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Young Spain Against the Betrayal

By Santiago Carillo

THE treachery of Colonel Casado and his group of reactionaries who, at the instigation of Franco and the French and British Governments, revolted against the National Government of Dr. Negrin, proves that, in spite of the loss of Catalonia, Spain could have carried on a successful resistance for a long time to come against the invading forces.

Despite all obstacles, despite the severe blows dealt by the desertion of the great democracies—with the exception of our most faithful and true friend, the great Soviet people, who, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, have never ceased to help our country—the people and the army of the Centre and Southern zone were determined to continue the struggle, convinced as they were of the justice of our cause and the chances of a victorious resistance.

After the fall of Barcelona, the capitulatory elements in the Central-Southern zone, who had wormed their way into the State machinery, began their work of disruption and the sabotage of resistance. Officers of the former army, apparently devoted to the Republic, were responsible for applying martial law as decreed by the Government, to prevent the activity of the traitors. They exploited this situation in order to paralyse the political activity of the masses, banning meetings and congresses of the Popular Front, censoring the press which correctly raised the problems of resistance.

Men like *Casado, Miaja, Besteiro, Wenceslas Carillo, Mera* and *San Andres*, agents of the enemy, whose names will be held in contempt by generations of Spanish workers and peasants, were the assassins of the working class and of the liberties and independence of our country. They used their responsibility to prepare their criminal designs.

In spite of everything, on February 10, after the loss of Catalonia, when the Government arrived in Madrid, a feeling of great relief and fresh courage spread among the masses of the people. The people and the army have complete confidence in the Government and in its policy of resistance. In spite of all the difficulties, the Spanish people and the youth, inspired with a heroic patriotism and love of liberty, had decided to resist.

Pouplar songs on the theme of resistance rang out enthusiastically in the streets and in the trenches. On the eve of the betrayal, in heroic

Madrid, 4,000 young girls, called together by the United Socialist Youth, met to affirm, with indescribable enthusiasm, their resolve to resist with or without bread, demanding guns to go and fight in the trenches, beside the men, against the invaders.

Pasionaria, the very soul of popular resistance, said in a speech: "If we save Madrid, the Republic will begin the reconquest of Spain." The people who idolise her were prepared to do everything to save Madrid.

But the treachery, which was strongly entrenched in the State machinery, among certain professional officers, bureaucrats, governors, in the political groups of the Caballero people and the Trotskyists, in certain anarchist circles, among adventurers and careerists in the Republic, among people like Besteiro, closely bound to British reaction (and all at the instigation of Franco, France and Britain), organised its attack.

The capitalist press tried to prove that the Casado junta was triumphant after the first blow. But had it on its side the whole or even the majority of the army? Subsequent events have shown clearly that this was not so.

The traitors revolted, knowing well that the Government's faithful patriots would never make a breach of the front by retiring the units combatting Franco, in order to combat Casado.

That is why, at first, the treachery of the Casado-Franco gang appeared to be victorious.

But when the disruptive Junta tried to arrest members of the Government and the principal political and military leaders of the Republic, to deliver them to the hangman, thus hoping to gain the full favour of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, reserve troops were mobilised, went into action and placed the junta in a very precarious position.

Not a unit was withdrawn by the supporters of the Government: on the contrary, the Junta dismantled the fronts before the enemy under the pretext of fighting the "Communists."

The traitors served Franco by assuming the flag of anti-Communism, the flag of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, the flag of reaction and of the enemies of democracy.

It is true that at the head of the patriots it was the Communists who fought, as they had fought throughout the war, with a heroism and self-sacrifice that have been an example to all. But at the side of the Communists, in the struggle against the Casado-Francoists, are fighting all the honest Republicans, Socialists and Anarchists, the people and the soldiers.

In this struggle, the *United Socialist Youth*, which has provided so many examples of heroism in the course of the war, is also fighting. And to-day, without abandoning the fighting-lines, the youth confronts the bloody Junta, fighting against it in the streets of Madrid.

The local offices of the United Socialist Youth in Madrid and the headquarters of our Federation have been fortified; within, the young men and women of Madrid struggle heroically against the traitors.

The betrayal by Casado and his like has smashed the possibility of a victorious resistance. Without this betrayal, Franco would never take Madrid; his forces would have spent themselves in vain against the gates of the capital. Without the intervention of France and Britain, organisers of the Casado coup d'état, Germany and Italy would never have been able to defeat the Spanish army and the Spanish people. Nevertheless, the people and the youth of Spain are resisting; they will fight on till the end, because they think, with *Pasionaria*, that it is better to die on one's feet than to live on one's knees.

The people and the youth of Spain will never admit defeat. Our people will continue to be a magnificent example to the world.

The utter decline of private industry must not be regarded as a thing of chance. Private industry perished, firstly, because the socialist economic system is superior to the capitalist system, and secondly because the socialist economic system made it possible for us to re-equip in a few years the whole of our socialist industry on new and up-to-date technical lines.

(Stalin: Report delivered at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B).)

The Meaning of "Non-Intervention"

By Joseph Stalin

We publish below an extract from the report delivered by Comrade Joseph Stalin at the first session of the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B).

We would strongly recommend our readers to read very attentively this important report which appeared in *WORLD NEWS AND VIEWS*, No. 16.—Ed.

How is this one-sided and strange character of the new imperialist war to be explained? How could it happen that non-aggressor countries, with vast possibilities at their disposal, have so easily and without any resistance abandoned their positions and their obligations to please the aggressors? Can it be explained by the weakness of non-aggressor States?

Of course not! The non-aggressor democratic States combined are unquestionably stronger than the fascist States, both economically and militarily. Such being the case, how can systematic concessions made by these States to the aggressors be explained?

This might be explained for instance by fear of revolution which may break out should the non-aggressor States become involved in war, and should war become world-wide. Bourgeois politicians know, of course, that the first imperialist world war brought about the victory of the revolution in one of the biggest countries. They are afraid that a second imperialist world war may also lead to the victory of the revolution in one or in several countries.

But at present this is not the sole, or even the main reason. The main reason is that the majority of the non-aggressor countries, and primarily England and France, have abandoned the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors, that they have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of "neutrality."

Formally, the policy of non-intervention might be described in the following words: "Let each country defend itself against the aggressors as it likes and as well as it can. It does not concern us. We shall trade both with the aggressors and with their victims."

In actual fact, however, the policy of non-intervention is tantamount to connivance at aggression, to unleashing war—consequently to its transformation into a world war. Through the policy of non-intervention there runs the eagerness and desire not to prevent the aggressors from perpetrating their black deeds, not to prevent say Japan from becoming involved in a war with China, or still better, with the Soviet Union; not to prevent say Germany from becoming enmeshed in European affairs, from becoming involved in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all belligerents to sink deep into the mire of war, to stealthily encourage them to follow this line, to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another, and then, when they become sufficiently weakened, to appear on the scene with fresh forces, to come out, of course "in the interests of peace," and to dictate their terms to weakened belligerent nations. It is cheap, and it serves its purpose!

Is this not very much like encouraging the aggressor? As if they were saying: "Get deeper into the war, and then we shall see. . . ." It must be admitted that this also looks very much like egging on, like encouraging the aggressor.

It is quite possible, of course, that there are madmen in Germany who dream of annexing the elephant, that is, the Soviet Ukraine, to the gnat, namely, the so-called Carpathian Ukraine. If there really are such lunatics in Germany, rest assured that we shall find enough strait-jackets for them in our country.

(Stalin: Report to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B).)

Youth and Politics

Catalonia Invaded but not Defeated

By Colomer

TO-DAY Catalonia is nothing but a vast cemetery and a huge prison. That is the result of the fascist invasion. What was foreseen if ever Franco occupied Catalonia has become a terrible reality. Mussolini and Hitler have dug their destructive claws into this people of liberal, democratic traditions, with its multitudinous proletariat forged in great revolutionary struggles, a militant proletariat which has always proved its vigorous class-consciousness and its profound love of its country, its language and customs.

During its long history, Catalonia cannot show any example to equal this for crime and terror. There is not a home, not a family which has not suffered personally from the consequences of this "civilisation" by Italian and German fascism.

It did not happen by accident. It was prepared with minute care, without haste. Even before he commenced his offensive against Catalonia, Franco had prepared his machinery of repression which, since the occupation, has been employed to "punish" the revolt and resistance of the "Catalonian dogs."

The repression is directed by agents of the Italian O.V.R.A. and the German Gestapo, "recommended" to Franco. Republicans, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, patriots, simple workers and peasants, for the sole crime of being what they are, are made to suffer indiscriminately the consequences of the foreign invasion, with its monstrous persecutions, with its plain intention of crushing out everything revolutionary, democratic and patriotic, in order to transform Catalonia into a subject colony, from which the parasites may extract the very life-blood.

To the Negrin Government's declared intention of carrying out no reprisals after the end of the war, Franco, subservient to his masters' orders, replied with the most monstrous repression history has known.

This tide of barbarism has reached not only those who took part, directly or indirectly, in the organisation and functioning of military, political or trade union units, and not only those who facilitated their organisation and their existence, as well as those who were, to some extent, engaged in the struggle against the foreign invasion: but it attacks also the near and the distant relatives of these people, relatives of Republican soldiers, and those who had personal contact with them, the servants or other people who frequented the houses of members of the Government or of leaders of political and trade union organisations.

