from the struggle for the attainment of their economic demands. Hypocritically it justifies this joint work as an attempt to fight against the splitting up of youth activities. Revolutionary young workers who have grown up in the struggle against reformism and opportunism, come forward against the attempts of the reformists to condemn young workers to passivity. They are fighting for the unity of young workers on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Red International of Labour Unions assures the young workers of its full support in the struggle against reformism and opportunism in the trade unions, and on behalf of the unity of young workers in the struggle for their economic and trade union demands.

Shoulder to shoulder with the trade unions affiliated to the R. L. L. U. and the revolutionary trade unionists in the ranks of the reformist unions, revolutionary young workers will take the lead in the struggle. Revolutionary young trade unionists will be prepared to make every sacrifice in order to lead the struggle in the reformist unions against the reformist trade union bureaucracy and on behalf of trade union unity of the working class. Jointly with us the Young Communist International will struggle for victory over the reformist trade union bureaucrats and overcome the world bourgeoisie in the revolutionary class struggle.

Long live the Young Communist International!

Moscow, July 1927.

Executive Bureau of the Red International  
of Labour Unions.

# Stuttgart — Berlin — Moscow.

By Richard Schüller.

The International Youth Day was always a fighting day. In the midst of the imperialist Great War it was created as an international action of proletarian youth against imperialist war, against social democratic treachery, and for the proletarian revolution.

In 1915 tens of thousands of juvenile workers followed, for the first time, in all the countries of Europe, the call of the Executive of the Youth International to demonstrate against the war. It need not be said that the bourgeoisie marshalled their forces with equal energy, and attempted, with the aid of soldiery, police, martial law, and every description of persecution, to arrest the advance of the Youth, or at least to hinder it. In spite of this, the First International Youth Day in autumn of 1915 was a powerful revolutionary demonstration against the war, and more than this, it was the first international action calling forth a far reaching echo among the broadest masses of the working class. And it was the Youth and its international organisations which could claim the honour of being the first, during the World War, and at a time when the II. International had just shamefully collapsed and the III. International did not yet exist, to carry out an international proletarian action against the war and for revolution.

Twelve years have passed since this time, and this year we are holding the 13. International Youth Day. The International Youth Day has become one of the most firmly rooted traditions of working Youth. It gathers around it not only tens of thousands, as in the war years, but mobilises millions of the working and peasant Youth every year. It is no longer limited, as in 1915 and 1916, to a few European countries, but is celebrated today with equal enthusiasm in China and Germany, in South Africa and South America as Canada, in the Soviet Union as well as in Mongolia. It has become an official holiday in the first proletarian State of the world, the Soviet Union. What a change in so short a time!

But although our International Youth Congress has so "expanded", it has not lost anything of its revolutionary impetus. It still remains what it has ever been, a day of inexorable struggle between the working class and capital. And it is still the fight against imperialist war which lends the International Youth Day its peculiar character. Never was this fight so imperative as at the present moment. The threat of a fresh imperialist attack presses heavily upon the Soviet Union; in China we are already witnesses of a war waged by the imperialist powers against the Chinese people, and the political atmosphere is filled with explosive material.

The main task before the whole of the Youth International at the present time is the struggle against the danger of imperialist war, and the defence of the Soviet Union. Our present International Youth Day will call forth a powerful demonstration in all countries against the danger of an imperialist war, and against the attacks on the Soviet Union planned by the imperialist robbers.

But this year there is still another circumstance giving a special feature to the International Youth Day. Its convocation coincides on this occasion with the 20. anniversary of the First International Youth Conference at Stuttgart; with that conference at which the Socialist Youth International was created.

The Socialist Youth International has not shared the disgraceful fate of the II. International. It did not help to intensify the horrors of the imperialist world war, and during the war it did not betray socialism and the revolution like the II. International and the Trade Union International. On the contrary: the Youth International has always marched at the head of the most determined revolutionary struggle against the world war, and for the proletarian revolution. It has worked together with Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and other revolutionary leaders, and has contributed no little to the development of the III. International and the Communist Parties in the various countries. Already during the World War the Youth International joined Bolshevism, and at its IV. International Conference in Berlin in 1919 it adopted the name of Young Communist International and joined the Communist International.

Hence it is our own International, the Young Communist International, whose twentieth anniversary we are now celebrating. It is our own International, which has passed through this glorious process of progressive development, from Stuttgart in 1907, through the difficult years of the imperialist World War and the revolution, to our great Young Communist International. And we may claim with pride that the spirit animating the Young Communist International today is the same spirit which has guided our International from the beginning.

Who was the actual founder and the soul of the Socialist Youth International? Karl Liebknecht. It was he who gave his best work at that time to the creation of an international organisation of the proletarian youth unions, and it was he who, with his appeals for antimilitarist action, gave the newly founded Youth International and the Stuttgart Congress its special character. The fight against imperialism, against the imperialist war, against militarism — these were the main slogans of the Stuttgart Congress.

The Stuttgart Congress did not however neglect the other fundamental questions of the Youth movement. It drew up a fighting programme against the economic exploitation of the juvenile workers, including a number of fighting demands which still form the basis of the economic programme of the Young Communist International. It dealt with and laid down as the purport and the basis of the work of socialist education to be accomplished among the Youth, the active participation of the Young workers in the class struggle.

The principles laid down by the Stuttgart Congress have been fully developed by the Young Communist International. In Stuttgart in 1907 there were only some few tens thousands of organised juvenile workers represented, whilst the Young Communist International of today counts approximately 2½ million members. At the First International Youth Conference only representatives of 13 countries met whilst today there is scarcely a country on the earth where the Young Communist International has not its Section.

The fighting capacity of the Youth International has developed correspondingly. In the economic struggle, and in the sphere of trade union work, our participation has increased by leaps and bounds, and today the Young Communist Leagues play an important role in the trade union life of the different countries. In many countries, in the Soviet Union and in France for instance, they have actually taken over the lead in the trade unions in all youth questions.

But the greatest expansion and deepening of the work of the Young Communist Leagues has taken place in the struggle against militarism. That which existed only in its first beginnings, before the war, and was the work of only a small group of revolutionists, has now developed into systematically organised activity, reaching all the great imperialist armies of the world, and disintegrating them. We need only point to the brilliant work accomplished by the German and French Young Communist Leagues among the French troops in the Ruhr valley and in occupied Germany in 1923, the work of the French League in the French army during the war in Morocco, the propaganda carried on by the Y. C. I. among the imperialist troops in China, the agitation made by the Young Communist Leagues of the Baltic states on the occasion of the visit of the British fleet, the work done by the British League during the strike and during the shipment of British troops to China, and to the really magnificent efforts of the French League in general.

Year for year the Young Communist Leagues toil unwearyingly among the recruits, the soldiers, and the reservists of the imperialist armies, permeate them with the proletarian spirit, with hatred against the capitalist system, against militarism, and against imperialist war. Communist nuclei are formed in the regiments, in the barracks, and on the warships, and spread the spirit of revolution. The whole organism of the imperialist army is penetrated with the spirit of Bolshevism. In some countries we are only just beginning, in others we have already made

great progress. It is not for nothing that the French government and the bourgeoisie are raising alarmed outcries against the activities of the Communists in the army and fleet.

This permanent and unwearying work in the armies and fleets of the imperialist states is a real and effectual method of struggle against imperialist war, earnest work for the defence of the Soviet Union against the attacks of the imperialist powers.

## The Foundation of the Youth International.

By Julius Alpari.

It has been repeatedly said that the birth of the Youth International in the year 1907 did not take place under the zodiac of Reformism which at that time impregnated the II. International. It began its existence as a revolutionary organisation out of which of necessity the Communist Youth International had to develop. This is perfectly correct. The manner of its origin as shown by the protocol of the inaugural conference is full proof of this. Karl Liebknecht was the central figure at the organisational conference. It is no mere chance that the other speakers on the chief point on the agenda: Comrade H. Roland Holst and the writer of this article, should have logically proceeded from the Zimmerwald Conference to the Communist International.

Comparatively speaking, Socialist Youth organisations developed late. To recognise their importance, to unite them, to give them a revolutionary programme of action, for that it was necessary to begin a new period in the history of revolutionary development; the Russian revolution in the year 1905. Also up to that time we fought against the reformists who romanced about a peaceful growth into "the State of the future". We had, however, no correct idea of what a real revolutionary struggle meant. The Russian Revolution of 1905 taught us to recognise the general strike and the armed rising as the most important means of struggle in the proletarian revolution. Those among us who were seriously engaged with the question of the conquest of political power suddenly began to see daylight. The "magic method" had been discovered. Instead of waiting or avoiding the struggle in the hope that through "the revolutionising of the leaders" victory would be ours, we were faced by mass actions and especially the winning over of the youth. This was to be brought about not by pacifist slogans based on non-Marxist so-called idealist conceptions, but by the economic struggle for the improvement of the position of the youth, by Marxist educational work and by the conscious struggle against militarism.

Already, in the year 1904 at the Bremen Party Conference of the German Social Democrats, i. e. before the Russian Revolution, Karl Liebknecht had drawn attention to the absolute necessity of the struggle against militarism. This marked the starting point of his activity on these lines. From the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, he devoted especial interest to the proletarian youth. Youth organisations became his speciality. He was in closest contact with the North-German proletarian youth organisations which were founded in 1904-05, he took part in the foundation of the League of Young German Workers in September 1906 in Mannheim. On this occasion Liebknecht raised the point of convening an international youth centre which was entrusted with the preparation of the international conference. In the spring of 1907, he published his book on "Militarism and Anti-Militarism" in which as a real revolutionary Social Democrat he starts from the dogma: the question of Social Democracy is a military question. In this book we find the first estimation of the international youth movement. At the foundation Conference of the Youth International Liebknecht was the central figure.

His speech on anti-militarism lasted four hours. It had to be divided into two sections. The protocol which is still available is not a stenographic report, but is a compilation based on journalistic notes. It contains only a skeleton of Liebknecht's speech, and even as such is incomplete. The conference was a closed one. The authorities were not present. The report which was intended for the public had to be compiled in a careful manner, for already the first indictment

of Liebknecht for high treason had begun. He spoke in great detail about the Russian experiences and their application to conditions in our country which is not mentioned in the report. To-day it is absolutely impossible to remember all the details of this speech. A notable expression which has not been reported I still recall. When Liebknecht finished his dissertation on our Russian comrades the conference applauded vociferously and he exclaimed: I am very proud that I have so many Russian friends!

Comrade Roland Holst, who at that time was very prominent as leader of the general strike in Central Europe (her book on the General Strike was published in 1904), in her speech on the question of proletarian education presented the most advanced point of view which we had heard at that time. The conference almost unanimously agreed with her theses. The Swiss delegate, a free-thinking young teacher, demanded that the natural creation history and the struggle with religion should be given first place in the educational programme. The writer of this article protested on this issue. The protocol reports that "Comrade Alpari opposed him pointing out that the basis of Socialist education must be social science." But I also opposed Comrade Roland Holst on one point. She maintained that the first task of independent youth organisations ought to be the spread of knowledge. I said struggle must take the first place. According to the protocol I am reported to have said: "Before we proceed with the realisation of the educational programme, there must exist a minimum of free time and of protection of young workers against exploitation. The premise for everything else is the struggle of the working youth for the improvement of their economic position."

The report on the economic struggle of the youth was to have been presented by Robert Danneberg from Vienna. A few weeks before the conference he notified his inability to attend, and the international centre, on the suggestion of Liebknecht, asked me to deal with this resolution. I agreed on the condition that I should be permitted to protest against the reformist conception of Danneberg. It was not difficult to convince Liebknecht on this point. But I had also to win over de Man, the secretary of the international centre. When I had succeeded in this I was able to set about the work, and discussed my report repeatedly with Liebknecht. He agreed that in the first instance we should concentrate on the youth in large-scale industry. The demands of my resolution met with approval. As far as I can remember to-day he criticised that I had set the limits for compulsory education too low; he insisted that the importance of special youth organisations for the economic struggle be more sharply defined. For the rest he merely made some changes in style, especially in the theoretical section of my resolution where he considered many formulations too trite. He found fault with the statement that only with the growth of machinery had real exploitation of the youth begun. I did not want to give in on this point and urged that the most acute exploitation of apprentices took place in small industries as a result of competition with the machine. We had not decided our dispute prior to the Conference. Liebknecht based his argument on manufacture, which already carried on large scale exploitation of children. I quoted Marx's "capital": "The work of women and children was the first word in the capitalist application of machinery... This powerful substitute of work and worker places the entire working class family under the heel of capital." Finally, we found a formulation which satisfied all parties.

On the economic programme there were no further differences of opinion. Only one point was the cause of a heated discussion, namely, national apprenticeship workshops. Danneberg wrote a pamphlet on this subject in which he advocates the establishment of apprenticeship workshops as the only means of remedying the exploitation of apprentices. He demanded that this should form a part of the minimum programme of the Social Democrats and that special campaigns should be carried on to realise it. The Austrian delegation, supported by the Swiss and one Czech delegate, insisted that this apprenticeship workshop idea should be adopted in our economic programme. I opposed. The so-called apprenticeships constitute a very small section of the exploited youth. If the capitalist States should establish special apprenticeship centres for these it would only intensify the split in the ranks of the workers which would be used in the struggle against the proletariat. We should not cherish any illusions that the exploitation of apprentices can be abolished under capitalism. Our demands must be: protection of apprentices for the limitation and overthrow of capitalism, for the abolition of exploitation. Finally, my point of view gained the day and it was unanimously decided not to insert the clause on apprenticeship workshops in our programme.

