

# The Tasks of the United Front of the Youth

(Resolution Adopted by the Sixth World Congress of the Young  
Communist International on the Report of Wolf Michal)

**T**HE life of the younger generation of toilers in the capitalist countries has lately deteriorated to an unheard-of degree, and it still continues to worsen. The overwhelming majority of youth are now a ruthlessly oppressed and exploited generation.

What characterizes at the present time the life of the large sections of the toiling youth?

Mass unemployment, an ever growing number of youth who have never worked, and who generally never had an opportunity to learn a trade, fierce exploitation of those employed in industry, impoverishment of the peasant youth, denial of the political rights to the youth, and their right to a cultured life; sharply curtailed possibilities of securing a general or a special education, loss of any prospects, destruction of the normal healthy life of the youth, spreading vagrancy, prostitution, and begging.

The fascist system of forced labor and militarization is being ever more widely applied in the capitalist countries. Fascism is brutally annihilating the best elements of the revolutionary youth, and at the same time trying to utilize for its own reactionary ends the profoundly growing dissatisfaction of the toiling youth with the present conditions of life, and their growing urge for militant action. Inciting the youth of one nationality against those of another, fascism fans chauvinism and is trying to inculcate its mad "race theory" into the minds of youth.

Relying on the fascists and other reactionary parties, the big bourgeoisie are seeking to convert the young generation into an obedient tool of their class and imperialist policies.

Fascism means war. It menaces the independence of the weak nations (the war of Italian fascism against Ethiopia), intensifies imperialist oppression in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and directs its military provocations (German fascism) especially against the Soviet Union. *Fascism is preparing another monstrous catastrophe, which brings death to millions of the youth.*

At the same time, however, there is a growing youth movement against fascism, imperialist war, and capitalist exploitation. Ever larger sections of the youth belonging to the various organizations, regardless of nationality or religious belief, are anxiously seeking a way to improve their life, are beginning to defend their rights, and are entering the struggle for their interests—for freedom and for peace.

The forces of the youth, however, are scattered, and consequently their fight does not lead to decisive success. All experience shows that the youth cannot successfully defend their interests without uniting their

*forces on the side of the working class and the entire toiling population to fight the common enemy—fascism and imperialism.*

#### I. THE NECESSITY FOR A CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES

1. *The cause of the toiling youth imperatively demands their unification in genuine class, non-party youth organizations, consisting not only of Communist, but also Socialist, and non-party, national revolutionary, pacifist, religious, and other sections of the youth, organizations which would, through their daily attention towards economic, political and cultural interests and rights of the toiling youth, educate their members in the spirit of the class struggle—proletarian internationalism, Marxism-Leninism.*

The creation of such genuine mass youth organizations of a new type requires a radical reorganization of the Young Communist Leagues, and a complete abandonment of any form of sectarian copying of the Parties.

All the vital interests of the younger generation of toilers, the most diversified, healthy requirements of the youth, and not abstract politics should determine the substance and the life of the youth organizations. The work of these organizations should be adapted entirely to the desires and requirements of the youth themselves so that while learning, organizing and fighting for the vital interests of the toiling classes, the youth would become educated in the spirit of the fight for freedom, for socialism, against reaction, against fascism, against imperialist war.

2. The doors of these youth organizations must be wide open for the entire working class youth, for the young peasants, the students and other youth who sincerely and loyally wish to participate in their work.

All the work of these organizations should be built on the *basis of wide democracy*. The members of the organizations should have full power to decide in a democratic way the tasks, the forms of work, and the character of their organizations; they should be given guidance by means of example and conviction, and not by orders from above. The demands advanced by the leaders to the rank-and-file members, especially to new ones, both as regards work and discipline, should be adapted to the mass character of the youth organizations, and should not be the same as the demands advanced to members of some sect. The high demands which are usually put to Party members should not be exacted from the youth.

Independence and the non-party character of the youth organizations do not exclude the establishment of permanent contact of these organizations with the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Parties. On the contrary, it is in the interests of the toilers that this be done. The Congress deems it an exceedingly important task to convince all members of that, and also of the necessity of the youth international being associated with the Communist International.

3. The organizational forms of the Youth Leagues cannot be the

same for all countries, all regions or cities. They must always coincide with the concrete conditions and specific tasks of the youth movement. The most essential form of organization of youth leagues are all kinds of clubs and circles satisfying the cultural, economic, professional and political interests of the youth, and also local societies, courses, residential groups, groups of unemployed, young peasants, girls, students, etc.

## II. FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS YOUTH

1. In seeking to rally all the toiling youth, the Congress considers *efforts to bring about organic unity with the Young Socialist Leagues to be the primary task of the Young Communist Leagues.*

This unity is justified by the fact that the Socialist youth also occupy an anti-fascist position and are equally interested in improving the life of the youth, in freedom, in peace, and in striving towards socialism.