Various lists have been drawn up, of those who may be released soon and those who may not. Those who are to be executed without pardon in the ditches of Montjuich, in the very place where the traitor Godeu was shot. Those who are to be arrested immediately and kept under the surveillance of the service of "public order." Those about whom special precautions are to be taken. Each of these instructions accompanied by special measures against refugees from the Basque country, from Santander, Asturias, etc.

Apart from those who are openly fascist, only a few enjoy exception. These are the P.O.U.M. Trotskyists, the agents of Hitler and Mussolini, for whom special arrangements have been made. It could not be otherwise. Those who have so well served the cause of the invader, those of the May "revolutionary" movement, must have their reward at the hands of their masters, for services rendered. No, the struggle against the P.O.U.M. is not the business of the Communists alone. It is not a matter of mere ideological differences, but of a struggle against the enemies of the people and the youth, against the enemies of Catalonia and all Spain.

Special instructions have been given for the transfer of prisoners from various invaded provinces and especially Barcelona. The repression is of such scope that Franco does not dare apply it fully in Catalonia. On the other hand, the prisons already existing in Catalonia are not large enough to hold all those who have been arrested.

Those who are to be transferred are taken to Burgos, Pamplona, Saragossa, etc. . . . and their transfer is meticulously organised. Caravans of a minimum number of lorries leave by different routes, at pre-arranged intervals. The prisoners have

no communication with the outer world. If any of them protests or expresses his disgust, he is shot instantly. Those in charge of the expedition are given full powers; we know only too well what that means. Catalonia to-day is, throughout its length and breadth, an immense Santa Coloma de Queralt. No one is respected: not women, children or old people.

But that is not all. Further repressive measures have been taken, such as: the prohibition of the Catalan language; the liquidation of all organisations of the autonomous province; Draconian reprisals against officials of the provincial government and local authorities; a minimum working day of 10 hours, with an average daily wage of 3.5 pesetas; the land returned to its former owners and special repressive measures taken against the peasants; industrial and agricultural wealth monopolised and placed under the control of Italy and Germany. What confronts the youth of Catalonia is the same panorama, the same perspective, the same reality which young Germans and Italians know: in a word, fascism.

Those who say innocently: "It doesn't matter to me personally which side wins" are going to learn a grim lesson of the vast gulf there is between this foreign fascism and democratic, independent Spain. It is a warning to those who are not yet convinced of the necessity of struggle against fascism.

But, as has been so well said by our great comrade *Pasionaria*, a great lover of the Catalan people: Catalonia has been occupied by invaders, but not defeated.

"Catalonia has been invaded like Euzkadi, Asturias, Andalusia, but none of these provinces has submitted. Men and women weep tears of blood in concentration camps, in the jails, in the dungeons; others work under a regime of terror. But all hope that we shall be able to resist. They are ready to rise in the enemy's rear to help Spain win back her right to life and to liberty."

Hatred swells up in an ever-rising tide; experience teaches; and unity for national liberation is stronger and more vigorous every day. In their national struggle, the Catalan people count on the support of the youth of the world, on the support of the masses of the people, and, above all, on the help of the working class of all countries, which in the end will achieve its aims in spite of Chamberlain and Daladier.

Spain Sets the Example

By André Marty

DESPITE everything, it is not vanquished, this Spain, the real Spain, the Spain of Goya and Cervantes, of voyagers and artists, the Spain of the working class and the people, the Spain which has always set an example to the world and always will!

Eight days ago we were told that everything was at an end. Eulogies were already pronounced on Casado and Miaja and their impending capitulation to fascism. To-day considerable sections of the people are opposing the capitulationists. It is solely due to the Spanish people that the mercenaries of Paris and London have not yet opened the gates of Madrid to Franco. The Black Shirts and National Socialists are afraid to enter such a living and glowing Madrid.

Again this was said to be the end. But no, the Government returned to Madrid, accompanied by army leaders of high prestige. The Premier, taught by events in Catalonia, replaced suspicious or incompetent officers. Treachery now came forward openly, and it was revealed that the Casado clique was allied with Paris and London. And Casado carried out his *coup de main* at once under the catchword of anti-Communism.

How great is the strength of this Spanish people, so great that the attempt to crush it requires the armies of two fascist powers, the gold and the treachery organised by the reactionaries of the two democratic States.

Our great Comrade Stalin has just recalled, with trenchant irony, how in the name of anti-Communism China has been occupied by Japan, Abyssinia by Italy, Austria and the Sudeten by fascist Germany, and how, also in the name of anti-Communism, Germany and Italy are conquering Spain.

Anti-Communism, in whose name France is being encircled to-day from the side of Spain, serves further as a pretext for the enslavement of the masses of the peoples. It was in the name of anti-Communism that six years ago in Germany the era of savage persecution set in against "the Communist

murderers and Reichstag incendiaries." After the Communists the Socialists fell victims to this persecution, then the Democrats, the Jews, and finally the Catholics.

Thanks to our great Dimitroff, no one in the world to-day doubts who the real murderers were.

And in the name of anti-Communism Casado strives to commit his double crime, to deliver his people over to Hitler and Mussolini, and to massacre the best sons of this people, that he may rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the murderers of Spain. This must not be forgotten.

Again in the name of anti-Communism, attempts are being made in France to carry on this same campaign, by a number of infamous individuals who should have been in the dock long since, although they are deputies—individuals who are obviously merely the spokesmen of Berlin and Rome. Therefore we must stress more clearly and strongly day by day that factor which can save us, and which imparts this tremendous and wonderful power to the Spanish people: the strengthening and further development of the People's Front, the foundation of the unification of the nation. The People's Front stood at the cradle of the Spanish victory in February, 1936, of the prelude to the May victory in France. Before and during the war the People's Front brought an organisation of work and democratic liberties, quite un hoped for, to the workers and peasants of Spain, the youth and the women, the intellectuals, and the whole people. And in France, too, it was the People's Front which gave social laws hardly dreamed of to the French workers, thanks to their unity and energy. It was the People's Front which made 1936 so fruitful for the whole French people.

The People's Front is not only the secret of the wonderful, exemplary and unique resistance of the great noble people of Spain, but it brought to this people the first era of prosperity and freedom, real miracles in what was formerly the classic country of inquisition and feudal barbarity.

How Can the Fascist Aggressors be Defeated?

(Extracts from the report of Comrade *Manuilsky* delivered at the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B).)

WHAT is necessary now to defeat the fascist aggressors?

Firstly, a resolute struggle against the capitulators carried to the point of unmasking them completely, isolating them and destroying their influence. The capitulators are not merely co-operators with the bourgeoisie, they are co-operators with the most reactionary part of the bourgeoisie, co-operators with fascism. The capitulators are the agents of fascism in the Labour movement, acting under the mask of "pacifism" for the deception of the masses.

They are trying to demoralise the masses with the vile treacherous slogan of "better slavery than war." But the people know that the imperialist robbers convert their slaves into cannon fodder for their wars of plunder; slaves do not escape war, they take part in them on the side of their enslavers, they take part in them as thugs against other peoples, destroying their independence.

The Anglo-French capitulators dream of diverting German fascism to the East. In the language of these gentlemen, this is also called preservation of peace. But we know that the German fascists dislike impassable roads and unsurmountable obstacles, they prefer to go where it is easy, where one surrenders to fascism.

The capitulators of neutral countries, like Scandinavia, for instance, intend to seclude themselves from war in the refuge of neutrality and help the bourgeoisie to make a pile of money on military contracts as they did in 1914/1918. But the times are different now. Now the fascist aggressors will not leave a single neighbouring State in peace until they have drawn it into the orbit of their military adventures, until they have revised its frontiers in the interests of the "Aryan race."

The capitulators try to deter the masses by telling them that the people's front provokes the fascists to aggression. But the formation of the People's Front means resistance to the fascist aggressors. It is not resistance but the absence of it that whets the appetite of the fascists.

How the Chinese Armies Fight for Victory

By James Gordon

WITH the *Lukuchiao* incident, in July, 1937, the Japanese invasion in China developed on a large scale. In those days, the Japanese militarist officers and Government officials boasted publicly of a rapid conquest of China. All that would be needed, they said, were a few months of easy advance; there would be no effective resistance. However, after 20 months of war, they have been forced to change their tune, and in their most recent declarations, Japanese Government officials warn their people to prepare for heavy sacrifices and for a long drawn out, difficult war.

The Chinese Government and people, in contrast, have from the beginning prepared for a long war of resistance—10 or 15 years if need be. Speaking on September 26, 1938, at *Chungking*, General *Chiang Kai-shek* gave a decisive answer, in the name of the Chinese nation to the Japanese Premier of that time, Prince *Konoye*:

"For our part," he said, "We must hold fast. We must fix our eyes on our goal, and be firm and determined. The greater the difficulties, the more strongly we will resist. The longer the struggle lasts, the more courageous we become. With one heart, the entire nation carries on the struggle. The final victory will be ours. I hope that our comrades, and the armies of the people and the nation as a whole, will redouble their efforts to attain our goal."