The Stuttgart conference accomplished a very important piece of work. A year previously we had no idea of youth organisations or of what activity they carried on. At that time we learned that in the various countries there are three main types of youth organisations: anti-militarist organisations (Belgium and a part of Scandinavia), educational organisations (Holland, Switzerland), apprenticeship protection organisations (Austria, Hungary). Now an international is formed which had developed a revolutionary programme of work for all organi-

sations. The first powerful step was thereby made for the inclusion of the proletarian youth in the class conscious struggle for the overthrow of the domination of the bourgeoisie.

Just a brief reference to the participants in the conference. A number of Russian comrades were present. Their names were not mentioned. I never met them again. Perhaps as far as they still exist they will report. I entered into a long conversation with one of them from whom I learned that he had been a Bundist. Balabanova represented the Italian youth. Comrade Remmele took the Minutes of the Conference. Gustav Möller the Swiss delegate warmly supported Liebknecht, he became later the Minister of the Swedish king. Zetal Höglung told me that this same Möller after the war, is said to have declared that given the choice "Liebknecht or Noske" he would decide for Noske. De Man who, together with Liebknecht, had done most to bring about the conference, has had an interesting career. He was a militant Marxist, a bitter opponent of Vandervelde. He volunteered in the war, and after the February Revolution went to Russia with Vandervelde in order to support Kerensky and his offensive as a "Left". Finally, from his impact with Marxism he came to the conclusion that not he was bad, but Marxism. Before the war we were close friends, and also during the war I had hoped that he would find the way to us. I greatly regret his loss. In April 1922 I met him at the Conference of the three internationals in Berlin where he acted as interpreter for the last time for the II. International. Exactly 12 years had elapsed since we had met. De Man recognised me at once, came up to me and exclaimed: "You are of course in the III. International!" Of course! I replied.

## Proletarian Youth Movement in Germany 20 Years Ago.

In Offenbach-on-Maine in 1903, more than 20 years ago, the youth themselves founded the first proletarian youth organisation. The prevailing conditions were the immediate cause of so doing, but the influence of the Young Socialists who had come from Austria was also instrumental. In Austria the youth movement had already existed a considerable time without having got so far as to organise a movement in Germany. Offenbach in itself, on account of the enormous number of home workers and the misery of the apprentices caused thereby, was a good starting point for the formation of a proletarian youth movement. The young apprentices who were occupied in the home industry were subjected to a still more acute system of exploitation than apprentices in small factories and industrial enterprises. For them there was no beginning and no end to the work. They were not only apprentices, they were errand boys, kitchen boys, house maids and Jack-of-all-trades. All kinds of work to be done in such domestic enterprises and which the youngsters could do fell to the lot of the apprentices. This position of the apprentices led to the formation of a youth organisation, and consequently the work of this organisation in its early period was concentrated in giving assistance to the apprentices.

The Austrian youth at that time had just carried on a widespread campaign as an answer to the suicide of an apprentice, and this campaign, to which the organ of the Austrian youth movement devoted much space, gave the impetus to similar work in Offenbach, although, it is true, with less success and many disappointments. Many organisational preparations were made; apprentice protection commissions were formed, deputations waited on the employers where grievances were greatest, but in spite of this only in the rarest cases was any success attained. From the very beginning it became clear that the idealism of individuals was of little avail, and that with its help alone these abuses could not be overcome. Another reason was the fact that the powerful trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party were absolutely indifferent to our work. This indifference to the youth organisation prevailed until we convinced them that the organisation was not a tender spring flower which would be crushed with the first burst of storm. Although these expectations and the absolutely unfavourable prognosis meted out to us at that time were mistaken, still

it made our work extremely difficult. For example, the question of securing premises presented an almost insurmountable difficulty. It is true there was a home for the working class, the Trade Union House, but for the youth there was no accommodation there. Therefore we were compelled to deal with so-called Party beer-house keepers who put some of the small side rooms at our disposal without at the same time exempting us from the drink rule. Even here there were special difficulties to be overcome. The landlords usually declined to take any payment and insisted that meals should be taken on their premises. This made our work naturally still more difficult, for most apprentices have no money and those few who received money from home had to pay out for several others, and in spite of this the landlord was dissatisfied.

This meant that we had to change our premises very often, which naturally did not advance the work of our organisation. But in spite of all these disappointments the idealism which enthused us could not be damped and we set to work joyfully to introduce the young apprentices and workers into the Socialist world of thought. This work naturally also had its difficulties, which at the beginning we had not taken into consideration. The Social Democratic library and the library of the trade unions were not at our disposal. The municipal libraries were of no use for our work. What was to be done? We had to make collections and some had to secure books from their fathers' libraries. Our first work was to study the **Communist Manifesto**. We read it jointly and one of the readers would be commissioned to deliver an introductory lecture, and from this very often lively discussions ensued which continued until the small hours of the morning. Then on the next day one or other of the members would tell us that his parents had forbidden him to continue frequenting our meetings because of their long duration. Of course we would have preferred to have had lectures instead of these readings, but there were no lecturers for this purpose at our disposal.

In spite of all this we could be well satisfied with the advance of this primitive work within our organisation. We not only succeeded in interesting young workers in the problem of Socialism, but we also got together by degrees a small hand library which considerably helped our work. Progress was also to be noticed in another direction, one which was dis-

agreeable for the fathers of the Socialist movement. The older ones among us already belonged to Social Democratic movements and were constant visitors at meetings, took part in the joint work and often took the opportunity to speak on definite subjects. The youth began to have doubts about "the infallibility" of their elders. That was already a deadly sin against "the holy ghost tradition", and we were made to feel it. Storms of abuse met us such as "these brats think they know something!" and suchlike. But even these disagreeable encounters did not stifle our enthusiasm. Our activity also had some good results. The Social Democratic Party began to take notice of us. Unexpectedly interest was shown in the youth movement. With a grand gesture now and again 20 marks were granted to help on our work, but the cloven foot was behind it all. The interest in our work suddenly developed to such an extent that the Party Executive sent a representative to our Executive to give us good advice. In this way the increased influence had its disadvantages but also the great advantage that now the trade unions took an interest in our movement and to a certain extent mobilised their forces for our purposes.

The immediate result of this change in the attitude of the Social Democratic Party was a considerable organisational development of the youth movement. The Party representative began to develop his activity; and it must be admitted that he did this with great pedagogical adroitness, but with the intention of handicapping the entire movement. Large-scale educational programmes were drafted and the entire activity was placed under the flag of "cultural work". There were excursions to museums, excursions into the realms of astronomy and geology, history of art and literature. Nothing at all about social science, nothing about the teachings of Marx and Engels, nothing at all about those subjects which could link up the youth with the Socialist movement of the proletariat. On the contrary, all those subjects which were of the greatest importance for young workers and apprentices were given a back seat. There was not a trace of politics, and anti-militarism was anxiously guarded, because here some of the youngsters had ventured to put a finger on this sore spot. The secret domain of politics was guarded anxiously so that no footstep of a young worker should sully it. The arguments used were very simple. Why should a youngster bother about actual political questions, why deprive him of his few years of youth? He will enter soon enough on the serious side of life; let him be gay and happy during this period; let him play, be jolly and dance, but have nothing to do with hard politics. And besides, they argued, for such problems we older and experienced people are there, who understand things far better and will carry them out in the interests of the working class. The best and most advanced elements amongst the youth fought against these conceptions, but without success and there was nothing left to us but to resort to private dwellings and there, in small circles of the best of us, to discuss the questions nearest to us. In the organisation as a whole this type of education cultivated a spirit which if it had lasted would have caused much damage to the movement. Thus at the close of the first period of this proletarian youth organisation which had begun its work so hopefully and energetically, we find the cultivation of games, walks, and sport instead of the increased interest in the proletarian class struggle. We were well on the way to what later became the Free Germans.

In spite of the fact that the movement was thus ideologically limited, the organisation made great progress. Great stress was laid on extending the movement not only to the Offenbach industrial district, but also beyond. This work was carried out with great enthusiasm despite the bitter experiences we had to make. The youth filled with agitational fervour were soon to learn what it means to encroach on "the privileges of the Central Executive", which was carefully guarded by the high priests. It was made to feel what it meant to carry the seeds of Socialism into such a territory. But in spite of all disappointments, in various places beginnings were made and finally also smaller organisations developed. It became evident that they were only capable of existence, as long as

they were supported by the stronger organisations. In order to maintain these newly created organisations and to establish close contact between them, district conferences were held, the first of which took place in Offenbach, Dieburg, Neu-Isenburg and Gross-Gerau. Here to a certain extent the foundation was laid for a systematic development of the movement throughout Hessen.

The great sacrifices which the youth made at that time would now be of value in many instances. The position here was the same as in the early period of all Socialist movements; enthusiasm was the basis of everything. We succeeded in convening a provincial congress for all Hessen which took place in 1908 in Darmstadt. At that time some districts outside of Hessen were affiliated to the Hessen provincial organisation, for example, Heidelberg and Mannheim. The Mannheim movement was most active through the efforts of Dr. Ludwig Frank, later a Revisionist who fell in the war. It was he who delivered the report on the work of the youth movement at the district congress. The Berlin organisation represented at the congress by Max Peters, who afterwards joined the ranks of the reformists, was most active on behalf of the creation of a united German youth organisation. No definite decision was arrived at in this respect at this congress. On the contrary, it was decided then to develop the "Junge garde", which was in reality an organ of the Hessen youth movement.

Some time later, after this first and only Hessen district congress, at the instigation of the Executive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, a united German youth movement was created. For the youth movement as such, national organisations signified an important and essential advance. But as far as the Party executive was concerned, it was a question of getting the entire movement under its influence. This did not happen as long as the federal leagues existed. Even in the Prussian provincial organisation there existed strong oppositional tendencies which were very cleverly undermined by the Party Executive. Max Peters, whom we have already mentioned, was then one of the leaders of the Berlin organisation and in the opposition. When, however, the central organisation was created, he was elected on to the Executive and thereby an end was put to his opposition. The new monthly organ which was now circulated throughout Germany and compared very badly with the Austrian organ, was completely in the hands of the editor, Korn, who occupied this position until quite recently. In a very clever and careful manner everything was kept out of this organ which could in any way help the politisation of the movement. First of all the reason given for so doing was prudence in respect of the Prussian legislation, but later on even this pretence was abandoned. The organ was of the opinion that it had only a cultural mission to fulfil in respect to the youth movement. Art and literature, natural history, etc. filled the columns of the newspaper, and articles on the social movement, etc. were provided for the readers from time to time as a kind of birthday present. The fruits of this development became only too clear later on.

The Offenbach youth organisation had already during this period outlived its early enthusiasm. There was no difference between it and the organisations in the other parts of the Reich. The forces which were active in the early period already worked in the Social Democratic Party or in many instances had left Offenbach. Thanks to the policy of the Social Democrats the development of capable successors had been prevented. Even though the organisation was absorbed more and more into the frame-work of the general organisation, still the history of the youth movement in Offenbach will take place of honour in the history of the proletarian youth movement in Germany. It was the first to recognise the task of the great historical meaning of the class struggle of the proletariat; it showed in its early day that the proletarian youth movement is only of use when it is a part of the class struggle of the proletariat. It recognised this part during its first period, developed it and attempted to carry it out in a practical manner; therein lie its memorable services.

## The Early Days of the Belgian Jeunes Gardes.

By De Boeck i.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the first international conference of Young Socialists, which took place in Stuttgart August 24—26, 1907, it will not be out of place to recall the "heroic" period of the Belgian Jeunes Gardes. After the Swiss Socialists (1,700 members) this was the strongest organisation represented at Stuttgart (1,300 members).

The Jeunes Gardes was founded in 1886. It was organised at the time of intensive industrial crisis which had prevailed for some years in Belgium and was just then entering upon its most acute stage.

From all sides was heard the same complaint, the same accusations. Workers demanded work, but they could not get it. They were hungry and cold and the shops loaded with goods tempted not a few workers.

Demonstrations and strikes were the order of the day.

The year 1886 marked the sharpest and most violent struggle of the heroic Belgian proletariat.

There was a miners' strike at Jemape and Liege. At first the strike was sporadic but in a few hours it extended throughout the whole district of Liege aggravated by the increase of misery and the innumerable impositions to which the workers were subjected. The strike did not take place for an increase in the miserable wages (the wages of the Belgian workers were the lowest in all Europe) but a demand was made for the maintenance of the present wages which were threatened with being reduced.

The intervention of the army, which fired on the strikers produced an enormous impression on the workers of other parts of the country. The miners in Charleroi, Centre, Borinage also declared a spontaneous strike.