*There is not the slightest justification for a continuation of the division in the ranks of the working class youth.* The uniting of these two Leagues, which at the present time are, in most countries, small organizations, isolated from the masses, will not only double their membership, but will render them an extremely powerful force of attraction for the broad masses of the toiling youth.

2. The chief hindrance to the direct unity of the organizations of the Communist and Socialist youth comes from the leaders of most parties of the Socialist International who act as guardians to the Socialist youth movement, and who, basing themselves on a certain section of the leading functionaries of the Socialist youth, try to fetter any free initiative of their members in the matter of unity.

In order to clear the path to this unity, the Y.C.I. organizations must exert every effort to establish fraternal relations with the organizations of the Socialist youth and work especially for bringing about the united front of the youth in practice.

The Young Communist Leagues and the Young Socialist organizations of France, Spain and Austria, showed by their joint activity that the united front is not only necessary, but possible. They have smashed forever the slanderous charges made by the enemies of the united front to the effect that unity of action is a "maneuver" directed against the Socialist organizations. *The united front is the chief weapon for repulsing the fascist offensive.*

The Congress recommends all organizations affiliated to the Y.C.I. to seek united front agreements with the Socialist youth in defense of the interests of the toiling youth, working out jointly with their organizations the basis and plan of joint action on a local and national scale, on separate questions as well as on the basis of common platforms. This is the best method of hastening and ensuring the unification of the youth.

In all cases it is necessary to make a most careful study and to take stock of the concrete conditions and practical occasions for joint struggle, and also the sentiments of the members of the Socialist organizations.

In places where the Socialist Youth Leagues put forward demands or organize activity corresponding to the interests of the toiling youth, the members of our organizations must give them active support and do everything to secure the granting of their demands.

It is also necessary together with the Socialist youth to appeal to the Socialist and Communist Members of Parliament and to present demands to Social-Democratic Ministers (wherever such are in office) for the passing of laws and decrees to improve the situation of the youth.

3. While widely developing the united front movement, it is necessary, in the interests of the common fighting, to bring about constant cooperation between the two Leagues through the creation of joint associations. Taking as a starting point the experience of the "coordination committees" in France, and the "alliance committees" in Spain, it is necessary to set up various anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth Leagues.

When such associations are formed, the Leagues remain independent and may maintain their connections with their respective Parties and Internationals.

4. In a number of countries, such as France, Spain, Austria, Latvia, and some others, the practical prerequisites for uniting the two Leagues into a single organization already exist.

A necessary condition for the formation and development of united organizations is the full democratic right of the members themselves to settle the question of the basis of unity (the platform of further struggle against capitalist exploitation, fascism, imperialist war, for the vital interests of the youth) as well as the connections of the united Leagues with the parties and the question of adherence to an International.

*The Young Communist International will give the most practical help to bring about the formation of united Leagues of the toiling youth in any country. At the same time the Young Communist International announces its firm determination to fight for the unification of the revolutionary youth throughout the world, for the formation of a single Youth International.*

### III. UNITY OF THE FORCE OF THE ENTIRE GENERATION OF YOUNG TOILERS

1. The distressed situation of the vast majority of the young generation and the increasing urge to struggle for their interests raise *as an urgent task the uniting of the forces of all the non-fascist youth organizations in a joint struggle for freedom, peace, and the rights of the younger generation.*

The Sections of the Young Communist International in France and the U.S.A. have understood the tremendous importance of this task. This is shown by their active participation in the wide united front movement of the youth which is taking place in these countries. The success of the movement in these countries only became possible thanks to the fact that the youth from the most varied mass organizations were drawn into the discussion and elaboration of a common platform of cooperation.

There is no doubt that there exist also in many other countries extensive possibilities for the development of such a movement of the younger generation. However, in some countries (Canada, Great Britain and Switzerland), the Sections of the Young Communist International have taken only the first steps in this direction, while in the majority of countries even this has not yet been done. In many countries, the members of our Leagues do not understand the problems arising before the younger generation and have in general adopted a narrowly sectarian approach to the young people in the youth organizations formed by the bourgeoisie, simply regarding these organizations and their members as opponents. In some cases, our Leagues have tried to force upon the broad masses of the youth and their organizations a stereotyped, ready-made platform, prepared without consultation with the youth of other organizations.

2. "The Young Communist League must strive in every way to unite the forces of all the non-fascist mass youth organizations to the point of forming various kinds of joint organizations for the fight against fascism, against the unparalleled oppression and militarization of the youth, for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, for drawing these young workers to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they are to be found—in the factories, the forced labor camps, the labor exchanges, the barracks, the navy, in schools, various sports, cultural and other organizations". (Dimitroff.)