In order to understand the progress of the war in the Far East, it is necessary to study the tactics and strategy adopted by the Chinese military authorities in developing their resistance. The Chinese Army leaders are fully conscious of their great inferiority to the Japanese forces in war material of every sort. But they aim to utilise to the full all the favourable conditions in the internal and external position of China. The first of these conditions is the nature of the war itself. The Chinese people are fighting for their national independence against a fascist-militarist invader and are fully conscious of why they are fighting. The whole population has rallied to the support of the defending armies, and the soldiers themselves, understanding why they are fighting, are ready to resist to the end. The political unity within China and the centralisation and co-ordination of all Chinese armies under the National Military Council is another important factor in favour of Chinese resistance. A third factor is the vast territory and enormous population of 450,000,000 people, which can supply limitless reserves for the Chinese Armies. A fourth factor is the rising discontent within Japan of their own population against their militarist Government and its imperialist designs. Finally, throughout the world, there is a growing movement amongst all peace-loving people to give effective aid to the Chinese people. With these factors in view, it is clear that the time factor is in favour of the Chinese, but the longer they resist, the greater the difficulties for the Japanese invaders. As General *Feng Yu-hsiang*, Vice-President of the National Military Council, puts it: China can last, but Japan cannot. Or in the words of the Chinese Catholic Bishop, Monseigneur *Yupin*, "Time works for China. We will hold fast until Japan is exhausted." These are the reasons which led the Chinese Government to adopt the tactics of what is known as "sustained," or prolonged warfare. *Mao Tse-Tung*, the great Chinese communist leader, explained this tactic to the International Student Delegation at *Yen-shan* last July:

"What is meant by insistence on sustained warfare? Some people say that China will perish in no time and she cannot keep on resisting Japan. Others say China will win a quick victory and has no need of prolonged resistance. Both opinions are equally wrong. We firmly believe that China cannot perish. Although Japan is strong in some respects, it is insufficiently developed. It is labouring under internal and external opposition. Although China is weak in some respects, it is a big country and there are many favourable conditions in her internal and external position. Therefore, despite her territorial losses, she can carry on her war of resistance and win the final victory."

possesses strong points, but cannot turn them to account over night. *Time is her best ally.* It will take time before she can make considerable progress, before Japanese bankruptcy takes place and before China receives foreign support in a substantial and positive way. Therefore, her people need not hope for an easy victory, but must be prepared for long years of war. So it is right to build a policy on insistence on resistance, insistence on the united front and insistence on protracted war."

There is no doubt that in this tactic of protracted warfare, the Chinese military authorities and Government learned very much from the 8th Route Army, who had brought their tactics to perfection in the long years of the civil war, when they were struggling against immensely superior odds, and who have put them into practice, with most marked success, in fighting the Japanese invaders on the Northern front. The three main principles of the 8th Route Army are to carry on a war of movement and partisan warfare, renouncing pure frontal defensive positions, attacking the enemy in the flank and rear, destroying their means of communication. Secondly, to carry on intensive work for the organisation, education and arming of the local populations using the partisan war of the masses in close combination with the operations of the regular army. Thirdly, to carry on intensive political and educational work in the army itself. In the Northern provinces the 8th Route Army uses its superior mobility to make up for its inferiority in arms, and at the same time carries on continual work for the disintegration of the Japanese forces. This tactic of sustained warfare is now adopted officially by the Government and military authorities. In his message of October 31 last year, *General Chiang Kai-shek* said:

"The Chinese plan of resistance is based on the three following principles: (1) Prolonged resistance; (2) Resistance everywhere and on all sectors; (3) Struggle to take the initiative of operations. It is only by attracting the Japanese forces towards the interior of the country that we can take this initiative. We must preoccupy ourselves with the development of the war as a whole, and not with the defence or loss of a particular town or region. The Chinese tactic consists in attracting the Japanese forces into the immensity of the interior, in avoiding a battle along the coastal zone, where the superior armaments of the Japanese will permit them easily to take the advantage; but there we must use the terrain in a way so as to inflict the greatest possible losses on the Japanese forces, which will allow us to gain time to prepare defence works more to the West, and to use to the full the resources of the country for national defence."

Following this tactic, as the war continues in the eastern territory of China, economic reconstruction continues apace in the western provinces, such as *Kweichow, Yunnan, Szechwan*, etc. New factories are springing up, industrial co-operatives organised to absorb the refugees, important new roads and railways developed, the most recent of which links Burma with the South-Western province of Yunnan.

With this plan of protracted warfare, tremendous importance is given to guerilla warfare and to organisation of the Chinese people behind the Japanese lines. As the Japanese troops advance towards Central China, they occupy *only* the railways, main roads, important cities and some of the villages. The Japanese armies become a thinly drawn-out network, very hard to defend. They cannot colonise the Chinese territories as they would wish, nor develop raw materials or enslave the population. A hostile population presses in on all sides, organised by the partisan troops. There are more than half a million Chinese partisans in Manchuria alone, and many hundreds of thousands in the rest of China. Behind the Japanese lines, the major part of the so-called "occupied zones" are occupied by Chinese populations, organised under provisional governments that accept the authority of the Central Chinese Government. For instance, a large provisional Chinese zone, on the borders of *Shansi, Hopei* and *Chahar* provinces, has been set up within the midst of the occupied territory; in *Central Hopei*, there is a Government loyal to the Central Government. These areas behind the Japanese lines remain in constant contact with the Chinese Government, and send delegates to the People's Political Council. *General*

Ho-kieng, Minister of the Interior, has received more money paid for taxes from *Hopei* and *Chahar* provinces since their occupation by Japanese troops, than in the years that preceded the war. Statistics show that from the military point of view, Japanese armies occupy completely or partially nine Chinese provinces out of 28. Of the 796 districts which these provinces contain, the Japanese maintain real control only over 7.4 per cent.; the Chinese Government has entire control over 61 per cent., and in 248 districts (31 per cent.) the Chinese Government has partial control.

Chinese guerilla troops operate in all parts of China. Even in *Tientsin* and *Shanghai*, the puppet governors, installed by the Japanese militarists, tremble in fear of attacks by the guerillas and in spite of tremendous bribes, the Japanese find it hard to buy any traitor to assume the post of puppet governor.

With the development of the war, considerable changes have taken place in the relative losses of Chinese and Japanese troops. There are now about 2,500,000 Chinese soldiers under arms, 1,000,000 in training, 50,000,000 possible reserves. Japan has 1,700,000 soldiers in China; 700,000 Japanese soldiers have already been killed or disabled since the beginning of the war. It is unlikely that Japan could afford to mobilise more than another 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men for the war. At the beginning of the war, China was losing three men to every one Japanese on the average, ten to one in some provinces. In the last months, it is calculated that China has been losing ten men to every seven Japanese. *General Chen Cheng*, Vice-Minister of the Political Department of the National Military Council, calculates that shortly Japan will be losing two men to every one Chinese. In *Shansi* province, where the 8th Route Army is leading the resistance and partisan warfare is particularly developed, in recent months more than eight Japanese soldiers have been killed to one Chinese. The Japanese have lost more than 1,000 aeroplanes since the beginning of the war.

In view of these general developments of Chinese resistance, it is easier to understand the struggles now taking place on the different fronts in China today. In *Shansi* and on the Northern front, an attempted Japanese attack has been repulsed by a victorious Chinese counter-offensive. The Japanese wish to cross the Yellow River and invade *Shensi*, then to advance further to cut the road to the Soviet Union from North-Western China. But the Chinese victories in *Shansi* have made this Japanese offensive provisionally impossible. Guerilla warfare is spreading daily in the Northern provinces. On March 6, 3,000 Chinese guerillas were reported on the outskirts of *Tientsin* in *Hopei* and others were reported in the suburbs of *Peiping* itself. Both *Peiping* and *Tientsin* were "occupied" from the very beginning of the war. In the Centre, continued reports are given of guerilla activity in the suburbs of *Shanghai*. The *Shanghai-Hangchow railway* and the *Shanghai-Nanking railway* have been cut repeatedly. The Chinese forces have crossed the *Chientang* river in *Chekiang* province and are on the outskirts of *Hangchow*, the capital. 12,000 Japanese soldiers have been killed by guerillas in *Shantung, Honan* and *Anhui* provinces during the first month of the year. In *Western Hupeh*, the Japanese troops are advancing cautiously towards *Ichang*. In Southern China, fighting is still going on in *Kwantung* province around *Canton*. The Japanese militarists are discussing the possibility of attempting the invasion of *Kwangsi* province, but in *Kwangsi* two and a half million people are undergoing military training and half a million are already under arms. The Japanese fear the consequences of a further advance. The most striking event in recent weeks has been the occupation of *Hainan* by Japanese troops; but the occupation of *Hainan*, situated in a strategic position in the Gulf of Tonkin, is a direct blow to France and Great Britain, but hardly alters the course of the war in China itself. It should be added that 5,000 Japanese soldiers have lost their lives during the fighting in *Hainan*.

Thus it can be seen that the duration of the war in China gives added strength to the Chinese forces, weakens and exhausts Japanese militarism. *Time works in favour of China*, and this is the reason why in Japanese Government circles the question of peace and reconciliation is beginning to be discussed. But the Chinese people are determined to resist until victory.

In this war of prolonged resistance, the Chinese youth plays a rôle of the highest importance. The political workers in the regular army and partisan troops come from the ranks of the

youth and student organisations. The front service groups that form a link between the army and the people are mostly organised by the youth. In the work of contact with the Japanese soldiers and the work to win over the Korean, Formosan and Mongolian troops who have been pressed into the service of Japan, the Chinese youth associations play a leading rôle. The spirit of resistance of the Chinese youth within the army, a resistance that will be sustained to the end, is best shown by the letter of the Young Soldiers of Sanyuan to the Student Delegation:

"Like you we are in the cream of our youth; we would like to live longer and enjoy life. But to-day we must go to war, to death; we must defend our homes from the cruel invader. We hate war, but we love our homes; we hate death, but how can we stand by and see our lands occupied, our homes sacked, our women raped, our parents murdered? There is no other way, we must fight! We shall soon leave for the trenches; we go there with happy hearts and await with a smile for the Grim Reaper to do his job; we fight for our homes, we fight that Righteousness may not perish from this world.