Repressions were of a most savage nature! The strike which embraced all industrial centres was more in the nature of a revolt. The strikers were fired on without warning and workers' blood began to flow.

In the midst of these battles the organisation of the Socialist Jeunes Gardes was born. It was the frequency of the intervention of the army during the strike which made the young Belgian Socialists organise the Jeunes Gardes during this terrible year.

The very conditions of its origin made of it an anti-militarist propaganda organisation. Since that time the Jeunes Gardes carried on this propaganda amongst the conscripts every year when the various classes are being called up or being demobilised.

In order to carry on this special propaganda, papers were published both in the French and Flemish languages: the "Conscrit" and the "Caserne".

A National Federation was founded in 1889.

For years anti-militarist propaganda remained the chief activity for the Belgian Jeunes Gardes. This little Belgium "neutral" and independent (!!) and inviolate (!!!) according to its constitution always had to bear the brunt of militarism. It devoted a large part of its revenue to national defence and to the maintenance of the army. Out of a budget of less than 300 million in 1905 Belgium spent 95 million on war, that is to say more than it spent on the departments of Justice, Home Affairs, Public Education, Agriculture, Industry and Labour.

The "Conscrit" and "Caserne", these two anti-militarist organs, had a circulation in 1907 of almost 100,000 copies. In addition to the publication of these anti-militarist journals several public meetings were held to which were invited the young people who subscribed to the papers.

Protest demonstrations were organised against the system of substitution which allowed the sons of the bourgeoisie to be replaced by a worker at a lower rate of pay.

The Jeunes Gardes also had to experience a number of attacks on their press.

More than once Vandervelde, Brouckere, Anseele, De Man were persecuted for their violent anti-militarist articles and they often were imprisoned for months at a time.

At the time of the Stuttgart Congress the Belgian Jeunes Gardes carried on the most extensive anti-militarist work. It had been doing so already for some years. One need only recall that in 1911 in an article on anti-militarist work Lenin quoted the Belgian Jeunes Gardes as an example for the entire II. International.

Our intention in the present article is not to relate the whole history of the J. G. S., but in conclusion we wish to recall that the history of the J. G. S. is linked up with the history of the renegades whose names we have just mentioned. The leaders of the Jeunes Gardes such as De Man betrayed in 1914 in the same way as Vandervelde and Brouckere betrayed. De Man, the secretary of the International Federation of Young Socialist organisations at Stuttgart in 1907, some months ago has just been guilty of treachery for a second time. He has cooked up a new social theory which replaces Marxism (?) and demolishes Leninism (??).

We young comrades who have taken all that was revolutionary in the Jeunes Gardes of 1886 and 1907 will guard this heritage and show ourselves worthy of it. We will fight in the spirit of the Jeunes Gardes of 1886 and 1907 despite their leaders who betrayed them, despite their leaders of the present day who are content to follow their leaders of yesterday like eunuchs. This is what the history of the early days of the Belgian Jeunes Gardes teaches us.

## The Socialist-Communist Youth Movement During the War.

By Willi Münzenberg.

The ignominious collapse of the Second International at the outbreak of war dragged the young Socialists, then but a loose organisation, into the whirl of the all-prevailing chauvinism. The International Federation of Socialist Youth organisations declared after the outbreak of the war that during the period of the war it could not function, thus faithfully carrying out the words of the social patriot Karl Kautsky: "The Labour International is an instrument of peace and not an instrument of war".

Dr. Robert Dannenberg, who had been elected secretary of the International Federation of Socialist Youth organisations at the Copenhagen Conference in 1910, and is now a social reformist town councillor in Vienna, opposed the convention of an international conference of Socialist youth organisations, which was suggested during the first weeks immediately after the war by the Swiss, Scandinavian and Dutch youth organisations.

The Socialist youth movement already prior to the war had abandoned its original anti-militarist struggle, because of the overwhelming victory of Bernstein's reformism and had become

a petty bourgeois youth organisation in Austria and still more so in Germany, especially in the famous youth committees under the leadership of Fritz Ebert.

The war and the close connection with the Social patriotic party institutions marked the complete deterioration of the German and Austrian youth organisations and degraded them in participating in all the disgraceful deeds of the social patriotic chauvinists. The Austrian Socialist youth organisations published regularly in its organ "Der Jugendliche Arbeiter" a list of the members of its organisation who had received imperial medals for bravery. In Germany the youth workers praised as an example for the proletarian youth Ludwig Frank, the Social Democratic member of parliament, who had volunteered for the war and was one of the first to fall. The annual report of the German youth centre, for 1915, shows that at the order of the War Office 1,995 juveniles had joined up, 783 had joined voluntarily.

"Jungvolk", the youth calendar of the central office for 1916, published an article entitled "World War" by Heinrich Schulz, legal advisor of the central office, Social Democratic member



of the Reichstag and now ex-State Secretary. In his article it was pointed out:

"Our demand for peace unfortunately has never been heard on the opposite side. The regrettable result is that force of arms continues to decide and that also German workers must for the present place their hopes for an early peace only on the success of the German army. The sooner this succeeds in convincing Germany's opponents by securing military successes, that it is impossible to defeat Germany, the stronger the victories they gain over their opponents, the sooner our opponents will be inclined for peace".

Disgraceful as are the individual instances of deterioration within the ranks of the international Socialist youth movement, it is all the more gratifying to record that a definite and passionate opposition quickly arose in the ranks of the youth against this organised war enthusiasm, preached by the party leaders. In Germany, in Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, Hamburg and in the towns in Thuringia and many other German localities the majority of the youth made a decisive protest against this war-mongering and advocated a breach with the social patriotic elements and revolutionary anti-war agitation and action.

In Berne at Easter 1915, an international youth conference took place at the invitation of the Swiss, Scandinavian and Dutch youth organisations at which a large youth delegation from German towns and Italy was also present. The Berne conference is of decisive importance for the later development of the proletarian youth movement. For the first time in the history of the Socialist youth international it was decided unanimously by the conference to proclaim the complete organisational and political independence of the proletarian youth organisations. Prior to this conference in most countries youth organisations were an appendage of the social patriotic parties, so infected with chauvinism. The Berne conference decided to adopt an independent attitude to the political events in accordance with the policy it had adopted. In a unanimous resolution the conference declared itself against the social patriotic attitude of the Social Democratic Party, decided to fight against it and united with the international revolutionary groups which had been formed in various countries and in Germany under the banner of Karl Liebknecht.

For the first time in the history of the proletarian youth movement representatives of the Bolsheviks participated in the conference and for the first time a bridge was thrown between the international proletarian youth and the Bolshevik Party. Until the conference in Berne the International Federation of Socialist youth organisations was a loose organisation without any joint political programme and joint activity. The Berne conference decided on the adoption of a united programme, to publish a joint paper "Die Jugend Internationale" and to carry out joint actions.

Whilst the Second International lay in ruins, in Zimmerwald and Kienthal the first attempts were made to create a new

international. In the middle of the world war amidst the thunder of the imperialist armies which devastated Europe, the proletarian youth created an international organisation capable and ready for action. The activities organised by the Youth International during the war against war, especially the International Youth Day which was decided upon at the Berne Conference and takes place annually in September, met with the greatest approval amongst the revolutionary proletarian youth of the whole world. In Germany hundreds of young comrades were thrown into prison for circulating leaflets with the slogan "Long live the struggle against war, Long live the Youth International". In Italy and in France similar events took place. In Italy the agitators of the Youth International were sentenced by court martial to 6, 8 and 10 years imprisonment. America sentenced William Kruse, the secretary of the youth organisation, to a long term of imprisonment for anti-war propaganda. Even in neutral countries like Norway, Denmark, Switzerland and Sweden, persecutions were the order of the day. The leaders of the Socialist youth organisations were sent to prison, or if foreigners deported. But nothing could damp the enthusiasm of the youth for the newly created international organisation or weaken their revolutionary struggle against war. Temporarily the seat of the youth international was transferred to Kienthal and prior to the victorious October revolution and the foundation of the III. International it was the centre of all real revolutionary and anti-war parties and proletarian organisations.

In addition to the Russian comrades, Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, Radek, the Germans, Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Rühle, Hoernle, the Dutch comrade Roland Holst, the Swedish Höglund, the Italian Toscana contributed to the Youth International. The 11 copies of the Youth International which appeared during the war are memorable documents, real international, anti-war propaganda.

The Youth International and its Sections especially in Scandinavia, Holland and Switzerland became the outposts of the Party; they worked to create the new revolutionary III International from the ruins of the II. International.

At the Kienthal conference the delegation of the Youth International definitely supported the Left Wing of Zimmerwald and became in the further development of the movement the most important and strongest section of the revolutionary Left Zimmerwald tendency.

The development of the Socialist youth movement from Socialist educational organisations of pre-war days through the Berne conference, to political active fighting revolutionary independent organisations, found its climax in the foundation of the Young Communist International, which took place in Berlin in autumn 1919. During the years of the Russian revolution, so full of decisive moments, the Youth International created during the war proved to be one of the strongest and most certain pillars of the Communist movement, of the international proletarian revolution.

## Treachery of Reformist Socialist Youth During the World War.

By Milan.

Long before the war in Socialist youth organisations a fierce struggle was waged between revolutionary and reformist tendencies. Reformism was introduced into the youth movement from without. When the Socialist youth organisations with their active political struggle, their anti-militarist activity and their strong international connections had begun to play a more or less important role in the labour movement the reformists, who in many countries had conquered the Social Democratic and especially the trade union organisations, decided either to make the youth organisations an obedient appendage of their opportunist policy or to destroy them. Reformism was brought into the ranks of the Socialist youth by adult opportunists from the Social Democratic and trade union movement. One of the first most important questions around which centred the struggle between the revolutionary reformist tendencies in the Socialist youth movement was the question of the independence of the movement. Everywhere where revolutionary elements in youth organisations succeeded in maintaining the independence of their

organisations, despite the attack of their elders, these organisations did not fall into the reformist slough during the war.

In those instances where independence was lost the Socialist youth organisations from the first day participated in the treacherous policy of their elders. In order to show how "independence" existed in these organisations we give an example which O. Tarchanow gives in his history of the youth movement: In Germany in 1913—1918, 873 local committees carried on youth work. Of these 873 committees 112 were simply educational committees of the local Party committee; 104 "Youth Commissions" in which there was not one young comrade, 37 youth commissions in which the youth constituted one-third 32 where half to one-third was composed of young workers, 38 of which only one-half consisted of young workers and only in three of such commissions had the youth a majority.

The treachery of the reformist section of the Socialist youth movement during the imperialist war was first of all determined by the character of these organisations which were completely

under the political and organisational tutelage of the Right reformists. Communist historians of the Socialist Youth movement enumerate five important milestones in the history of the international Socialist youth movement before the betrayal: 1. complete destruction of independence, 2. no participation in political struggle, 3. separation from the struggle for economic demands of youth workers, 4. complete abandonment of the struggle against militarism, 5. transformation into a purely cultural educational organisation and the gradual transition from revolutionary internationalism to chauvinist nationalism.

The youth organisations in Germany, France and Holland, the Austrian Socialist youth which at the beginning of the war broke off all international relations, went over completely to the side of Chauvinist nationalism and also the Belgian organisation adopted a vacillating attitude. The majority of the leading members of the Belgian Jeunes Gardes, amongst them also **De Man**, the chairman of the International Youth Bureau, openly went over to the side of the traitors. De Man actually joined the Belgian army as a volunteer. The Central Executive of the French Socialist youth silently approved all the deeds of their comrades in the Socialist Party, who not only voted for war credits, but even took over the war Ministry. The French Socialist youth declined to participate in the International Socialist Youth Conference in 1916 in Berne. They continuously called on the young French workers to participate in the struggle against their German brothers.

The deeds of the reformist section of the Socialist youth movement during the war may be enumerated as follows:

a) Complete support for the treacherous reformist leaders of Social Democracy.

b) Chauvinist agitation for participation of the young workers in the "Defence of the fatherland".

c) Definite struggle against pure revolutionary elements within the youth movement, a struggle which did not even desist from denunciation.

d) Abandonment of every struggle on behalf of the interests of the young workers.

e) United action with and approach to petty bourgeois and bourgeois youth organisations.

It would be quite possible to collect an entire book of quotations from the various manifestoes, documents and articles which illustrate the role of these young protectors of the German Empire. Although very much has been already written about it we cannot refrain from giving two quotations on this subject:

"This terrible fate descended on our fatherland in the night like a sleuth hound..."

"...Sure when it is a question of defending the fatherland, the hearth of our education and work, the proletariat hastens to the frontier like the citizen and the prince (!) sheds his last drop of blood like the beggar..."

The new generation of young workers has not experienced the history of these times. They know very little about the attitude of the reformist sections during the war. Therefore it is our task to carry on extensive enlightenment work amongst the masses of young workers, especially today, when we are immediately faced with the danger of a new war and also with a new open betrayal by the S.Y.I.

## Struggle of the Youth against the Reformists in Württemberg.

By Wilhelm Schwaab (Stuttgart).

The jubilee of the proletarian youth organisation recalls the violent struggles which the youth waged with the reformists in Württemberg and especially in Stuttgart.