While working with all energy and initiative to carry out this extremely important task, it should be firmly remembered that the platform and also the forms and methods of cooperation must be worked out in the most democratic manner, taking into consideration the cultural and political level, especially the questions of the youth of the given country, and the burning questions which interest various sections of the youth. Special attention should be paid in this connection to work among the peasant youth and the students.

In the fight for the uniting of the youth against reaction and fascism, it is essential for all members of the Leagues to eliminate completely sectarian methods of approach to the broad sections of the youth. It is undoubtedly necessary that they should learn to speak in the vivid language of youth, and once and for all to give up repeating stock phrases.

It is particularly important in the ideological fight against fascism to take into account the revolutionary and democratic traditions of one's own people, not in the slightest degree adopting a contemptuous attitude to the national feelings of the youth, but at the same time fighting tirelessly against chauvinism, and working to educate the youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Having in view the democratic traditions, it is essential to protect all democratic rights against fascism, and to fight against any oppressive measures against the youth, and for their economic, cultural and democratic rights.

In every place where fascist demagogues put forward slogans and promises which correspond to the feelings and demands of the toiling youth, we must propose without hesitation that the youth *should insist*

*on these promises being immediately carried out and must begin an independent mass struggle to bring them into practice.*

4. The Congress states that the *Young Communist International will give every possible support to the youth movement against fascism and war in any country.* The Y.C.I. will also give active support to the movement directed towards the organization of a world meet and the establishment of constant international collaboration among progressive youth.

#### IV. THE TASKS OF THE MASS MOVEMENT IN FASCIST COUNTRIES

1. The Congress sets before all the revolutionary organizations of the youth, which are fighting in fascist countries, the task of passing from the system of small circles and general agitation to direct legal and semi-legal mass activity. It is not correct to imagine that there are no legal possibilities in countries with a fascist dictatorship for the development of a mass movement of struggle for the vital interests of the youth.

Vast numbers of the youth in these countries have voluntarily or by compulsion been brought into the fascist mass youth organizations. It is possible and necessary within these organizations to develop the wide independent activity of the youth. A significant part of these youth still believe in the false ideals given them by fascism and in the fascist leaders. But on the other hand, the bitter reality of their lives and the fact that their needs and demands are not being satisfied give rise to discontent and activity which is not yet directed against the fascist regime, but is primarily in defense of their direct interests and requirements.

Our task is not to issue abstract appeals for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, but to be able to defend the day-to-day demands and needs of the youth, to support and unite them on this basis, utilizing all legal and semi-legal possibilities and subordinating the work of the illegal organizations to this task. It is essential for the youth themselves to be roused to stubbornly demand the fulfilment of the promises which fascism gave them so that they will in this way be led up to a real fight against fascism.

2. All the mass forms and measures of fascist work among the youth must be made use of with the aim of rallying the forces of the youth to the struggle for their interests, and this makes it necessary *to begin suitable forms of work in all the fascist youth mass organizations and also in the trade unions,* in every way supporting and encouraging opposition sentiment among the members of these organizations, seeking to isolate the conscious agents of fascism.

Wherever there is opposition sentiment in democratic, liberal and radical youth circles and groups, as in Poland, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, Austria, etc., it is necessary to work for the establishment of youth organizations absolutely independent of fascism, and for united action with them.

Wherever fascism prohibits and suppresses the non-fascist youth

organizations, our first task is to give friendly support to their struggle, for the freedom and independence of their organizations. It is at the same time necessary to work together with them for the amalgamation of all forces of the youth.

#### V. THE TASK OF THE YOUTH IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Congress of the Young Communist International notes with alarm that only an insignificant section of the working youth are organized in trade unions and that the rising young generation of toilers is not being educated and steeled in the ranks of the trade union movement in the spirit of militant class solidarity and devotion to the cause of the working class.

Yet the fight for the economic and cultural interests of the youth, and also the fight against the spreading of fascist influence among the youth, cannot be successful without the aid of the trade unions. That is precisely why it is necessary to work for the organization of all young workers in the trade unions, and the arrangement of diverse forms of work among the large sections of the youth inside the trade unions.

*The Congress calls upon all young workers who support the Young Communist International to join unions, to take active part in the work and to fight for trade union unity, to win by their good work the respect of their fellow trade union members. Considering the fact to be important that in some countries, as in Austria and Belgium, for example, some unions have begun to organize the young workers, the Congress urgently recommends to all Sections of the Young Communist International actively to support any propaganda and organizational steps not only of the Red, but also of the Amsterdam and other unions, to recruit the young workers.*

It is exceedingly important to work with the trade unions for gaining work, and for social insurance for the young unemployed. It is essential to work for concrete aid for the unemployed youth and especially for the girls, by organizing all kinds of vocational courses, lodgings, night shelters, special workshops, and clubs for girls. Work among the youth in the various kinds of labor camps is of particular importance at the present time.