"Friends, when you go back to your respective countries, tell your youth that China will fight to the bitter end for her independence; tell them that between death and subjection, China's youth has chosen to fight, to die rather than to be subjected to Japanese imperialism. We have faith that we will be the ultimate victors; we have faith in Righteousness; we have faith in the head of our Government. To-day China has risen like one man—peasants, workers, students, merchants, soldiers, all are united. Onwards to victory; or to death.

"Friends, we have only one thing to ask our fellow-youth the world over. Tell them from us—*Youth unite, that peace may reign over mankind!*"

The Youth Pilgrimage to London

By Mick Bennett

"You who represent the youth of Britain who work in the factory, mine, office, school or university, are heirs to the long tradition of struggle for freedom and democracy. You have heard the voice of duty in this grave hour, and as your fathers before you heeded the call to nation-wide action in defence of threatened liberty, you in your turn are prepared to give national service—service which is inspired alone by the ideals of freedom and by conviction. We call upon all men and women of every political and religious opinion to join together in a great campaign, united as the ranks of the Youth Organisations have become, in that tradition which has inspired our National Youth Pilgrimage."

This is the Pledge of 2,500 pilgrims from England, Scotland and Wales and of 20,000 youth of London who welcomed the pilgrims to Trafalgar Square and the Empress Hall.

They were pit boys and students, waitresses and teachers, errand boys and engineers, ministers and unemployed. They came to offer the whole power and enthusiasm of the nation's youth to the country's leaders if they will call youth to serve for a worthy cause.

There is no doubt that the Youth Pilgrimage to London, on February 18 and 19, was the biggest political mass action ever carried through by the Democratic Youth Movement in Great Britain.

The rapid development of the National Youth Campaign from a loose association of leaders last spring, to a *mass Nation-wide Campaign* nine months later is one of the most significant political developments in this country.

It has been apparent for quite a while that the Youth, who have grown, and are growing, to manhood and womanhood during the last three or four years, are more and more imbued with the ideal and spirit of democracy and liberty.

This is so because they cannot help but see the horror and the reality of fascism in other lands, and the aggressive designs of the fascist states upon the democratic peoples. Alongside and parallel with this is the acute problem of the Youth in industry, *the blind alley*, which condemns millions to a life without a real future.

The different sections of British Youth have, and are finding, their own way of expressing this feeling and fighting spirit, as is evidenced by the wide variety of activity in the Youth Movement

of a democratic character, from humanitarian aid to victims of war to such things as the Youth Parliament, the coming together for fitness and for closer association among the more advanced of the democratic youth, as well as the movement of the Young Engineers of 18 months ago, which still expresses the feeling which exists among industrial youth.

Since Munich, however, the anti-fascist mood among the youth has considerably deepened; *no section of youth* in Britain are supporters of fascism, and they hate Hitler and Mussolini.

Masses of Youth have come to realise that their main enemy is the National Government of Chamberlain—the Government of pro-fascists. That the whole of the Democratic Youth have not yet "seen through" Chamberlain, is due to his cunning methods of deceit, and to the fact that the democratic forces in Britain are not yet united to defeat the Government.

The most deceitful of all the Government's move is "National Service," the logical outcome of which under the National Government, will be various forms of industrial, civil and military conscription—putting the people in chains. For the Youth, it would include labour camps à la Hitler.

The difficulty which many youth feel, is that if they oppose National Service because of their opposition to Chamberlain, they may be acting in a disloyal and unpatriotic manner, and not helping to defend their country from the danger of aggression by Hitler and Mussolini.

This sincere and genuine difficulty in the minds of many Youth is made worse by the fact the Labour and Liberal leaders, who oppose the Government in all matters of foreign policy, as well as domestic issues (Unemployment, Agriculture, etc.) do *not* oppose the Government on the issue of Defence and National service, except on purely technical points.

In fact, they completely support National Service and Defence, speaking on the same platforms as Government speakers at public meetings throughout the country. They falsely argue that it is a "National" issue, beyond party and Government, a "neutral" question.

Thus, they *help* the Government to overcome its weak position and rally support for it, through the medium of National Service, as they also do on the question of the arms estimates in Parliament. "We are not against defence, therefore, we are not against the Government on the defence issue" is the line of their argument, conveniently forgetting that our defence is in danger, so long as it remains in the hands of the friends of fascism, i.e., the National Government.

To show youth why it is necessary to *completely* oppose the Government, and yet at the same time have a *positive* approach to Defence and Service—was the *political* aim of the Youth Pilgrimage to London.

The Pilgrimage was organised around the idea or slogan that "Youth will serve for Freedom."

Therefore the first and most important aspect of the Youth Pilgrimage was the putting forward of a political platform of youth which could unite the majority of British youth who sincerely want to defend the people, and turn their main attention to the fight to defeat the National Government as the main enemy of the people.

In order to unite the mass of democratic youth of Britain, who are seeking ways and means of expressing the desire for a stronger democracy, it is necessary, in the first place on the basis of a correct policy, to unite the most advanced sections and organisations of the democratic youth, who more or less clearly see the National Government as the main enemy, and are prepared to lead the struggle of Youth against that enemy.

Up to the present, the advanced sections of the democratic youth have functioned only through the medium of their own organisations, such as the Young Communist League, the Labour League of Youth, the University Labour Federation, the League of Nations Union Youth Groups, the League of Young Liberals, and the Federation of Co-operative Youth, plus many youth in various other organisations and unattached youth, with just a loose unity at the top.

In order to wage a successful struggle, it was necessary to achieve the unity of these sections of the Youth. As a result of the Pilgrimage and the policy adopted, there now exists a firm basis of unity among six Youth Organisations, and the Pilgrimage has been able to bring into being at least the beginning of a political leadership for the masses of the democratic British

youth, able to speak in terms understood by the mass of the Youth, and bearing all that is best in the "British character."

Therefore, the second most important aspect of the Youth Pilgrimage is the bringing into being of a firm foundation for united political leadership of the Democratic Youth of Britain, which could not have been achieved in the circumstances by any single one of the organisations mentioned.

One of the most outstanding features in the Pilgrimage Campaign was the large support amongst the students of the Universities, and their participation in the Pilgrimage. This was particularly so in *Oxford, Cambridge and London*, and for the first time, we were able to achieve, in the course of a mass political youth action, an alliance between the Students and the anti-fascist youth.

This opens the way for a considerable development of unity of the democratic students throughout the Universities, and a closer alliance between the Students and the Youth Movement.

Therefore, the third most important aspect of the Youth Pilgrimage is the laying of the foundation of a firm alliance between the students and the anti-fascist youth movement.

Another very important feature during the course of the Pilgrimage was the sympathy with which it met among adult section of the Labour and Democratic movement and in the Democratic Press. For instance, on the day of the Pilgrimage, the *Sunday Pictorial* issued a special Youth edition on the Pilgrimage, and a splendid article by Captain Liddell Hart—the foremost military expert in Britain, who pointed out the right of youth to participate in discussion of a policy which is to affect them.

This question was taken up by sections of the Press when the Prime Minister refused to meet a deputation of the Pilgrims. This section of the Press pointed out that here was the Government shouting from the house-tops for National Service for the Youth, yet when many thousands of Youth, who generally represent Democratic Youth want to have a deputation to see him to discuss the question of National Service, he refused to meet them.

In the deputation to the political leaders, considerable support was forthcoming. Mr. Barnes, the Co-op. leader, gave the Pilgrimage and the Campaign his complete support, and agreed to assist in getting Co-op. youth to play a bigger part in the future.

Sir Archibald Sinclair was for the development of the Campaign, and for more support from sections of Young Liberals, who had not played a great part in the Campaign.

Mr. Atlee said that the matter would be taken up with his colleagues in the Executive, and while the official line of the Labour leaders is against unity, he was not able to say that the young should not unite, but went to the extent of saying that the youth were a special set of people, and that conditions that applied to the adult movements need not necessarily apply to the Youth movement.

Harry Pollitt met a deputation of the youth on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and gave the full support of the Communist Party to the Youth.

Therefore, the fourth most important aspect of the Pilgrimage was the amount of support and sympathy that it attracted from the leaders of the Labour and Democratic movement and the Democratic Press.

A feature of previous campaigns of a united character has been that the unity in the main was at the top, amongst the leadership, and in some of the larger districts. There had not been a sufficiently big development of the unity among the members of the different organisations, and localities.

However, in the Pilgrimage Campaign, there was a considerable development of unity locally, many committees were set up in all the main provincial towns; and in London some 30 local committees in different areas were set up.

Therefore, the fifth most important aspect of the Pilgrimage is the beginning of real unity in the main cities and localities of the country.

There are, however, a number of weaknesses which have been brought out in the statement of the *National Youth Campaign Committee* following the Pilgrimage. These weaknesses are, in the main, as follows:

(1) In sufficient discussion among the organisations and among the members, of the political issues of the campaign, and consequently, a not too clear stating of these political issues in

the propaganda and activities during the campaign, with the result that a considerable number of youth could only see the Pilgrimage as something vaguely concerned with democracy and national service, and support for Spain, but did not see its positive policy on national service, and the alternative it offered to the policy of the National Government. There was too much separation of national service and home issues from foreign policy.