The struggle between the revolutionary workers and reformist leaders had always been especially violent in Stuttgart. Since the foundation of the free youth organisation the youth was on the side of the revolution. The strong petty bourgeois tendency which was apparent amongst the Social Democrats of Württemberg as a result of the undeveloped economic situation of the country lent the struggles a special feature. The reformists especially favoured the argument against the opposition that it was only led by young inexperienced people. In this condemnation leaders of youth organisations up to 40 years of age were included. As a matter of fact the enthusiasm of the youth — who could not await the day until they were 18 so as to be eligible for the Party — was clearly felt at Party meetings. One reason for this activity of young Party comrades was the circumstance that youth organisations had to fight for their right of existence step by step. The struggle which was scarried on for material support, for premises in the Trade Union House, for a little space in the paper often extended to political territory, because the refusal of the reformist leaders to give support to the youth organisation was caused by the oppositional attitude of the youth. It often happened that responsible leaders gave expression to this point of view and they made every attempt to gain influence on the youth organisation. Thereby they merely increased the opposition of the youth who jealously defended their independence.

In spite of the fact that the reformists endeavoured to use the law against association as far as possible in a detrimental manner in respect to the youth still the youth succeeded in retaining their independence. The Youth Committee for Württemberg which was formed according to the directions of the Central Office for young German workers was elected by the youth themselves. In view of the prohibition of political activity for the youth, chief attention was paid to educational work. The basic principle here observed was that the proletarian youth should be educated in the spirit of Karl Marx. This principle served as a basis in excursions, games and every opportunity was used in order to strengthen the class-consciousness of the young workers. But even that aroused the distrust and anger of the reformists or revisionists as they were then called after Edward Bernstein, who wanted to revise Marxism. These revisionist leaders made a special attack on the revo-

lutionary work of the youth organisations and demanded that courses be held in book-keeping, calligraphy, etc. This demand is typical of the attitude of the party and trade union leaders of Württemberg.

Therefore we in the leadership of youth organisation in Württemberg were prepared for what took place at the outbreak of war, for that was only the logical continuation of the tactics which the reformists had observed for years.

The Youth Day at Whitsuntide 1914 in Stuttgart was under the banner of the struggle on two fronts. For not only the police of the class state but also the party and trade union leaders tried to prevent the meeting of the Swiss and Württemberg young workers. In spite of all difficulties this Youth Day was a powerful demonstration of the international solidarity of the young workers. It showed all enemies of the proletarian revolution that the revolutionary youth movement was growing.

The outbreak of the war brought the youth organisation face to face with a new situation. The prohibition to combine which was issued before the Youth Day was rescinded. The whip was exchanged for kindness and class peace prevailed. The leadership of the young German League called on all young workers to participate in the Youth War Relief Corps. Although we knew that the young workers were to be dragged into the war policy we declared ourselves prepared to help when it was a question of alleviating the wounds which were inflicted by the war. We could depend on our young comrades. They would not fall into the trap of the nationalists. We tried to get an insight into the activity of the Youth War Relief Corps and utilise the experience thus gained against the imperialist war. However, this institution was of a short duration and not of very great importance.

Already in September 1914 the formation of a youth brigade was decided on. The Central office of the young workers in Berlin declined to participate. This however, did not prevent the Stuttgart reformists from recommending the young workers to participate in the youth brigade, nor from attacking the youth committees in Württemberg, which replied to an invitation to a meeting, that it declined to participate in a youth brigade which was only meant to strengthen fratricidal militarism. The "Schwäbische Tagwacht" (organ of the Württemberg Social Democracy) declined to publish a manifesto warning the youth against joining the youth brigade. Subsequently the

manifesto was printed as a leaflet and whilst it was being printed the police were informed and confiscated it. Later on it was returned and after it had been circulated among the members of the youth organisations it was again forbidden and those few that remained confiscated. At that time Heymann, editor of the "Wahre Jakob" wrote an article in the "Schwäbische Tagwacht" defending the youth brigade as a beginning of a realisation of the Social Democratic demand for the introduction of universal service. A reply to this article was forbidden by the general military commando.

The result of the youth organisation turning down the youth brigade was increased police supervision. The chairmen of the local groups were called before the authorities and told that all lectures and meetings were to be announced in advance. No mention should be made of the youth brigade and Comrade Westmayer was forbidden from speaking at youth meetings.

The reformists also increased their opposition and forbade their children to take part in meetings, etc.

The Württemberg youth protested at a conference which was held on May 8, 1915 against the attitude of the "Arbeiterjugend" and the Central office. They called for a definite attitude towards the war and the resumption of international relations.

Meanwhile the split in the Social Democratic Party in Württemberg had become a fact. We still regarded ourselves as Social Democrats and strove with all means in our power against a split in the youth movement. Though this may only have been an illusion it served as a means of unmasking the reformists. The entire attitude of the reformists became clear in the brutal methods which they used to bring about a split. Since the young organised workers were not to be turned

from their path and still continued to fight against the class peace policy, the reformist leaders in the trade unions and the Party had no other choice than to found a new youth organisation. This took some time before it became effective. The police came to the aid of the reformists and forbade all well-known leaders of the opposition to speak at youth meetings. Amongst these were, Clara Zetkin, Hörnle and Walcher. But this injunction was less injurious to the youth movement than the recruiting and calling to the colours which greatly thinned the ranks of the officials. Hundreds who went to the front never returned. When Karl Liebknecht on May 1, 1916 called the young Berlin workers to struggle against the imperialist war, the workers in Stuttgart also demonstrated. The youth were the first in the field and led the demonstration procession despite the police prohibition. The leaders of the demonstration were arrested and were kept a long time in detention. Karl Liebknecht was sentenced to 2½ years imprisonment.

We issued protest leaflets against this class sentence. From the youth movement, three young comrades and five of the older comrades were arrested and detained for six weeks and subjected to all kinds of torture until one of them was made to admit that he had received the leaflets from me. The result of this was that I was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The three young comrades were sentenced to a few months and the others were set free. These were the measures used to suppress the youth movement, but it was never quite suppressed and in November 1918 when the storm broke out, it became clear that our work and our struggle had not been quite in vain. Everywhere the Württemberg youth comrades were to the fore. And even today, many of them are fighting in the foremost ranks of the Communist Party.

## The Swiss Youth Movement.

By Willy Trostel (Zürich).

When the first international conference of the Socialist Youth organisations was convened at Stuttgart, at the end of August 1907, there were only six Young Men's League in Switzerland, three in the town of Zürich and the other three in the near vicinity of this town. These Sections were but loosely connected with one another at that time, and were just preparing for their first meeting of delegates. The announcement of an international unification met with an enthusiastic reception. The "Scorpion", the central organ of the Swiss Young Men's Leagues at that time, welcomed the founding of the Youth International in the following words:

"A great day is before us. The whole of the Youth organisations of the world are to be welded together to one great whole; firm bonds of love and fellowship are to draw all Youth together...

We wish all our brother organisations the best of luck for the success of the Congress, and hope to meet them all united at Stuttgart.

May the great day be greeted by a thunderous salute from Switzerland."

This address of welcome gives us a fair idea of the standpoint of the Swiss Youth organisations at that time: a vague idealism. And yet great progress was to be recorded in comparison to the time when the first Sections were established (1900). Social intercourse and friendship were the main aims of these organisations. Later on this was supplemented by the fight against the Roman Catholic church. The first political activity in connection with the proletarian class struggle was awakened by the Russian revolution in 1905, and the events in Zürich, where soldiers were employed to suppress a strike. This last circumstance planted the first seeds of anti-militarist propaganda in the Youth organisations, and they have remained true to it, with various deviations of standpoint, until today. It was on this point that the first disagreements with the Party arose.

At that time these disagreements were confined to the question of anti-militarism, and the Youth shrank from approaching other political questions in a manner likely to lead to differences with the Party. They restricted themselves to their general educational lectures in every possible sphere of science.

At the time when I joined the Youth, in 1910, trade union questions were just being taken up for the first time, and this led of itself to the economic struggle of the working Youth. I was especially impressed by Comrade Fritz Brupbacher. I did not care much for the lectures on the descent of man, on the improvements in the construction of gramophones, on the mysteries of the heavens, etc. These merely gave me ideas which I could not digest properly, and could not answer the questions which life was asking me. But Brupbacher went to the point: "The knowledge most important to the fighter is the knowledge of the forces possessed by his opponent. Our opponents are the capitalists and the class state. Therefore we must study these. The two sciences which enable us to estimate their forces are economics and the history of our country.

It was a very long time — for we did not know very well how to go about it — before Comrade Brupbacher's programme was put into actual practice.

Apart from this, progress was made. At the delegates meeting held in 1910 over 100 members, in 12 Sections, were represented. The Second International Youth Conference at Copenhagen, with its agenda of: Protection of Youth, Militarism, and the attitude to be adopted to Party and trade union, induced us to take up all these questions adapted to Swiss conditions. In November of this same year the Swiss Social Democratic Party accepted a motion proposed by Platten, stating that, in all places where Youth Sections exist, Youth committees composed of Party and trade union members were to be formed. On this we took up the fight against the Party, and against the threatened coercion, with all the energy and confidence of youth. We fought for the principle laid down for us in 1909 (even by Platten): "The complete administration of our Youth organisations is to be in our own hands."

It was in this struggle that Comrade Willi Münzenberg first came to the fore in the Swiss youth movement. After this, until 1917, he was the actual leader of Socialist Youth. His most energetic opposition was against permitting the youth committees to force the Youth into some definite direction. For Platten's slogan was: Away from the "anarchist" Brupbacher! The delegates meeting in 1911 rejected, by 29 to 5 votes, this attempt at tutelage.

In the years following this, new Sections were formed everywhere, and in the Parties and trade unions we young workers held hundreds of speeches on the necessity of the Youth organisations, and on the economic demands of the juvenile workers. A day that I shall never forget is that of the general strike in Zürich in July 1912, when we succeeded in bringing out the greater part of the apprentices and juvenile workers into the street with us.

In the spring of 1914 we gained much ground through our public discussions with the bourgeois Youth organisations. At Whitsuntide 1914 the Zürich Youth organisations met together with those of Wurtemberg, at Stuttgart. Here the idea of an International Youth Day was born. These glorious hours in Stuttgart, filled with a joyful fighting spirit, made the great conception of international co-operation a living reality in the hearts of hundreds of our Youth.

We characterised the World War from the very beginning as an imperialist war. We recognised that the workers' organisations, despite the decisions of their congresses, were "too weak" to prevent the war, and that it is our task to increase the power of the labour organisations until a repetition of such a catastrophe becomes impossible. But we were not resigned for a minute. With the commencement of the war we made preparations for an agitation week, and this was carried out with great success in September 1914, under the slogan: Socialism is dead, long live socialism!

The first war Christmas found us at our work of gathering together the international threads torn by the war. We were in communication with the Youth in Germany, Austria, France, Italy, etc., and wrote to them:

"It is our task, the first historical task of the present generation to set up with the fighters who have remained faithful to their old ideals a new and more closely united alliance among the workers of all countries. We shall raise our voice everywhere, and to those who rejoice at the death of the International we cry, confident of victory: You are wrong, it is not dead. The international fraternisation of all the exploited lives in us again, in the Youth, stronger, mightier, and prouder than ever."

With this correspondence, commenced in December 1914, we became the centre of all the oppositional groups within the Youth International.

We demanded that the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland should issue a leaflet to the soldiers, containing the demands of the social democratic party programme for the democratisation of the army, and for a statement of the judgments pronounced by the military courts. We demanded that the parliamentary fraction should act in accordance with the party programme. This was the beginning of our actual political activity. We commenced to exercise a systematic influence upon the Party and trade unions, in a deliberately revolutionary direction. We could no longer work in the Youth movement alone, but all active Youth elements had to work in the Party. And our influence was no slight one, for we already had 65 Sections, with over 2000 members.

It was at this time that we met Comrade Lenin, who had little confidence in the S. P. of Switzerland, which had gone over to opportunism, and therefore placed the greater hopes on the Youth. We disappointed him greatly in failing to vote for the resolution moved by the Russian and Polish delegates at the First International Youth Congress at Berne. We were of the opinion that it was not necessary for us to sit in judgment on the attitude of the social democratic parties of other countries. And he could not understand at all why we agreed to the disarmament resolution. His disappointment, however, was not so great as to cause him to abandon all hopes of "improvement". He did not withdraw his friendship, but rather intensified his efforts to bring us into the Bolshevik front. This he did personally, accompanied by Comrade Krupskaya, at the "Skittle Club" at Zürich, and through his collaborators Zinoviev, Radek, Bronsky, etc. in our newspaper, "Freie Jugend", and again in the "Jugendinternationale".

When the writings of the Zimmerwald Left appeared after the Zimmerwald Conference in 1915, we distributed these publications; and when this Left was opposed in the Party, we of the Youth propagated and spread abroad their views. Out of a feeling of false pride and prestige we held to the disarmament slogan for some time. Long after we had accepted the Bolshevik principle of the rejection of defence of the country and of the revolutionisation of the army, we still closed our debates on these matters by a demand for disarmament. After I had delivered more than one address on this question, Lenin came to me to show me where we were wrong in drawing this conclusion.