#### VI. THE TASKS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN THE SPORTS MOVEMENT

The Congress emphasizes the importance of developing a sports movement of the youth, independent of the bourgeois state, and calls upon the Sections of the Young Communist International actively to cooperate in the unification of the worker-sports organizations in every country, and in bringing about international unity of the workers' sports movement. However, it should be borne in mind that the workers' sports movement in most countries, even the united organizations, have in their ranks only a minority of the young toiling sportsmen. It is therefore necessary to take active part in bringing about cooperation and even an

amalgamation of all sports organizations in which large numbers of young toilers are to be found.

While participating in the mass sports organizations in fascist countries it is necessary to fight against chauvinist and military propaganda of the fascists among the sportsmen. The fight of the masses of sportsmen for their immediate demands should be assisted and given leadership.

One of the most important immediate tasks in cooperating with the large masses of young sportsmen is to carry on a joint fight against the carrying out of the olympiad in fascist Germany.

#### VII. PARTICIPATION OF THE YOUTH IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST PEOPLE'S FRONT

*A most important and immediate task in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the formation of a powerful youth movement on the basis of combatting illiteracy among the younger generation, for the freedom of national culture, for healthier and better conditions of life and work, for democratic rights and liberties, against oppression, slavery, and exploitation.*

With this in view the organizations affiliated to the Y.C.I. must establish closer relations with all mass youth organizations, especially with the national revolutionary and national reformist organizations. Cooperating with these and other mass youth organizations, allowing for the differences existing between the diverse strata of the youth in the various districts of one and the same country, it is necessary to create various types of peasant, Indian, Negro, student, women's, cultural, athletic and other youth organizations for the sake of an amalgamation of the forces of the younger generation on the basis of a wide platform of struggle in the interests of the toiling youth, and also to broaden and unite such organizations wherever they are to be found.

The task of drawing the youth into the anti-imperialist people's front demands that work be commenced on the establishment of a new type of mass youth organization of a national liberation character which would include the widest possible strata of the youth and the national revolutionary and national reformist organizations, in place of the narrow political groups isolated from the basic masses. These organizations should carry on activity not only in the cities, but where the basic masses of the peasant youth are. They must organize their work so as to satisfy all the essential requirements and demands of the youth and educate them in the spirit of revolutionary hatred for the imperialist oppressors, in the spirit of devotion to the cause of emancipation of their own people from any form of exploitation and slavery.

The most important task in China is to create a mass movement of the entire youth and their organizations to fight for better living conditions for the toiling youth, for a higher cultural level, for democratic freedom, and in order to secure greater active participation of the youth in the fight of the people to save the country from the imperialist invaders.



VIII. AGAINST FASCISM, FOR SOCIALISM, FOR A FREE AND  
HAPPY LIFE OF THE TOILING YOUTH

*The Congress of the Young Communist International greets with pride and joy the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets. A happy socialist future is wide open before the youth of the Soviet Union. At the bottom of their education lies Stalin's great solicitude for the human being.*

Under the wise leadership of Stalin, the great teacher and best friend of the young toilers of the world, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, *the youth of the Soviet Union are marching from victory to victory in the struggle for the building of a classless, socialist society, which knows no exploitation of man by man.*

The Land of Soviets, carrying into life the revolutionary tenets of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, has become an invincible stronghold of the international proletariat in the fight for freedom and peace.

It is the task of the youth leagues widely to popularize the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to rally the youth to the support of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. and to its defense against world imperialism.

Fascism is preparing an attack on the land of peace and labor, and brings the greatest menace to the toilers of all countries. However, notwithstanding the painful difficulties and hard living conditions in the fascist countries, as in all capitalist countries, the forces are growing which shatter the domination of the bourgeoisie. "*The relation of class forces on a world scale is steadily changing in favor of the growing forces of the revolution.*" (From the Resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.)

The following words uttered by the fearless fighter of fascism, Comrade Dimitroff, should guide the struggle of the whole revolutionary youth:

"We want to find a *common language* with the broad masses in order to fight against the class enemy, to find the path by which we can finally end the *isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses of the proletariat and all the toilers, and by which we can put an end to the fatal isolation of the working class itself from its natural allies in the fight against the bourgeoisie, against fascism."

Our path was shown us by Lenin and Stalin.

Our path was pointed out by the helmsman of the Communist International, Dimitroff. It is a path of consolidation and organization on the basis of a wide united front of all forces of the younger generation of toilers.

*We consecrate all our forces to the salvation of the youth from fascism and the danger of imperialist war, and to the fight for a free, joyful, and happy life of the youth.*