(2) This weakness expressed itself in many areas in "A drive to get pilgrims to London," as though it was just a question of getting numbers of people to London, and not a great political campaign.

(3) These weaknesses also expressed themselves in some of the London areas in the terms of "Drive to sell tickets for the Empress Hall," as though the selling of tickets and the getting of a big meetings was an end in itself.

(4) Many members of the different organisations were surprised at the size of the event in London; and in a number of areas the campaign triumphed in spite of itself. This is due to the serious under-estimation of the strong anti-fascist mood which exists among the youth; the result is complacency which arises from such under-estimation.

However, if these weaknesses are brought to light and thrashed out in an objective manner, they may be quickly overcome, and the movement can be considerably strengthened as a result of learning the lessons.

There is no doubt that the Pilgrimage has sent a thrill of enthusiasm throughout the youth movement, and the job now is to follow up with hammer blows against the Government and for the policy of the National Youth Campaign.

Now that the basis has been laid, the next step is towards a democratic alliance of the youth, i.e., a closer alliance of the six youth organisations that co-operated in the Youth Pilgrimage nationally and locally, so as to become a real spear-head in the struggle of the Democratic British Youth.

The first step in this direction will be taken at a meeting of the national committees of the six organisations to be held in London on March 18 and 19, where an estimation will be made of the present situation and the tasks before the democratic youth of Britain, and the steps towards a democratic alliance of youth, which will be based on such a policy as:

(1) The unity of all the forces at home and abroad against aggression; to express the desire of youth to serve such a policy, while at the same time, participating in the A.R.P. machinery, and those measures of evacuation and defence in which a line can be drawn between supporting it and supporting the Government.

(2) The support for the *Youth Charter* with its points for the economic and social advance of the youth.

(3) Support for the idea of national fitness for democracy.

A series of proposals have been made in the statement on the *National Youth Campaign*, as to what can be done nationally and locally by the committees, such as deputations to the press locally, joint meetings of all the members of the local organisations, the registration of individual anti-fascist youth who agree with the policy in support of the campaign, which can be done in thousands, organisation of local youth conferences on national service, visitations to other democratic youth clubs, etc., the organisation of mass education and propaganda among the youth, and the organised participation in those forms of service such as A.R.P., first-aid, fire service and evacuation service, which we support.

The National Youth Campaign, in its statement, stresses the need to prepare now for the General Election by visiting and informing people of the programme, and the need for one candidate in each constituency in opposition to the Chamberlain candidate to achieve a government of peace and democracy.

On February 23, a few days after the Pilgrimage, Chamberlain spoke at Blackburn and there, in effect, gave his reply to the Pilgrimage by his "No drill, no dole" speech, an open attack on the unemployed youth.

The struggle is sharpening, the enemy will hit back at the democratic alliance of youth, therefore we must now go forward full speed for unity of democratic youth for the defeat of Chamberlain, for the strengthening of democracy.

One Year After the Annexation of Austria

By Karl Kneidinger

A YEAR has passed since the German army, with guns, tanks, and aeroplanes, invaded Austria. A year since Austrian independence was destroyed by Hitler's coup de force. A year since the people of Austria were brought under the yoke of Hitler's foreign rule.

It is against this *foreign rule* that the broad masses of the Austrian people are fighting, and great numbers of the young people are already taking part in this fight. A year ago illusions were still widespread among certain sections of Austrian youth, especially in the petty bourgeoisie, regarding the "socialism" of the Brown fascists. To these young people it seemed unthinkable that the phrases about the "community of the people," and "the glorious and happy future" in the Third Reich, should have been employed solely for demagogic reasons. Since the policy of the Schuschnigg Government greatly restricted the propaganda activities of the Young Socialists and Communists and had to be carried on illegally for the most part, the National Socialists were actually able to win over sections of the Austrian youth.

The chief reason for this was the hope that the economic position of the youth would really be improved. Austrian youth were suffering severely from extensive unemployment, which had hit the young people especially. Hence the Nazi promises to provide work for all young people aroused great hopes. But of course these young people meant decently paid work, and working conditions such as were customary in Austria.

Matters turned out differently. Thousands of young people between the ages of 14 and 17 were sent to Germany to work on the land, and have been forced to drudge for large landowners and East Elbian squires under slave conditions. Innumerable letters from these young Austrians to their relations have been so despairing that their families have been frightfully distressed, and have made strenuous efforts to get their boys back. One of these unhappy youths wrote: "The work is dreadfully hard. We have to get up at 5 o'clock. Work begins at 6 o'clock and lasts till nightfall. The only leisure time is from half past eight till ten in the evening. The food is mostly potatoes and coffee. Meat is a rarity. The treatment is very brutal. Much bad language is used in driving us to work, and clouts on the ear are common enough."

Since even the Nazi newspapers have had to admit, in the latest reports on the Land Service, that the youths have to work 60 hours a week, some idea may be gained of the degree of exploitation. The boys in their despair can think of no other way out than to run away. Within two months, no fewer than 22 out of 66 Land Service inmates of a camp in Pomerania ran away and returned to their homes.

The Labour Service is another institution as hated by Austrian youth as the Land Service. The young people quite rightly ask: If there is such a shortage of skilled labour, why is the Labour Service not done away with, since it keeps us away from our trades for six months? The resistance offered by the young Austrians in the Labour Service camps to drill, and to every worsening of living and working conditions, takes the same forms as the resistance of the German youth. But with the additional factor of national feeling. Only recently a Vienna daily paper wrote that in the Austrian Labour Service the principle was to be observed of giving Austrians positions of command. The idea of this is to pacify the feeling of the Austrians against the "Prussians." The paper adds however, quite incidentally, that there are *only* 400 leaders from Germany in the Austrian Labour service. When it is remembered that there are 20,000 Labour Service men in Austria, it may be easily calculated that there is a German commander to every 50 Austrians in the Labour Service. In the army matters are even worse. The soldiers suffer severely from the brutality of the German officers and N.C.O.s. With increasing frequency brutal officers are waylaid in quiet streets or remote spots, and beaten up by indignant young soldiers. Indignation aroused by these conditions prevails not only among the anti-fascists, but among the young Austrian National Socialists. The psychological effect may be easily imagined when a boy from Vienna,

or a peasant's son from beautiful Styria, is insulted by a "Prussian sergeant major" for some trifling matter, and is ordered to stand up before the whole company and say: "I am an Austrian swine who did not pay attention." This generates just as deadly a hatred in this young Austrian as a Frenchman or Englishman would feel if forced by Germans to say: "I am a French swine—or an English swine—..."

It is only a year since Hitler seized power in Austria, but the effects are already disastrous on the position and fate of Austrian youth. In consequence of the training of youth to commit acts of violence—as in the anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic pogroms,—more and more young people fall into bad ways, and the result is an enormous increase in juvenile crime. A mere glance at the headlines of the daily press demonstrates the frightful degeneration of youth. In one week alone we read: "Nineteen year old youth confesses murder," "Robbery with violence by youth of 20," "A sixteen year old murderer," "Robbery and assault in broad daylight" (two 16 years olds and one 19 year old), "Young gangsters discovered" (eight boys, some of them schoolboys, others apprentices), etc. (From Vienna Nazi newspapers in the first week in February.)

That young men can wield dagger and revolver better today than pencil and pen is all part and parcel of the education given youth by the Nazis. That this is not a mere assertion may be seen from a characteristic notice in the *Grazer Tagespost* of January 17.

"H.Y. DAGGER FOR NEW BORN BOYS"

A son was born to a Storm Trooper in Donauwörth, and he has been presented with a H.Y. dagger. This present is now to be given to every Storm Trooper on the occasion of the birth of a son.

Since in Austria the Nazi have only been able to win over a section of the youth, their policy with regard to the Hitler Youth and its development in Austria has been fundamentally different from that in Germany. The youth organisations of the Nazis in Austria are still unable to absorb all young people as laid down by the law, for the reason that in Austria there is a shortage of the suitable leaders required by Hitler to suppress the youth and to prepare them for war. The contradiction between the expectations of the former illegal H.Y. leaders and young Nazi activists, and even more of the members, and the actual results offered them by the Nazi regime is increasing. The German youth leaders distrusted the Austrians from the very beginning. Schoas, ex-leader of Austrian Hitler youth, only enjoyed his position for three days after the "victory" of his party, and was then supplanted by a German youth commissar. The H.Y. leaders of Vienna and Upper Austria, too, were deposed and replaced by Germans. The woman leader of the League of German Girls (B.D.M.) for all Austria, and the leader for Vienna, too, had to resign. Even the "Young Folk," the boys and girls of 10 to 14, found their organisations headed by "commissars" from Germany.

But even these "tried" confidential commissars of Hitler are unable to overcome the resistance and discontent of Austrian youth. One striking proof of this is the fact that the German "Youth Leader" *Wilhelm Busch*, appointed a year ago to reorganise the whole Austrian Hitler Youth, has now been transferred to another post as penalty for failure. He has now been replaced by a H.Y. leader from Cologne.