The Youth Congress at Whitsuntide in Zürich, and the first International Youth Conference in October 1915, are among the most powerful demonstrations ever witnessed by the working people of Switzerland.

By our increased political activity we gained the recognition of the Bolsheviks, and Lenin wrote to us in his farewell letter:

"In these last moments of our stay in Switzerland we look back with brotherly feelings to our comrades in the fight, the Swiss revolutionary social democrats, who have fought and striven to throw light upon the most important vital questions of the working class. We remember the brave young vanguard gathered round the "Freie Jugend", fighting with the revolutionary spirit against all the infirmities which make Swiss social democracy, no less than the other social democratic parties of Europe, weak and incapable of fighting."

It was a heavy blow to the Swiss revolutionary Youth movement when, after the risings and conflicts with the police and soldiery in November 1917 in Zürich, Comrade Münzberg was arrested, interned, and finally expelled from the country. The writer of these lines, too, spent a long time in prison. To this must be added the prohibition of our newspapers "Freie Jugend" and "Jugendinternationale". Even the greatest zeal and self-sacrifice of those left behind could not immediately make up for these blows.

## The Young Communist International.

By F. Reinhard.

Three periods are marked in the development of the history of the international proletarian youth movement.

The first period is the foundation of the international alliance of Socialist youth organisations at the First International Youth Congress in Stuttgart in 1907.

The second begins with the Berne Conference 1915 which took up the threads which had been torn asunder by the war and the collapse of the II. International and organised a struggle against war.

The third period begins with the foundation congress of the Y. C. I., November 23rd, 1919 in Berlin.

The First International Congress of Socialist Youth Organisations took place in Stuttgart in 1907 after futile attempts had been made to establish contact with the existing Socialist youth organisations. Karl Liebknecht is mainly to be thanked for the convention of this congress; he carried on unintermittent work

for the creation of the Socialist Youth International. Early in March 1907 a provisional international youth bureau was established consisting of Karl Liebknecht, Frank Ludwig (Germany) and De Mann (Belgium) which established contact with all Socialist youth organisations. When it proposed the convention of an international youth congress, this suggestion was met with great enthusiasm. And in this way the first Socialist Youth Congress 1907, August 24—26, was held in Stuttgart. Twenty delegates from 13 countries were present at the congress.

Karl Liebknecht, President at the Congress.

The main significance of the congress lies in the fact that it drew up the first uniform agitational programme for the proletarian youth movement. Besides directions for educational work and questions connected with the economic protection of

the youth a policy was adopted for the anti-militarist struggle. Karl Liebknecht delivered the chief speech against bourgeois militarism. This speech, which he repeated at a Stuttgart youth meeting, gave the bourgeoisie an excuse to sentence him to a year and a half imprisonment. Although the activity of the International Secretariat (Karl Liebknecht, De Man, Roland Holst and Müller) was limited to maintaining contact between the different organisations, the influence of the international congress in all countries was great in the forward development of the youth leagues.

#### The Berne Congress 1915.

The second period of the proletarian youth movement began when the Parties of the II. International forgot their mutual assurances about international solidarity and succumbed to patriotic intoxication. Only a few Socialists were able to stand the war excitement and the nationalist storm. The youth movement made the bravest stand of all. The revolutionary elements of the youth began to assemble anew, and it was not long before, in April 1915, the first representatives of the various countries met and laid the foundation stone of a new and better international, the Young Communist International. The Berne Congress is justly regarded not only as a mile-stone in the history of the youth movement, but also in the development of the revolutionary labour movement as a whole. Lenin, Zinoviev, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Radek supported the youth and contributed constantly to the international journal which was there established: "Die Jugend Internationale". The absence of revolutionary parties gave the youth organisations the opportunity of taking the lead in the proletarian political struggle. This, however, was changed when the Russian revolution broke out and the Communist International established.

#### Inaugural Conference of the Y. C. I.

In Berlin, November 20—23, 1919, a conference of delegates of Socialist and youth organisations from 14 countries met together at a time of the most difficult disputes about the tactic of the Socialist Party and when open street fights were going on in Germany and other countries. The convention of this conference was made through the international youth secretariat in Zürich which had been formed at the Berne Congress. In the spring of 1919, when the foundation of the Communist International was undertaken, various Socialist youth organisations adopted its programme and affiliated (Germany, Sweden, Norway, Italy, Switzerland, Austria), and thus the Berlin conference, which was a continuation of the first Socialist Youth Congress and the Berne Congress, became the first congress of the Communist International. An international programme and statutes were adopted at the conference and thus a beginning was made to rally and unite the advanced sections of the proletarian youth under the banner of a definite Communist programme. Comrade Bukharin drafted the programme. On the basis of the programme of action adopted and through the untiring activity of the individual sections the Y. C. I. made splendid progress.

#### The World Congress of the Y. C. I.

The Second World Congress which took place in Moscow, July 12, 1921, was attended by 150 delegates from 40 countries with 5—600,000 members. The Y. C. I. had developed into a real world organisation, steeled in struggle against the treacherous Social Democrats and the persecution of the bourgeoisie. We had Communist youth leagues which only comprised ad-

vanced revolutionary young workers, but as yet did not embrace the millions of young workers in town and country.

The task of the Second World Congress was to determine the role and the relationship of the youth league to the Party. The political leadership could only from now on be carried out on an international scale by the C. I. and nationally by the Parties. Therefore at this congress it was decided that with the maintenance of the organisational independence of the Y. C. I. of the C. I., the leagues would be politically subordinated to the Parties. The role of the Y. C. I. was determined as that of rallying the masses of young workers and educating them to be soldiers of the revolution — Communists.

The III. and IV. World Congresses did not deal again in a thorough manner with the role of the youth movement, but examined how and with what methods and what organisational forms the entire working and peasant youth could be organised. The Congresses, however, had to record that although the relations between the Party and the youth leagues were theoretically completely clear, in practice great shortcomings arose, to overcome which measures had to be found.

The numerical development of the Y. C. I. is as follows:

I. Congress (November 1919)	13 Leagues	229,000 members
II. " (July 1921)	14 " "	500—600,000 "
III. " (December 1922)	54 " "	750,000 "
IV. " (July 1924)	60 " "	1,000,000 "

At present the Y. C. I. has 95 leagues, of these 21 are legal and 3 semi-legal, 71 illegal with combined membership of two and a half million. This membership is for the most part accounted for by the great strength of our Russian as well as of our Chinese Youth Leagues. To the above figures some national revolutionary organisations in Japan, Korea, Dutch-Indies, Tanna-Tuwa, must be added which sympathise with us and have approached the Y. C. I. for affiliation, and also other organisations such as the "Rote Jungsturm" which works together with us.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the First International Youth Congress 1907 in Stuttgart, the Social Democratic Youth International makes pretensions to being the heir of the first Youth International. The Social Democratic youth leaders, who today have the audacity to pose as heirs, speculate on the fact that the young workers have forgotten their words and deeds. When during the war the proletarian youth movement of Germany fought courageously against the war and recalled the decisions of the Stuttgart Youth Conference, the central office replied as follows (Letter of the central office to the Wurttemberg organisations, which protested against the militant attitude of the centre and demanded the struggle against war):

"The decisions of the First International Youth Congress, in which the entire youth movement of Germany was not even able to participate, do not apply to the work of our youth movement."

These sorry heroes, that split away from the revolutionary youth movement and at Whitsuntide 1919 founded a new Youth International, created this Youth International against the revolutionary spirit and against the revolutionary traditions of the First Youth International.

The Communist Youth International is the only heir of the international proletarian youth movement, and it is its task to rally the young workers of the whole world under its banner on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Stuttgart Congress.

## The Economic Programme of the Young Communist International.

By H. Young.

The economic programme of the Y. C. I. is the application of the Stuttgart Programme to the present conditions. A comparison of the programme of the Y. C. I. with the Stuttgart programme easily proves this.

The main features of the Stuttgart programme are the same as those of the programme of the Y. C. I.: the six-hour working day for young workers, 48 hour weekly rest, adequate holidays, minimum wage etc.

In spite of the world war, the crisis of capitalism and rationalisation, the foundations which were laid twenty years ago in Stuttgart are still today the unshakable basis of the economic programme of the Y. C. I.

Does that mean that the programme of the Y. C. I. is not up-to-date? By no means!

Unfortunately it is very easy to formulate demands, but it is somewhat more difficult to fight for them.

We have often had the disagreeable experience of seeing with what negligent light-mindedness the social democratic "Youth leaders" accepted the communist demands in this field in words, when the fighting spirit of the young workers rendered this necessary. The latest example of this is to be seen in Great Britain, where the National Congress of the Youth Guilds of the Independent Labour Party calmly accepted the entire economic programme of the Young Communist League,

without even a word of thanks, which it is true we were not expecting.

It is not the formulation of demands which is of importance, but the fight for them and the principle which stands behind it.

Nevertheless it is interesting to note that even with the formulation of economic demands, which are nothing else but pious wishes addressed to the International Labour Office in Geneva, the demands which were put forward by the leaders of the Socialist Youth International in 1927 contained not a trace of the revolutionary slogans of Stuttgart 1907.

When we examine the latest product of the Socialist Youth International in this sphere (it arose, we learn, after many months of close collaboration with the leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Socialist International) we find that Stuttgart is calmly pushed on one side.

Six hour day? — not a word of it!

Unemployment is not mentioned.

Vocational Training? Even the gentle desire (it is not worth calling a demand) to form parity commissions of employers and workers to control the apprenticeship questions has been thrown overboard.

The whole "Programme" is a mixture of middle class philanthropy and petty political demagoguery.

This is the key to the hopeless confusion of the S. Y. I. after the war, right from the first day of its inception, finally discarded the revolutionary Marxist basis of Stuttgart.

The Socialist Youth International has even sunk to the miserable petty-bourgeois demand for raising the school age, the magic attraction of which is that it will accomplish at one stroke the abolition of unemployment among young workers, the dangers of the streets, the low wages and the "immorality" of the youth.

Why are the fundamental principles of the economic programme of Stuttgart still valid today? Because they were formulated on a revolutionary Marxist basis.

They were not written down with one eye turned to the fighting young workers and the other directed to the defence of the capitalist system of exploitation.

In the report of the Stuttgart Congress on the question of the economic struggle of the working youth it was stated that the aim of the young socialists is the overcoming of capitalism, which is the sole and only means of bringing about a permanent improvement in the living conditions of the working youth, but that it is necessary to mobilise the young workers for the fight against the constantly increasing pressure of capital, to put forward immediate demands for the protection of juvenile labour, which demands, however, cannot limit the revolutionary character of the programme and the fight of the young workers.

It was only upon this firm basis that a correct programme could be formulated.

This is the key to the hopeless confusion of the S. Y. I. today, which has abjured every programme for a socialist solution of the problem of juvenile labour which has been created by capitalism.

The S. Y. I., which appeals to Geneva, which demands that the youth questions shall be discussed in the Parliaments and municipalities, which shrinks from strikes and revolutionary actions, is a miserable parody of the summons to battle of 1907, which called upon the proletarian youth to fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the setting up of a system of socialist training of the working youth.

We said that the programme of the Y. C. I. is the application of the Stuttgart programme to 1927.

Stuttgart has been concretised and perfected. The economic programme of the Y. C. I. represents a complete theoretical system for the solution of the economic problems of the working youth.

The first item of the Stuttgart programme was the prohibition of child labour up to the age of 16 and the introduction of general school education up to that age.

Does this simply mean the extension of the present school-leaving age? By no means! It means the socialist reorganisation of juvenile labour. Translated into the language of 1927 it means the programme of the Y. C. I.

It means the combination of productive work with education. Hence the revolutionary demand of the Y. C. I.: extension of education up to 16 years, and further the setting up of factory schools under trade union control and payment according to trade union rates.

This means that we are in favour of vocational education on the basis of the correct socialist principle as formulated by Marx and Lenin, and as they are calculated to unite the young workers for the fight against capitalism.

It means that we recognise the progressive character of productive juvenile work and at the same time fight against the exploitation into which capitalism has converted it.

The programme of the Y. C. I. represents the true interests of all young workers, for there is a correct way out from misery and exploitation. All partial demands must be formulated upon this basis, upon the basis of that which we demand, and not what we expect from the capitalist State.

The most important question is the daily struggle for improving the working conditions of the young workers. The Y. C. I. and all its sections are prepared at all times to reach the hand to genuine proletarian organisations which desire to conduct the fight of the young workers. The S. Y. I., however, shows not the slightest desire for the unity of the young workers, even for the fight for the slightest improvement of the living conditions of the young workers, including the fight for its own programme. On the contrary, it rejects and sabotages all efforts in this direction.

Young workers! By their fruits you shall know them. In the fight against the bitter consequences of capitalist rationalisation, the young workers will more and more recognise, as a result of sad experience, that the economic programme of the Y. C. I. and its revolutionary fight represent the true heritage of the Stuttgart Congress and the banner that leads to final victory.

## The Young Communist International in the East.

N. Fokin.

"It is absolutely clear that in the coming decisive conflicts of the World Revolution the movement of the majority of the population of the world, which will first be directed along the lines of national liberation, will be turned against capitalism and imperialism and will perhaps play a much greater revolutionary role than we may expect."

(Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XIX.,  
p. 24, Russian Edition.)

The II. International and its imitator the Young Socialist International, both of which are thoroughly imbued with bourgeois ideology, never appreciated and do not appreciate now the full importance of the colonial problem and the significance of the national revolutionary movement of the Eastern countries in the course of the world proletarian struggles.

The treacherous role of the II. International and the Young Socialist International are, becoming clear now, when the ex-

pansion of the full-blooded United States of America and the restoration of the productive forces of the West European Imperialist countries have again raised in full scope the problem of markets and raw materials, i. e. the colonial problem. The leaders of the Socialist International (Vandervelde, MacDonald, Bauer, Renaudel) are the trumpets and defenders of the imperialist aspirations of the bourgeoisie. Now, when attempts are being made to solve the colonial problem by the "usual" imperialist methods accompanied by intensive armaments, clashing of sabres, open intervention (China, U. S. S. R., Latin America, etc.), which constitutes an inevitable menace of new world wars, to refrain from an energetic revolutionary struggle against the imperialist policies of one's own government means to be an open advocate of the bourgeoisie. Not to act openly by mobilising the proletarian masses in support of the revolutionary movement in the East, which paralyses the temporary stabilisation and menaces the very foundations of the capitalist order, means to abandon the struggle for Socialism. Such is actually the policy of the Socialist Youth International.

Whereas the Young Communist International organises the revolutionary movement of the youth of Europe, America, the colonial and semi-colonial countries, giving them organisational and moral support, the Socialist Youth International, under the cover of pacifist phrases, maintains silence in its daily agitation propaganda regarding the questions of anti-imperialist struggle and support to the nations of Asia and Africa in their struggle against imperialism. By doing so it demonstrates the national limitation of its sections and thus becomes objectively the troubadour of imperialism. It is not surprising therefore that the Socialist Youth International has not a single section in the East. In contradistinction to the Socialist Youth International, the Y. C. I. is not merely a "European International", but a real international organisation representing the young proletariat of the West as well as the revolutionary proletarians and semi-proletarians of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and America.

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Young Socialist International, and the eighth anniversary of the foundation of the Y. C. I., there is not a single Eastern country without the Y. C. I. fighting detachments and where thousands of young revolutionaries do not rally to its banner.

If no one knows of the existence of the Y. S. I. or knows only from the experience of the imperialist activities of its leaders of the type of Vandervelde, MacDonald, Renaudel, etc., whom the Chinese coolies, the slaves of the Congo, the fellahs of Egypt, the bedouins of Morocco, recall with curses and with gnashing of teeth, the Y. C. I. is hailed and greeted in the struggle for life and death of the young revolutionaries of the East.

The Indian terrorist student groups who shed their blood in the struggles of the country, send their representatives to the Y. C. I. with a request "to teach them how to fight successfully against their oppressors".

The revolutionary students of China advanced at their congress, the question of the ideological leadership of the Y. C. I. in the student movement, condemning the policy of the II. International in respect of China. In the remote villages, situated thousands of miles away from the industrial and cultural centres of China, the student propagandists write on the walls, the survivals of medieval feudalism, whole chapters of Lenin's works on Imperialism and conclude with the slogans of the Comintern and the Y. C. I.

The Young Revolutionaries of Egypt make inquiries of the Y. C. I. as to the forms of the revolutionary movement in the East.

The slaves of the rubber plantations of Nigeria sent a letter to the Y. C. I., literally written in blood, about the inhuman conditions of labour and ask the question "What should we do; how can we become free?"

The Japanese student Nanba, a descendant of an aristocratic family, the son of a member of the House of Peers, not a Communist, not a Y. C. Leaguer, standing apart from the labour movement, "thinks of assassination" of the Prince Regent, the reactionary figure of Japanese society, and on being sentenced to death he cries out "Long live Communism, long live the III. International".

What are the results for the Y. C. I. on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Young Socialist International?

In striking the balance, the absence of any kind of Socialist or Communist Youth organisations in the eastern Countries up to 1919-20, the weakness of the labour movement, the absence of traditions of revolutionary struggle, the repressions of the native and imperialist governments, must be borne in mind. Nevertheless, in spite of all obstacles, the Y. C. I. has 60,000 members in its Eastern sections and its organisational and political influence spreads over hundreds of thousands of young organised workers, peasants and students.

China. The Y. C. L. of China was founded in 1920 in the form of a Young Socialist League, and consisted of all Left Socialists and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements and the Left wing of the students' movement. The different tendencies in the organisation hindered its work, and in 1921 it was reorganised into a Communist League expelling the phrase-mongers and anarcho-syndicalists with their petty-bourgeois revolutionary ideas. By

January 1, 1926, there were 4,000 members in the ranks of the Chinese Y. C. L. and on May 1st, 1927 there were already 42,000 members. Owing to the severe persecutions inflicted upon the revolutionary workers' and peasants' organisations by the Chinese Cavaignacs, Chiang Kai-shek, Lee Ti-sin, Sei Du-in, Tang Shen-chi and others, the membership of the Y. C. L. has now been reduced to 31,000. The League has lately lost hundreds of comrades in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary militarists. Thus, in the Yüchow district alone, over 200 Y. C. Leaguers and Pioneers were shot; in Changsha, about 1,000 Y. C. Leaguers have been arrested. The same is the case in Shanghai and Kwantung. In dealing with the growth of the Communist movement in China, it must be pointed out that side by side with the Y. C. L. there is also a Young Comrade organisation with 120,000 members, 80% of whom are young workers and peasants, 40-50% of whom are old enough to be members of the Y. C. L. (15-18 years of age). Insofar as the Y. C. L. of China has grown out of the Left student movement, which was one of the most vital elements in the social life of China at the initial stages of the national liberation movement, the Y. C. L. reflected this fact in its social composition. Thus prior to May 30, 1925, 80% of the Y. C. L. membership consisted of students and 20% of young workers. The strike wave and the Shanghai events of 1925, which brought the working class into the arena of the general Chinese struggle, also affected the social composition of the League in the sense that it increased the proletarian membership to 30%. The new surge of the revolutionary movement of China in 1926-27, which was accompanied by the expansion of the labour and peasant movement and the struggle of the proletariat for a leading role in the revolution, resulted in the increase of the proletarian elements in the Y. C. L. to 42% and a decline of the students to 41%. The ideological influence of the Y. C. L. is 10 times greater than its organisational strength. Almost half of the revolutionary wing of the students' movement, having 450-500 local organisations and embracing several hundreds of thousands of students, is under the ideological and organisational leadership of the Y. C. L., which enables it to extend its influence over the broad masses of the petty-bourgeois urban democracy. The active struggle of the Chinese Y. C. L. for a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the urban poor, for the agrarian revolution, for the social and democratic transformation of China, the relentless criticism of the opportunist leaders converts the Y. C. L. into one of the most capable fighting political organisations of China, in spite of the severe suppression of the bourgeoisie and the militarist reactionaries.

Japan. The Y. C. L. of Japan was founded at the beginning of 1923 by a group of Communists and Left wing trade union leaders. The Y. C. L. did not have much experience or preparation in technical underground work. It likewise did not sufficiently realise the aims and tasks of the youth movement and bore a narrow sectarian character, most of its work consisting of propaganda. The reaction which followed the earthquake resulted in the break-up of the Communist Party and the Y. C. L. It snatched the most talented comrades out of their ranks such as Kawai, Katashima, Emanici and others. The Party was dissolved and the Y. C. L. followed suit. In January 1925, the Y. C. L. again organised and became very active among the masses of young workers. It advanced the slogan of creating an independent class proletarian youth league and worked out a concrete programme of action and demands of young workers. In September 1925, the Japanese Y. C. L. for the first time celebrated International Youth Day, which produced a vigorous response from among the workers. The intensive activities of the Y. C. Leagues attracted the attention of the police, who endeavoured to seize the most active organisers. All activities of the Y. C. L. proceed under the severest police supervision and absolutely illegally. Based on the young and disintegrated labour movement, the Y. C. L. of Japan, together with the proletarian youth League, organised in November 1925 by active trade union Left elements, have in their ranks over 4,000 members. They constitute the largest organisation of young proletarians. If we take into consideration that only 175,000 workers out of a total of 5 million are organised and that the organisations are split into 440 bodies, this figure is quite considerable. The struggle of the Japanese Y. C. L. at the present time against feudal survivals, militarism and the putrid Japanese bourgeoisie whilst there is an upward surge in workers

and peasants movement, is no longer menaced by complete annihilation and has chances of further successful development.

**Korea.** The first youth organisation, the Students' League, was organised in 1896. Afterwards, similar organisations were formed throughout the country. In 1903 all youth organisations formed one Young Men's Christian Association, which was supported by America and converted into a typical cultural organisation. The most active youth organisations which aimed at political activity could not be reconciled to this work. As a result, the Y. M. C. A. expelled some of the organisations which organised in the Korean Youth League and made it their aim to effect domestic reforms, helping the economic and political development of Korea. This in itself, gave the organisation a political character. In 1907 Japan, after defeating China and Tsarist Russia, captured Korea and proceeded to break-up all Korean organisations which the invaders regarded as a menace to their rule. Among these were also the youth organisations. The revolutionary youth of Korea, after losing their organisations, partly went underground and became terrorists. Some of them joined the Christian camp. The new growth and development of the youth movement, which excels the previous phases, is closely connected with the March rising of 1919. The concessions which the Japanese had to make were mostly utilised by the youth, who began to organise their mass organisations first in the capital and in the cities and then also in the villages. Together there are now about 900 organisations with 110,000 members, ten thousand of these belong to the Korean Youth Federation, whose platform advocates national-revolutionary struggle for Korean independence.

The Y. C. L. of Korea was founded in 1921 when the National Liberation movement was falling to pieces and the partisan struggles against the Japanese invaders had become intensified.

The birth and development of the Y. C. L. proceeded under extremely difficult conditions, under conditions of unheard-of brutality and terror which delivered severe blows to its organisations and snatched tens and hundreds of comrades from its ranks. The general political conditions of the country and the persecutions reacted upon the weaker elements in the organisation. The weaker elements advanced liquidation slogans; they wanted the abandonment of underground work and that the organisation should adapt itself to legal conditions, even at the expense of sacrificing its revolutionary slogans. Some of them who could not get used to the everyday tiresome work of a revolutionary underground worker left the Y. C. L. in despair and took to individualist terrorist activity. The Y. C. L. had to fight most energetically against these elements in the process of which some dropped out and others became hardened. This work was being done while it was rallying the Communist elements and unifying the split up Communist groups. At the same time the Y. C. L. had also to do a considerable amount of work in consolidating the Communist Party on the basis of mass revolutionary action, and not on the basis of fractional struggle.

The Y. C. L. of Korea has now several hundred members, 28% of whom are workers, 30% peasants, and 42% intellectuals. The Y. C. L. carries on various kinds of work in propagating Socialist ideas, issuing and circulating thousands of illegal leaflets and pamphlets, organising itinerant lecture groups, setting up everywhere Socialist study circles and organising mass campaigns. The main task of the Korean Y. C. L. is to win influence over the broad masses of the young workers and peasants. In this respect the Y. C. L., although it has accomplished great work in creating new organisations of young workers, gained influence over the existing organisations and united them on the platform of struggle for the national, social and democratic liberation of Korea, has not as yet exhausted the task confronting it.

**Indonesia.** The Indonesian youth played an enormous role in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Indonesian peasant masses against Dutch domination. It participated in all general revolutionary actions of the toiling masses of the country and created in the process of struggle a series of organisations called upon to unite the broad masses of workers, peasants and young students for the revolutionary struggle. The organised

youth are about 10,000. There are in Indonesia 3 different youth organisations.

One, the "Barizan Muda", stands on the Left wing of the revolutionary movement and has over 1,000 members. Apart from the general revolutionary work, that organisation performs an enormous amount of educational work. The schools organised by this organisation give the students not only general knowledge, they teach them in a revolutionary spirit, in the spirit of the class struggle. In 1926, in spite of the fact that the colonial administration closed many schools, their number was 50 and they had 4,500 students. What is the essence of the "Barizan Muda"? The capitalists persecute it. Thus, for instance, its most prominent leaders work in the factories. This organisation does extensive work during workers' strikes, supporting the strikers, organising collections of money, etc. Another form of organisation in Indonesia is that of the students in high schools. The biggest of these organisations is the "Young Java" with a membership of over 3,000, it publishes a monthly journal. At the beginning this organisation had a political character, but owing to the intensive repressive measures of the colonists some of its members have abandoned the political struggle and give up their time exclusively to sport. There is now a process of political revival in progress in that organisation and it is coming over to the revolutionary movement. There is a series of various other organisations existing legally or semi-legally, which have been partly affected by the recent break-up after the defeat of the uprising. They are the constituent elements of the foundation of the Y. C. L. in Indonesia.