Although the Hitler Youth is equipped with a gigantic propaganda apparatus, it does not exercise much power of attraction on the Austrian youth, except perhaps among very young boys still attending or just leaving school. It is interesting to note that during the latest Winter Relief collections in Austria the membership of the Hitler Youth was stated to be 60,000, whilst in the Sudeten territory the number is 200,000. (Austria has more than double the population of the Sudeten). In Austria there are about one million youth of Hitler Youth age. The general worsening of the position of the population naturally hits youth hard. The father who brings home less wages because so much is deducted, the mother who sees food getting dearer from day to day, influence their children against the alien rule. The general feeling in Austria that "the Prussians are to blame for it all," expressing dissatisfaction

*H.Y.—Hitler Youth.

with the whole of the worsened conditions, is shared by the youth.

Unfortunately, there are some "Revolutionary Socialists of Austria" abroad, including the leaders of the "R.S. Youth," who are endeavouring to prove that there is no national factor at all in Austria, and that the annexation of Austria is a historical advance. But even the Nazis, who have more reason than the "Revolutionary Socialists" to adduce such arguments, find themselves constantly obliged to reckon with the feeling in the Austrian people and their hatred of the "Prussians," and to combat it in the Nazi newspapers.

In the whole conflict there is one definite factor, the fact that Austrian youth, whatever their political opinions or sympathies, all resolutely oppose the endeavours of the Germans to exterminate everything Austrian. A drastic example of the extermination madness of the Germans, as shown in small matters, is given by an angry article in the leading newspaper of the Hitler Youth, 15/10/38, against a Viennese baker's boy who had whistled the well-known song: "Vienna, city of my dreams." According to this paper, it is a crime to-day for an Austrian to prefer peaceful pleasant melodies to the war songs of the German fascists. This treading underfoot by Prussian jackboot of everything dear to the Austrians has the effect of awakening national pride among Austrian youth, and of arousing an inflexible determination to free themselves from this forced rule.

The threatening war danger, the danger of having to go to war for the interests of the German imperialists, for Hitler or Mussolini, is causing the utmost perturbation among Austrian youth, for there has never been any intention in Austria to attack anyone. The progressive youth of Austria hope that the forces of democracy, especially in France and Britain, will succeed in calling a halt to the robber plans of the German and Italian fascists. Any yielding to Hitler fascism is at the same time a blow against Austrian youth, against the Austrian people, for it strengthens this alien rule, giving it thereby more power, and enabling it to suppress with even greater brutality every sign of resistance on the "home front."

Greetings from the Young Communist International to Comrade Dimitroff

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Dear Comrade Dimitroff,

On the occasion of this day, the Twentieth Anniversary of the Communist International, we send to you, the Stalinist guide, to the Communist International and to all the Executive Committee, our warm and revolutionary greetings.

The establishment of the Communist International, under the leadership of the victorious Bolshevik Party and the guidance of Lenin and Stalin, was an event of world historic importance.

At the call of the Communist International, the young revolutionary generation of the proletariat united in the ranks of the Young Communist International.

The Young Communist International, founded by Lenin, is proud of being a Section of the Communist International. It sees in the Communist International the real guide and friend of the young workers.

The Trotskyists, traitors in the pay of fascism, tried by every possible means, with the aid of the most suspicious intrigues, to create a split between the Communist International and the Young Communist International. But the criminal plans of these vile enemies of the people collapsed when faced with the loyalty and devotion of the Young Communist International towards the Communist International. The Young Communist International will always be a loyal and militant support for the Communist International.

The loyalty of the Young Communist International towards the Communist International is expressed in its boundless affection for Comrade Stalin, the great friend and educator of youth. The loyalty of the Young Communist International is expressed by its great affection for you, Comrade Dimitroff. Your proud and militant eloquence before the fascist hangmen of Leipzig has found a profound echo in the hearts of the toiling youth of the

whole world and has drawn millions of young people into the fight against fascism.

The Communist Youth of the whole world is now working in the spirit of the wise counsel which you gave us at the time of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International.

Long live the Communist International of Lenin and Stalin, and its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff!

Long live the great Stalin, the brilliant guide of the world proletariat!

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The Youth of Scandinavia

By Philip Forsberg

THE Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark, play a most important part in international trade. Together with the two other countries of the North, Finland and Iceland, they represent a great economic Power.

These countries occupy third place in the world from the point of view of merchant shipping tonnage, and sixth place for export of war materials. They furnish 71 per cent. of the world's supply of celluloid, an indispensable ingredient in the manufacture of explosives. Northern Scandinavia is the world's most important centre of exportation of fish and pig-meat. And, finally, Sweden supplies Germany with over 50 per cent. of the iron which is at present necessary in the armaments industry of that country.

The strategic position of the Nordic countries has attracted the attention of German fascism which would like to subject them to its influence. In the south, Scandinavia is Germany's neighbour. The frontier here—between Denmark and Germany—was defined in accordance with a plebiscite which took place shortly after the first imperialist world war. This plebiscite showed that a large majority of the population was in favour of the frontier as it exists at present. In the southern Jutland frontier region, the German population is no more than 15 per cent.

Denmark has granted all possible national rights to this small German minority. Nevertheless, the German fascists have for long been clamouring that "this oppressed brother people awaits its liberation." For some time past, the fascists have been carrying on increasing activity on these lines in South Jutland. They are conducting a furious propaganda campaign, and are employing terrorist measures against the non-fascist inhabitants.

The agents of Hitler-fascism are veritably swarming in the northern countries. A centre of espionage was recently discovered there which was managed by a murderer of Karl Liebknecht. The leaders of this centre were in Copenhagen, but the network possessed numerous branches in a number of other Scandinavian towns.

The only response made to these sinister activities of the German fascists by the Social-Democratic Governments of Scandinavia consists of a policy of concessions and surrender. In spite of widespread opposition among their own people, the Governments of Denmark, Norway and Sweden have yielded to German pressure and decided to recognise the Franco rebel authorities as the Spanish Government.

Furthermore, Sweden and Finland have decided, in the interests of German fascism, to fortify the Aland Islands—in the Gulf of Bothnia, and hitherto neutralised by agreement with the League of Nations—although this is contrary to the desire of the population of the islands. An article which recently appeared in the Nazi *Voelkischer Beobachter*, demonstrates Germany's deep interest in this matter. We quote a revealing phrase from this article:

"The possessor of the Aland Islands could without difficulty make a panther's spring to Leningrad, Stockholm and Helsingfors."

Encouraged by the capitulationist policy of the Scandinavian Governments, Hitlerism is becoming more exacting every day. Two journalists on the staff of the Danish Conservative daily, *Politiken*, have been discharged on Berlin's order, because their articles displeased Hitler. The Swedish Foreign Minister, a socialist, circularised all Swedish newspapers, requesting them

to avoid publication of anything which might "offend" the German fascists.

Public opinion in Denmark was recently greatly incensed by reports of the trial of some fascists who had poisoned the well of an anti-fascist farmer in Southern Jutland. Under pressure from the German Government, the court acquitted the accused. Similar instances of capitulation by the Scandinavian Governments could be cited without end.

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The Social-Democratic youth federations are the largest young people's anti-fascist organisations in Scandinavia. These federations are closely connected with the Social-Democratic Parties, which are at present in power. For this reason, the leaders of these organisations consider it their duty to support their governments, even in their foreign policy of continuous capitulation.

At the time of the annexation by Hitler of Austria, for example, the organ of the Swedish Social-Democratic Youth League sought to justify the attitude of the bourgeois-democratic countries by saying that it was "the sole natural solution." Similar arguments were put forward in order to justify the betrayal of Czechoslovakia to the aggressor. With regard to the Spanish civil war, for some time the Scandinavian Socialist Youth Press maintained that the fall of the Republic was but a matter of some few weeks, thus tending to spread pessimism among the young anti-fascists.

However, recent events—the Munich betrayal and the terrible German pogroms—have caused a strengthening of anti-fascist feeling in Scandinavian countries. The toiling youth has realised that Munich, instead of having saved peace, has betrayed it. The young generation of Scandinavia is tending more and more to refuse its support to a policy of capitulation which would sooner or later lead to the loss of national independence and the destruction of democracy.

The youth desires to struggle actively against fascism and to prevent the Scandinavian countries from falling beneath the heel of Hitler-Germany. To a great extent, this explains the fact that the fascist youth movements in Scandinavia are at present declining rapidly. For example, the Swedish "National Union," which two years ago boasted of 40,000 members, now has only 15,000. The reactionary Danish youth organisation, *Conservative Youth*, at its last congress was forced to admit the fact that its numbers have declined to 6,000—an estimate which is particularly optimistic. The Swedish fascist organisation, the "Swedish National-Socialist Workers' Party," has considered it advisable to modify its aspect, and so now calls itself the "Swedish Socialist Union," and has abandoned the use of the swastika as its badge. In a secret circular, issued by this body to its members—a circular of which the Communist Party obtained a copy and subsequently published—it is explained that these changes are dictated by the necessity of adaptation to new circumstances, and that they in no way signify any diminution of the fascist faith of the movement.

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The Scandinavian *Young Communist Leagues* consider it their task to collaborate with the socialist youth organisations. Scandinavia is the centre of the Young Socialist International. The Swedish, Norwegian and Danish Social-Democratic Youth Leagues make up more than half the membership of the Young Socialist International, without counting Spain. To secure a united front in Scandinavia would be to bring the leading bodies of the Young Socialist International into the path of unity.

In the past, the struggle between the Communist and Socialist youth movements of Scandinavia had attained an intensely acute degree. It, therefore, became an urgently necessary task to dispel this tension and create in its place an atmosphere of co-operation. In this domain, some very sound results have already been obtained, although much still remains to be done along these lines.