**Mongolia.** In this enormous pastoral country with a territory greater than any European State, the Y. C. I. has the only non-Communist but nationalist revolutionary youth organisation in its ranks. The League was organised in 1920 to fight against the Chinese militarist occupation forces, the Russian White Guards, for free existence and against feudal dependency. The League has over 4,000 members. It works legally under growing nationalist government; is bringing over the broad toiling masses to the banner of the nationalist revolutionary movement and takes the most active part in the government and in the social and democratic transformation of the country. 90% of its members are Nomads. The struggle of the League against the feudal theocratic elements and survivals, the propaganda for the spreading of knowledge and mastery of European culture and technique makes it one of the progressive factors in social and economic development of Mongolia.

**Persia.** The Young Communist League of Persia which existed at the time of the Gilan Revolution was dissolved after the defeat. At the present time there are several Y. C. L. organisations scattered throughout the various districts of Persia. The intensification and consolidation of the nationalist revolutionary forces provide a strong incentive for the young Communist organisations to unite into one organisation and to strengthen the national revolutionary movement of the broad masses of the artisan and peasant youth.

**Turkey.** The Young Communist League of Turkey was organised in 1921 during the period of the nationalist revolutionary struggle. It had in its ranks the most progressive and radical students. The transformation of the Y. C. L. into an organisation of young workers and peasants, connected with the rallying of young workers, the industrial campaign and the struggle against the Kemalists for influence in the trade unions and for labour legislation resulted in the use of repressive measures by the government, which was a severe blow to the Y. C. L., but did not destroy it. At the present time the organisation has over 200 members.

**Egypt; Palestine-Syria.** The growing opposition and nationalist movement in those countries is accompanied by the spontaneous formation of Y. C. L. organisations and national revolutionary groups sympathetic to the Y. C. I.

The Y. C. I. recently received information about the organisation of the Y. C. L. organisation in Africa, where hundreds of Negroes are drawn into the movement.

These sketches are enough to convince one that the Y. C. I. is a real organisation of international solidarity arousing and organising for the struggle millions of exploited and oppressed youth for the victory of Communism.



# Anglo-American Leagues.

By Thomas Howas.

"Revolutionary" youth activities in Britain and America commenced only after the termination of the 1914-18 blood-bath. The working class youth of these two important countries, during the period of war when it was most necessary, were without any clear, conscious, revolutionary guidance.

The birth-ground of the American and British sections of the Y. C. I. was the revolutionary period following the war, the period of the decline of world capitalism. The active part played by the revolutionary youth movement in the continental countries, along with the Russian Revolution played the most important part in stimulating their growth. The continental sections of the Y. C. I. have good revolutionary traditions, particularly on the anti-militarist field, while the Anglo-American sections have only just commenced their work in these fields.

While these two sections have only existed during the declining period of capitalism, the outstanding feature of the countries in which these leagues are situated is that one has to work in a country where capitalism is the strongest, while the other works in the centre of the rotting core of imperialism. This different objective situation will explain why in one country — Britain — the mass of the working youth are rapidly developing their political consciousness, while in the other the capitalist youth organisations and institutions can still maintain their hold over the mass of young workers. This dividing line will greatly explain the different experiences in the development of the two sections of the Y. C. I.

## The American League.

The first socialist youth activity in America commenced in 1907 when a group of German emigrants formed the Young People's Social Democratic League, which was mainly confined to New York City and composed of German members. This group stimulated the idea of an American Socialist Youth movement. Sections of the Socialist Party began to organise such groups elsewhere, and these developed into the American Young People's Socialist League. During the war period the organisation carried on some anti-war activity, which however, was mainly confined to anti-war demonstrations under pacifist slogans and evasion of military service. This activity involved large numbers of students, also young workers, but to a lesser degree. Many of these entered the League during the anti-war agitation and gave it a phenomenal growth. Some economic struggles were also carried on, but these were of a sectional character and without any youth programme. The steel strike and similar mass movements gave the League its best traditions.

During this entire period the Young People's Socialist League had had no National Convention but held periodic State conventions. Its association with the Y. S. I. was that of correspondence.

In May 1919 the first national convention was held. This convention passed resolutions condemning the Second International and proclaiming the Third the only International for the workers. Despite this the implications were not fully realised by the mass of the membership. The Y. P. S. L. was never anything more than a loose organisation with confused ideas on youth activity.

The Socialist Party of America, with which the Y. P. S. L. was associated, was affected very much by the Russian Revolution and the revolutionary events of that period in general. A Left wing movement which began in 1912 with Comrade Ruthenberg as its outstanding leader culminated in 1919 in the split. At this time there was formed not one, but two Communist Parties in America. Both declaring their alliance with the Third International. Both these parties then conducted activity to win the Y. P. S. L. for their section. This period was a very difficult one for the youth movement.

In December 1919, in response to Left wing demands, an extraordinary convention of the Y. P. S. L. was called to consider the next steps to be taken. After some discussion it declared itself "independent" of all political parties; declared itself for the Young Socialist International and the Communist International. At this period commenced the attack of American capitalism against the Communist movement. Thousands of arrests took place and the Communist movement was declared illegal. The Independent Y. P. S. L. fared badly, and as a

national organisation went out of existence. Some sections remained in existence as social and educational organisations, at best providing an open forum for spreading Communist education in a limited fashion. In the pre-election periods of 1920-1921, the underground adult Party entered the election campaigns under legal names. In these instances the I. Y. P. S. L. gave excellent service in carrying on the drives. In 1921 the "Workers Party" was launched as a permanent legal revolutionary movement. At this convention there were present delegates from the Young Workers Leagues of New York City, and from Detroit representatives of the remnants of the Y. P. S. L. The "Workers Party" pledged their full support for the development of the American Workers Youth movement.

Gradually groups were formed in many of the large centres. Finally, in May 1922 there gathered together delegates from the various youth groups who brought into existence the "Young Workers League of America". The fact that in the American League were members who spoke various languages was a special difficulty of the American Y. P. S. L. The language difficulty, however, has been almost overcome. Considerable progress has also been made in clearing the atmosphere of the great confusion as to the Leninist line to be followed in the various fields of mass work. Many misconceptions, remnants of previous years, often manifest themselves, but the League as a whole has shown a will to follow a Bolshevik line and has corrected its errors. The establishment of shop nucleus organisations and the recruiting of American elements has been the main activity of the Y. W. L. of A, and while much remains to be achieved it can be stated that progress has been made despite the afore mentioned difficulties.

The Leagues activity has broadened out, particularly over the last year. In the field of economic struggle the League has developed new activity such as the campaign for the trade union organisation of the young workers, and particularly the participation in strike activity. Further, it has carried out work against the war danger and during election campaigns has developed its own programme of demands for the American young workers.

## The British Young Communist League.

In 1907 commenced the first activity in the formation of the Socialist youth movement. From this date up to the outbreak of the world war this organisation existed with very loose organisation and without any concrete plan or basis of work or policy. Its adherents were mainly that British type of Socialist idealist (W. Morris) and their activity was almost entirely social. It was not affiliated to the Y. S. I., neither did it take up any position nationally on War. The outbreak of the war saw its death. The first actual development of the British revolutionary youth movement commenced at a meeting held in Birmingham in 1921, at which all interested in the formation of a Section of the Y. C. I. attended. From this meeting a Provisional Committee was elected which went ahead with the approaching of Party locals, etc. for the formation of youth groups. A branch of the Young Workers League, which existed by itself in London, also played a part in these initial steps for the formation of a British section of the Y. C. I.

The first Congress was held in 1922, and the marked feature of this conference was the mass of misconceptions that existed on the role of the youth movement. On the advice of the Y. C. I. representative, all the material was scrapped and a start had to be made to work out a policy for the British League. The overwhelming number of delegates not only had had no experience in any youth movement of the working class, but were entirely raw to conference methods, etc., and new to the Communist movement in general.

A national E. C. was elected at this congress, but it did not work. A League council meeting was held a few months after its election at which the state of the national leadership called for radical revisions. Upon the recommendation of the Party E. C. the League Council co-opted onto the League E. C. a group of experienced young party members. It was from this meeting that progress commenced.

The second League Congress held early in 1923 further gave an impetus to this wing of the British League into correct

activity, and conceptions. Even at this Congress the Y. C. I. representative correctly characterised the situation by referring to the League as half a League. Half a League. While this statement was quite correct it was evident to all that this Congress registered a marked improvement both by the type of delegate present as well as the greater number of delegates taking part in discussion.

It was only after this congress, which definitely confirmed the fact that the Y. C. L. had taken root among the British young workers, that the I. L. P. and the Labour Party commenced to build their youth sections.

Despite the efforts of the I. L. P. and the Labour Party youth sections, the Young Communist League is by far the strongest in active members, influence among the young workers and in every other respect.

With the revolutionary situation existing in Britain over the period of the existence of the Y. C. L. G. B., the League (despite its inexperience in youth forms of work) has had im-

posed upon it tremendous tasks. The General Strike, miners' struggle, intervention in China by Britain, attack upon Russia by Britain, etc.

The British League has already many achievements in correct youth activity. Many successful youth trade union conferences have been held, the organising of the youth delegation to Soviet Russia, activity during the general and miners' strike, successful united front activity with the Guild of Youth in particular, and the sending of the children's delegation to Soviet Russia, in face of hostile opposition by British capitalism, stand out as the main.

Since the General Strike the mass of young workers in Britain have taken tremendous strides along the path of political consciousness and this, along with the League leadership, which has been tested during the aforementioned events, constitutes a guarantee that in the coming struggle in Britain a real Leninist mass young Communist League will be established.

## The Anti-militarist Work of the Communist Youth against Intervention in China and for Defence of the Soviet Union.

By F. Billoux.

During the last few months the danger of war has approached appreciably nearer. All the prophecies of the Communist International and of the Y. C. I. on the war danger are proving to be right.

The near approach of the danger set in with the constant efforts on the part of the imperialist countries to provoke revolutionary China, the sending of troops and warships to the Chinese waters. The bombardment of Nanking is one instance out of the many attempts to crush the Chinese revolution.

Besides this, the imperialists have been exerting their utmost efforts of late for the preparation of an intervention against the Russian revolution.

The resolution of the last Plenum of the Y. C. I. was right in stating that: "the struggle against imperialist war and militarism, and for the defence of the Chinese revolution, is the main task of the Y. C. I. at the present time." And indeed there can be no doubt that the Y. C. I. plays an exceedingly important rôle in defending the Chinese and Russian revolutions, for the navies and imperialist armies draw their recruits from the ranks of the young workers and peasants. We cannot accomplish any efficient work for the defence of these revolutions unless we direct our main efforts to the practical anti-militarist struggle within the navies and imperialist armies.

Towards the end of last winter, at the time when Great Britain sent out its first warships, our Youth comrades mobilised their whole organisation, and endeavoured to arouse the British working class against this intervention, and to reach the seamen themselves.

In order to deceive the masses of the workers, the British government began by merely mobilising troops and warships from Malta to Gibraltar. Our Youth comrades and the Party exposed this manoeuvre at once, but it was not until the first cruisers left the British ports, and the naval troops stationed in Britain were mobilised, that an energetic protest was raised among the working people. The comrades could compare the situation with that of 1914. Thanks to their preparatory struggles, our British comrades were by no means taken by surprise. The campaign was continued with intensified energy.

Youth comrades were delegated to all ports of departure. They were commissioned to distribute leaflets and manifestoes, and to organise meetings. Whilst these comrades carried our slogans to the troops which were to be embarked, other comrades travelled all over the country holding meetings. The slogan of "sabotage" was issued first of all, in order to prevent the transport of ammunition. Then a manifesto was issued calling upon the soldiers and sailors to "fraternise" with the Chinese soldiers, workers, and peasants. The slogan: "The defeat of British imperialism means the victory of the workers at home" was emphatically proclaimed, and well received everywhere.

Our work exercised such an influence upon the departing troops that the government was soon obliged to keep the departures almost entirely secret. At first the regiments marched

through the streets, accompanied by a band, but soon it was found advisable to get the troops as quickly as possible down to the docks, where the public is not admitted.

During this time our leaflets were still being distributed both by Youth comrades and by non-Party workers, and agitation by word of mouth was continued. We may claim that our British Youth comrades were eminently successful in getting at the troops before their departure.

Our comrades participated in large numbers in the work of the "Hands off Russia" Committees, and their newspaper, the "Young Worker" devoted a considerable space to the Chinese revolution in every single issue.

There is no doubt whatever that this whole struggle against intervention in China is closely bound up with the fight in defence of the Russian revolution. Realising this, the Youth Leagues have left no stone unturned to expose the true rôle being played by British imperialism in its struggle against the first proletarian revolution, as evidenced in the various episodes between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, the despicable attempts at provocation on the part of the Tories, the raid on the Arcos, rupture of relations, assassinations by the paid agents of Great Britain.

In France, where the attitude taken by the government towards the Chinese revolution has not been quite so self-evident, our Youth comrades and Party comrades had the task of unmasking the true intentions of Poincaré, Briand, and Herriot. Our Youth League took an active part in all the work done by the Party against the intervention, helping to issue the manifestoes, holding meetings, etc.