The first link forged between the Communist and Socialist youth was that of co-operation in and to Republican Spain. This movement had a very considerable extension, particularly in Sweden, and brought into its orbit the mass of the anti-

fascist youth. In Sweden, about 400 committees of aid to the Spanish people were formed, in which both Communists and Socialist youth bodies co-operated. The excellent results secured by these joint committees are in themselves the best proof of the need for such close co-operation. In Norway, the movement for aid to Spain also yielded excellent results. Joint action to aid Spain has shown that co-operation of both Communist and Socialist young people's organisations is not only possible, but that it is precisely such co-operation which forms the real basis of any genuine anti-fascist activity.

In spite of this, however, it must be admitted that the results obtained in the field of united action of the two youth bodies are still unsatisfactory. This inadequacy is manifested chiefly by the very insufficient participation by the youth organisations within the committees of the *Youth World Congress* movement.

It is true that the constitution of these committees in all the Scandinavian countries represents a great success. In Sweden, the committees represent 25 youth organisations, with a membership of some 250,000, but the Social-Democratic youth organisations have not yet decided to take part. In Denmark, the committee of the World Youth Congress movement represents 12 youth organisations, especially student organisations and the Radical youth. But, in Denmark also, the Socialist youth is not yet represented on this committee.

In Norway, the World Youth Congress committee, quite recently formed, includes both Young Communists and Young Socialists in its representation.

In all these committees, the Young Communist League is working with the chief aim of achieving the unity of all forces of youth.

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The *Young Communist Leagues* are the most determined defenders of Scandinavian youth.

The Swedish League has drafted a programme of economic and cultural demands, including questions of the right to work, education, leisure, and so on.

The Danish Y.C.L. is engaged at present in drafting a similar programme.

Recently, great emphasis has been laid upon the question of suitable and cheap living accommodation for the youth. The housing question is one of outstanding importance in all Scandinavian countries, particularly in the larger cities. For example, in Stockholm rents are higher than in any other city in Europe: a young worker has to pay at least one-quarter of his wage as rent for very restricted accommodation.

Another extremely urgent question for the Scandinavian youth is that of vocational training. All the Scandinavian Young Communist Leagues, therefore, have seriously taken up this problem.

The struggle to secure fulfilment of the economic and cultural demands of the youth must occupy a very important place; for this struggle strengthens the faith of the youth in democracy and frustrates the demagogic endeavours of the reactionaries. The Scandinavian Young Communist Leagues are exerting every effort to link up the struggle to defend national independence and for democracy with the struggle for the economic and cultural demands of the youth.

The menace of Hitler-fascism, the sworn enemy of the independence of small nations and the enemy of democracy and youth, is looming over the Nordic countries. A great task confronts the youth of these lands: to develop within its ranks the resolute will to defend its rights and its frontiers. In order to do this, it must be demonstrated that fascism is not invincible, that it possesses no solid base and that its solutions have failed.

The young Scandinavians know that they have at their side, in this struggle, the democratic youth of all lands, and particularly of the Soviet Union, the strongest country in the world and the greatest defender of small peoples against fascism. The support of the Soviet Union gives the Scandinavian youth the assurance of victory in its struggle, and it will fight with determination to accomplish the great tasks which history has set for it.

The Youth of France Against Cowardice

By Elie Duguet.

THE experiences of these last few years, rich in events both at home and abroad, have greatly strengthened anti-fascist feeling among the masses of the French youth. The toiling youth has seen the Popular Front in power, bringing to it holidays with pay, the forty-hour week and other social legislation.

To-day it sees Daladier, supported by the reactionary and fascist parties, deprive it of all these advantages once gained. While once French youth had regained its hope and confidence in the future, it now sees dark prospects again looming. It feels the defeat of the Popular Front as its own defeat.

As for the young French Christians; not only have they appreciated the benefits brought by the Popular Front, but they have also learned much from the religious persecution going on in Germany and Austria, and they are far from feeling any sympathy with the fascist parties.

The students who, in February, 1934, were mainly influenced by the fascist organisations, and who, in 1935, went on strike against Professor Jèze—adviser to the Abyssinian government—and against sanctions on Mussolini, are now demonstrating against the claims of the Italian dictator.

In February, 1934, the French youth was divided into two nearly equal camps. But nowadays, in spite of the difficulties created by the Munich accomplices, more and more signs are showing how the youth is attached to the Popular Front and how little it favours the fascists.

In one word, the French youth has enjoyed the experience of a Popular Front Government supported by the people, and has been able to compare it, not only with the reactionary governments which preceded it in 1934-35, but also with the present one of M. Daladier. At the same time it has witnessed fascism in power in Germany, causing misery and wars of aggression, and destroying all political and religious liberty.

It is true that, for a while, Munich affected to some extent certain elements of the youth of France, even within the ranks of the working-class youth. For a moment it appeared as if the French youth was again to be divided and to resort to internecine struggle; but with each day the treachery of Munich becomes more obvious.

Ready, as it was in 1934, to fight fascism at home, the youth of France cannot resign itself to be crushed by fascism abroad; and it is able to judge the extent of the blow dealt to France both by the "Non-Intervention" policy and by the Munich betrayal.

The French youth opposes the Munich "settlement" because it realises, more vividly each day, that Munich has not saved peace. It opposes Munich because it sees to-day that Munich has also implied the decree-laws of France and their tragic consequences. It opposes Munich because it can see that Munich signifies a policy of fascism both in home and foreign affairs, against the people, against France and against peace.

Nevertheless, there are some who—while they are unable publicly to extol the Munich policy—pretend that they "substitute the struggle for peace for the struggle against fascism." They claim that to capitulate to the demands of fascism is "to make a sacrifice for peace." They appear not to realise that to capitulate means to deliver us over to Hitler bound hand and foot, it is to hand him the big stick with which to belabour us. This capitulation would mean to abandon the very conception of the Popular Front, and thus of all the improvement made in our living and working conditions; it would mean the abandonment of all the liberties gained by our fathers throughout years of struggle; it would mean the acceptance of a servitude which would lead inevitably to war.

Those who advocate surrender fail to see that concessions mean the strengthening of the aggressive powers; that, far from bringing us peace, they would inevitably lead the youth of France into the next war launched by the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

The realisation of the plan described in "Mein Kampf," to isolate and encircle France, in order to destroy her, would then permit the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo war Axis to turn to aggression against the Soviet Union. And it would be young Frenchmen who would be forced, by the machine-guns and bayonets of Storm Troopers in their rear, to attack the country of victorious Socialism.

To surrender to fascist demands—from wheresoever they proceed—is not to save peace but to prepare for our generation a most cruel and unhappy future.

The struggle of the French youth for the defence of the country against the combined forces of national and international fascism is carried on jointly with the struggle of the revolutionary and progressive youth of the whole world. German, Austrian, Italian and Spanish young Socialists and Communists are to-day fighting, side by side with young Frenchmen, against the common enemy.

The fascism of Hitler and Mussolini realises that opposed to it is the unity of the progressive and revolutionary youth of the world. There is not a single intelligent young worker, not a democratic organisation of youth anywhere in the world—in Great Britain, in the Scandinavian countries or in Central Europe—which would assume the defence of Hitler, of his warmongering plans and his scheme for the enslavement of all humanity.

On November 21, 1938, Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, stated at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party:

"More and more in France we shall have to put this question: Who is for or against Hitler? Who is against Hitler means: against Munich, against dishonour, against slavery; and for France and for peace. Who is for Hitler means: for Munich, for humiliation, for slavery; against France and against peace."

This truth applies not only to France but to the entire younger generation of Europe. Who is against Hitler? The sections of the Socialist and Communist Internationals have already replied. The democratic youth organisations in all countries have replied. The young Christians, persecuted by fascism, have replied. The French youth, on the eve of the 150th anniversary of the great French Revolution, could have no more splendid task than to take the leadership in the struggle against the war-mongers who have sworn to erase the glories of 1789 from the pages of history.

Young Communists, young Socialists, shall we then resign ourselves at the very moment when, before all history, the noblest part is assigned to us: that of closing the road in our country and in the world to the advance of the forces of reaction and war? The progressive youth of the world to-day places in our hands the anti-fascist flag of struggle against war and servitude. Young Communists and Socialists, let us proudly accept it. It is not the flag of chauvinism—of that we may be sure. It is the flag of liberty as against slavery, of peace as against the war-mongers, of progress as against reaction. It is the flag of a young generation on the march towards a new world.

The Light of Hope

By Raymond Guyot

(Article published in the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of March 4, 1939, on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Communist International.)

WHEN the stormy ocean heaves its mighty billows, the beam of a distant lighthouse appears to the eyes of the sailors brighter than ever, bringing new hope to their hearts.

Thus appears our glorious *Communist International* at the beginning of 1939, its 20th anniversary, in the eyes of the working people of all the countries in the world suffering under capitalist oppression and exploitation. The "old world" of exploitation of man by man in its supreme effort to save itself from collapse, bankruptcy and death, brings down upon the people reaction, war and fascism.

In capitalist countries, the new generations entering upon their conscious life at the age of fifteen, are involved in that infernal whirlwind where all their adolescent dreams of a life with a purpose, a life of freedom and happiness, are violently crushed.

Youth is an impulse for life. The contradiction between the young generation of workers and fascism is deep and manifests itself in a brutal form. The youth will not accept without anger and revolt the blood-stained rule of fascism which breaks the heart, destroys the spirit and leads inevitably to war for the defence of trusts and banks.