The whole anti-militarist struggle, which has gradually become one of the best traditions of our French Youth, was directed towards the Chinese revolution. The campaign against the military plans of Painlevé and Paul Boncour, and the campaign carried on during the calling up of the recruits in May, were made use of for the purpose of winning the attention of the French workers and peasants. At the same time our slogans for the soldiers and sailors were more definitely formulated. Our newspaper for the soldiers: "La Caserne", was published at this time in an edition of 16,000 to 21,000 copies, representing about 100,000 readers, since each copy is read by at least 5 or 6 soldiers. Our sailors' newspaper: "La page de Jean le Gouin" attained a circulation of 4000.

The result of our work was that in numerous regiments the soldiers refused to "volunteer" for service in China, and thereby plainly expressed their desire to fraternise with the Chinese revolutionists.

Not a single ship left for China before our leaflets had been distributed among the crew. When the cruiser "Primaugout" and the corvette "Régulus" left port, a manifesto to the French sailors was issued, and distributed as a handbill in the four large French ports of Lorint, Cherbourg, Brest, and Toulon. Besides this, a special number of "Jean le Gouin" was published. This distribution of material among the soldiers and

sailors was accompanied by simultaneous agitation among the broad masses. Large meetings were organised in Paris, Lyons, and many other large towns of France, especially in the seaports.

In order to intensify the activities of our Youth Leagues in their fight against the intervention in China, the Y. C. I. issued the slogan of an **International Week from 11th to 18th March**. This Week was organised somewhat too hastily. It did not bring quite the success desired, for some of our Youth Leagues did not realise the significance of such a Week, or the rôle which it should play. It was, however, brilliantly organised by our Youth Leagues in **Great Britain and France**, where it helped further to promote the anti-militarist and anti-imperialist agitation, and in **Italy**, where our comrades organised a working Week in spite of the great technical difficulties thrown in their way by the illegality of our Youth League.

Later on, our other Youth Leagues realised their weakness, and many of them, for instance the **Swedish, Czech, and German**, took up work with increased vigour.

The sailors and soldiers already in China have not been forgotten by our propaganda, and last month the French sailors' newspaper: "**Jean le Goulin**", published an appeal from the French sailors in **Shanghai**. This proves to us that the sailors of the imperialist countries, even those already in China, realise what rôle the bourgeoisie wants them to play. Again, we hear reports of serious conflicts among the troops from **India**, and the arrest of some of our comrades will not be able to hinder the will to fraternisation among the soldiers of India.

In conclusion, it must also be pointed out that of late we have gained valuable experience in anti-militarist work, thanks to our fight against the intervention in China and in defence of the Soviet Union. The various imperialist countries organised a number of cruiser trips and mutual visits of fleets during the course of this present summer. **Great Britain and France**, for

instance, have exchanged visits; **Italian ships** have visited **Roumania**, **French ships** **South America**, and a whole **British squadron** has cruised in the **Baltic**, visiting **Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland**, etc. This visit of the **British fleet** to the Northern waters looked very like a manoeuvre in preparation of a war against the **Soviet Union**.

Our **British Youth comrades** endeavoured to reach the sailors, after they had left England, by means of leaflets distributed to them at the various ports on their way. The **Communist Youth of Denmark, Norway**, etc. met them at every port with leaflets and appeals. In **Norway** several of our comrades are still persecuted by the police on account of this.

Similar work has been organised by our **British and French Youth organisations**. If we wish to gain an idea of the influence exercised by this agitation upon the sailors, we only need to refer to the letter sent by French sailors to "**L'Humanité**". It need not be said that these leaflets and appeals have roused the international bourgeoisie to the highest pitch of excitement, and their press everywhere, in **Sweden, in Norway, the "Daily Mail" in England, the "Liberté" and the "Temps", in France**, are full of indignant outcries at these "**dirty communists**". This international anti-militarist work shows that we are making great progress, and that this is the line of activity to which we must devote our greatest efforts.

At the present moment, with the war danger at our doors, with the revolution of the Chinese workers and peasants threatened with defeat, with the hostility of all capitalist countries directed against Soviet Russia, the Y. C. I. must redouble its efforts.

Our economic struggle for the defence of working Youth, our sport movement, and the whole of our work, must be directed to the proletarian military preparation of the Youth. It is only in this way that we can succeed in a victorious defence and expansion of the first achievements of the proletariat.

## War Danger and the Importance of the Factory Nuclei of the Young Communists.

By E. Auer.

The systematic preparations for war being made by the imperialists must arouse the forces of the proletariat and of all the oppressed. Imperialism is working steadily for war against the Soviet Union, with every device which cunning, diplomacy, and brutality can suggest. It is organising its war machinery, promulgating its ideological influence over the proletariat. And now the proletariat, and above all its leaders, the Communist Parties and the Communist Youth Leagues, must keep pace with these imperialist endeavours. The decisive influence already exercised by the Communist organisations in the fight against militarism must now be used for the most effective organisation of the vanguard of the proletariat.

### I. Why is the Factory Nucleus the Organisatory Unit best Adapted for the Fight against Imperialist War?

The proletarians in the works and factories are the most accessible, they are best adapted to resisting the social-chauvinist or openly imperialist influences to which the proletariat is exposed; and where they have been drawn into the nationalist frenzy at the outbreak of a war, it is here that we have the best prospect of leading them back to the class struggle. The proletariat is of decisive importance for the conduct and issue of a war; and the factory is not only the point of least resistance, but the point at which our anti war work is most effective. We must not resign ourselves with fatalist calm to the fact — pointed out by Lenin — that the greater part of a population decides the question of home defence in favour of its own bourgeoisie. On the contrary, we must mobilise all our forces to prevent this. Only we must reckon with its probability. And it is in the works and factories that we can best and most effectively carry on our mobilisation work among the decisive strata of the workers. There can be no doubt about this.

After the army, the war industry is the most important cog in the mechanism of imperialist war. Preparations for war production are already being made in the munition factories, or war material is being rapidly manufactured, even in coun-

tries alleged to be "neutral", in the preparations for war on the Soviet Union — Germany for instance.

Thus Comrade Schneller stated in his speech delivered in the German Reichstag on 6th July:

"At the present moment the munition works Bolte in Magdeburg, manufacturing cartridges, have 4 million S-ammunition ready for despatch to Königsberg. The firm of Kuke, Koch & Kinzel, Berlin, is employing the injected casting process for shell fuses. The Eberswalde brass works have increased their pre-war output. A factory equipped for the manufacture of tractors is promoting armaments by the construction of types of tractors which can be at once converted into tanks . . ." etc.

The German shipbuilding yards have more work than they have had for years. And when the German bourgeoisie sets its armament industry going, then we may be sure that the war production in countries openly siding with Chamberlain, such as Italy and Poland, is much more extensive and public.

The factories producing war material are the vital nerve of imperialist war. Imperialist war can be hit at its weakest spot by a cessation and sabotage of the production of shells, cannon, submarines and every description of war material. The strikes in the ammunition and poison gas factories, and in shipbuilding yards, are generally a reflection of the mood of the soldiers at the front; or the reverse is the case, and the strikes among the munition workers find a strong response at the front. In this manner imperialist war may be dealt a fatal blow by the mass strike, that is, civil war begins, waged by the proletariat against imperialist war.

We must therefore attach special importance to the creation of nuclei in the undertakings supplying war material. We must strive tenaciously to capture these strongholds for our fight against imperialist war.

It is doubtless true that great obstacles remain to be overcome. The methods of the employers in the German factories.

producing war material are a striking instance. In these factories not only the closest connection with the military authorities is maintained, but the aid of the Fascist organisations and works clubs enables a very careful selection to be made of the workers employed, especially in the most important departments. It is seldom that a worker finds employment in these factories unless he is a member of some Fascist nationalist association, or belongs to the works club. At least he must be recommended by the works club.

Here we see the enormous importance of the works' clubs and works' sport associations, which have grown rapidly of late. This yellow fungus is fostered and nourished by the employers with the utmost care. Besides ensuring a reliable staff of workers, these associations form another source of danger: they are obviously intended as an instrument for influencing the workers ideologically in favour of the war measures projected by the bourgeoisie. In this manner the home front is secured for the imperialist war against the Soviet Union. Again the works and factories are the most important key positions of the home front.

## II. The Illegality of Our Organisation on the Outbreak of War, and the Factory Nuclei.

It must be perfectly clear to every Communist that at the moment when the imperialists commence war, and the counter-active influence of the Communists becomes very inconvenient to them, they will resort to any means, however brutal, to destroy all communist or communistically inclined organisations. The Young Communist Leagues will be subjected to severe persecution, for their anti-militarist agitation is feared.

For this reason we must prepare now for a strictly illegal activity. What is now the best form of organisation for illegal work? It has been proved thousands of times that the factory nucleus is the best form of illegal organisation. It is most secured from police persecution. The comrades have already learnt, whilst legal, to work on illegal lines in relation to their employers, masters and factory spies. And the factory nuclei are best adapted for that radius of action which is necessary for the leadership of mass movements.

During illegality our organisations are forced to conduct independent active work within much smaller groups and circles than when they are illegal, and must learn to act without direct instructions, speakers, etc. The factory nuclei are today, for the greater part, already obliged to conduct their work on these lines.

Hence the best preparation for the coming illegality of our leagues is the formation of factory nuclei. The greatest possible number of our members must be organised in factory nuclei.

## III. How the Factory Nuclei Should be Organised.

Not only is it necessary, from the above viewpoints, to estimate correctly the political importance of the works and factories, but we must find at the same time the organisatory methods upon which we can build up our nuclei in the factories.

As a general rule, the following three organisatory methods may be laid down:

1. The comrades already working in the factory are to be brought together in a factory nucleus.

2. Party comrades or Party nuclei take the initiative in influencing non-Party juvenile workers, and winning these over for the Communist movement.

3. The works and factories are to be brought under the systematic influence of our street nuclei; there must be distribution of leaflets, establishment of connections with working-class sportsmen and juvenile workers organised in trade unions, by which these juvenile workers can be won over for the Young Communist league. This work includes the organisation of nuclei by means of connections maintained with the trade union Youth movement (shop stewards, trade union Youth meetings at which our speakers give the address).

The simplest method, and the one most frequently employed,

is the first-named. The majority of our nuclei owe their existence to it. But it is by this method that the most sins are committed, and many stillborn nuclei are brought into the world, discrediting to some extent the idea of factory nuclei. This method involves the danger of the formation of a purely formal nucleus. The number of members working in a factory is ascertained by means of the membership list. If there are five, then these five are called together, and the nucleus is complete. This method is entirely wrong, and the resultant nucleus is generally dead from the outset. It is imperative that the formation of a nucleus should invariably be made to follow some event which has just taken place in the factory, some cause of complaint, some evil in the working conditions, etc. In this manner the formation of the factory nucleus is combined with concrete agitation on the causes of discontent, and the indifferent juvenile workers are induced to take an interest in the formation of the nucleus. The formation of the nucleus is at the same time combined with recruiting for our League. A nucleus thus formed possesses a political purport from the very beginning.

## IV. Two Important Prerequisites for the Continued Existence of the Factory Nuclei.

If the nucleus is to continue its existence and its work, it must work cautiously, must have good leaders, must collect its members' subscriptions in the factory itself, must distribute our League newspaper and other literature. It is scarcely necessary to mention this here, as we all know that these points are indispensable. But there are other prerequisites equally indispensable for the nucleus:

1. The pursuance of a policy in the factory itself, which brings the nucleus into real living contact with the juvenile workers in the factory.

The factory policy, as we shall name it, must be based in the first place on the life in the factory. Our nucleus must adopt a definite attitude towards every question arising in the factory, and to all political occurrences. Every juvenile worker in the factory must know what is the attitude of the Communists regarding every matter. And he must be made to realise that our standpoint corresponds with his interests. The members of our nucleus must make our standpoint known among the juvenile workers, whether by discussion or by factory nuclei newspapers. It is only such constant and active participation in the life of the factory, the rapid decision as to our standpoint and immediate action on all occasions, that give our nucleus real vitality.

2. Generally speaking our nuclei are numerically weak. This weakness is a serious hindrance to our work, and efforts must be made to increase the number of members in the nuclei.

All our comrades are conscious of the desire — in itself a sound one — among our members for comradeship and entertainment. They are not satisfied to meet together with only four to six comrades (the customary number in our nuclei), but want to take part in meetings where they meet all their comrades. Many of our nuclei have been shipwrecked on this question, or have become passive. Hence its solution is of great importance. Every effort must be made for the numerical increase of our nuclei. The Party nucleus in the factory can give much help here. It is necessary that each one of our nuclei arranges with the Party nucleus for a systematic plan of recruiting work for our nucleus. In most cases the support received from the Party nucleus depends on our initiative. In any case, every effort should be directed towards a numerical strengthening of our nuclei, otherwise their continued existence is threatened. The leaders and local groups of our league must also lend a helping hand here.

Our work in the factories is of great importance at the present moment, and we must accord these questions a correspondingly greater amount of attention.

We must create hundreds, if possible thousands, of factory nuclei during the next few months. That is the best answer we can give to the war provocations of the imperialists.