The youth will not allow itself to be pushed out of industry without rebellion, or be mercilessly exploited or deprived of

apprenticeship. Neither will students accept a future without prospects. The unemployment of intellectuals is a current theme in the literature of 1939. It is to this tormented oppressed and exploited youth that the Communist International offers a future life worth living and traces a road of liberation and independence where the youthful virtues of ardour, enthusiasm and heroism will be put to the service of the just cause of progressive humanity. We appeal to the youth to combine every step of their studies, education and instruction with the participation in the common struggle of all workers against the exploiters.

That is how *Lenin*, the great founder of the Communist International, understood the duties of youth. The struggle for the ideal of Communism and freedom is the most important contribution of the Communist International on its 20th anniversary to the young generation of workers of the whole world.

In October, 1917, *Lenin* and *Stalin*, and the glorious Bolshevik party at the head of the workers and peasants and all the peoples of the immense Russian Empire, showed to the world, to the workers and common people of all the countries, that it was possible to defeat and smash feudalism and capitalism. On the ruins of the "old world" the construction of Socialism has become a reality on one sixth of the earth's surface. In 1920 *Lenin* defined the task of the young generation of the Soviet Union as follows:

"The generation of people at present 50 years old, cannot expect to see the dawn of the Communist society. They will not live so long. But the generation of people at present who are fifteen years old will witness the Communist society and construct it themselves, and this generation should realise that the whole aim of its life is the building up of this society."

To-day, eighteen years after *Lenin* had spoken these words, the Soviet country, under the guidance of our dear Comrade *Stalin*, has entered upon the phase of the construction of the Communist society. A striking proof of it is found in the proposed modification of the statutes of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. at its 18th Congress, where it was said:

"The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has assured the predominance of the Socialist economic system. . . . During the years of socialist construction, all the exploiting elements such as capitalists, merchants, kulaks and speculators have been eliminated."

What a lesson and a blow in the face for all those cowards and traitors who try to smuggle into the movement of the working-class youth ideas of capitulation before fascism, for all those who, after having approved the shameful dictates of Munich, now continue to repeat: "Servitude rather than death," for all those who having betrayed the cause of Republican Spain and peace, make us believe that "nothing can be done."

Stalin shows to the whole world that victory is possible but to achieve it we must fight under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. The Soviet Union, the land of freedom, well-being and peace, is a living proof of the possibility, nay, the certainty of the workers' victory. This is the second contribution of the Communist International on its 20th anniversary to the young generation of the whole world.

In fighting under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the youth will learn that the spirit of self-sacrifice and heroism is not enough for victory. It is also essential to have a guide to unify, educate and lead the workers in the battle. This guide is the *Communist Party*.

Lenin and *Stalin* have taken particular care in determining the tasks of the party for the winning of the working youth and its preparation for the duties of communists. Even before and during the imperialist war, *Lenin* made a special study of the decisive questions for the penetration of Marxist ideas into the ranks of the younger generation. Amongst the numerous writings of *Lenin*, his article "Enlistment in the Army of 183 Students" and his memorandum "The Youth International," determined the attitude of youth towards Communism at the end of the war of 1914-1918 and led to the foundation of the Young Communist International.

Lenin's speech *The Tasks of the Youth Federations* delivered on October 2, 1920, at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Komsomols (Young Communist League of Russia) and

Stalin's *The Tasks of the Komsomols* written in reply to the questions put by the editors of the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in connection with the seventh anniversary on October 29, 1925, of the Leninist Komsomol, have definitely fixed the essential line of the programme and the guiding lines for the activities of the Young Communist Leagues all over the world.

At present, the Young Communist International, with its advance guard "The Komsomol," under the guidance of the Communist International and its leader, Comrade *Dimitroff*, has become a world-wide organisation of the youth. Guided by the example of the Komsomol, the Communist youth of *Spain* and *China* are fighting heroically against the imperialist and fascist invaders at the head of the whole youth of their respective countries. In *France* and *England* the young Communists are the spearhead of the struggle of the youth for the chasing from power of *Daladier* and *Chamberlain*, those enemies of democracy and peace.

The *Young Communist International*, this world organisation of young workers which educates the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, is the third contribution of the Communist International on its 20th anniversary to the young generation of workers all over the world.

Enormous tasks are awaiting the world movement of young communists. We will have to undergo difficult and hard trials. It is essential, at present, for all young communists to realise it fully.

Fighting faithfully under the guidance of the Communist International, however, the Young Communist International, on its way to victory will come through all these formidable trials with honour. Comrade *Dimitroff* in his speech at the 6th Congress of the Young Communist International in September, 1935, indicated to the youth movement the key to victory:

"With what can we counter fascism and the threat of imperialist war? It is possible and it is necessary to oppose them by the union of all the anti-fascist forces and first of all by the union of the forces of the young generation of workers, by a thousand-fold increase of the role of activity of youth in the struggle of the working-class for its interests, for its cause."

Guided by the general line of Comrade *Dimitroff*, the young Communists of *Spain* have set an example to the world of organisational anti-fascist unity with the young Socialists. It will soon be three years since the young Communists and Socialists of *Spain* united in struggle with arms in their hands against the invaders, *Hitler* and *Mussolini*. We are proud of the *Spanish* youth. We are proud to remember that in the battles of *Catalonia* the unified youth remained united, firm and heroic by the side of the Communist Party of *Spain*, fighting against the cowards, panic-mongers and traitors. At present, the unified youth is still as firm as ever in the defence of the central and south zone under the most difficult conditions. Glory is the heritage of the united Communist and Socialist youth of *Spain*. A cause for which the whole *Spanish* youth with "songs on their lips" is ready to sacrifice itself, is invincible.

It is unity and once more unity which will permit the young Communists all over the world to render more efficient aid to *Republican Spain* and to break the iron circle of the fascists and their allies, *Chamberlain* and *Daladier*.

In their struggle against the menace of *Hitler*, against the policy of betrayal of the *Daladier-Bonnet* government, in the display of solidarity (in one day on February 5 the young Communists of *France* collected 1,500,00 francs) the *French Young Communist League* was able to enlist the co-operation of a greater number of young Socialists, republicans and even Catholic workers. The same may be said of *England*, *United States of America*, *Belgium* and *Scandinavia*.

Another hopeful sign is the increased activity of youth against fascism, reaction and war in all these countries. Recently in central Europe and the Balkan countries, the recent *World Youth Congress of New York* is another example of youth movement.

Unity of working-class youth will triumph. The

Communists, brought up in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, shall raise higher than ever the banner of joint uncompromising struggle against the dogs of fascism. Unity of working-class youth, the unification of the young generation of the common people, this is the fourth contribution of the Communist International on its 20th anniversary to the young generation of the whole world.

In the Country of Socialism

Lenin's Companion is no Longer With Us

IN Moscow, on February 26 at 6 o'clock in the morning, passed away a woman whose name will go down in history and whose memory will be respected by all the people who fight for their freedom, *Nadiesda Konstantinovna Krupskaya*, the widow of Lenin.

It was only on the eve of that day that the Bolshevik Party, the Government and the whole Soviet country congratulated this most close collaborator of Lenin on her seventieth birthday. Alas, illness carried away from us one who, during half a century of her glorious life right to the last breath of her existence, dedicated herself to the victory of Communism.

The Soviet people have lost their spiritual Mother. From all parts of the world messages of condolence are being received; before her mortal remains lying at rest in the Hall of Columns of the Palace of Trade Unions, 500,000 people, with the recognised heroes of the Soviet Union and representatives of the workers of all lands amongst them, came to pay their tribute bringing their last and heartfelt homage to the great Bolshevik.

Wreaths and flowers with touching inscriptions were piling up around the coffin. *Krupskaya* is gone, but her memory will live for ever in the great Bolshevik Party which guides millions upon millions of men. It will live in the gratitude of these men.

On March 1 at 12 o'clock at night relatives and friends of *Krupskaya* conveyed her remains to the crematorium. After the cremation the urn containing her ashes was taken back to the Hall of Columns, where, from early morning a tide of humanity was pressing again at the doors. At 4.30 p.m. the funeral procession was formed and the urn taken to the Red Square which was, together with the adjacent streets, black with surging crowds. The procession was headed by a sea of wreaths and the decorations of the deceased borne on a red cushion. On the main stand by the side of the mausoleum were the members of the Soviet Government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Then Comrade *Shvernik*, *Leonova*, *Shcherbakov* recalled the life of this valiant woman.

Krupskaya started her life of a militant quite young and dedicated herself to it continuously. In 1896 she was arrested for active participation in the organisation of a strike. After imprisonment and five years' deportation, she went abroad where she carried out a most intricate task of establishing contact between Lenin and the illegal workers in Russia and supplying literature to the organisations in Russia.

In 1905 she returned to Russia with Lenin at the outbreak of the revolution. She worked hard and during the years of repression that followed the failure of this first revolution, she established the contact with Russia; she fought vigorously against the tendencies hostile to the party.

As soon as the revolutionary movement was again on the upgrade, Lenin and *Krupskaya* took up domicile in Cracow near to the Russian frontier wherefrom she supplied articles to the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*, edited by Stalin and Molotov, and established contact with the Bolshevik deputies of the Duma.

On her return to Russia after the overthrow of Tzarism, *Krupskaya* was day and night with the people explaining to them the revolutionary slogans of Lenin; when the latter had to be in hiding escaping the persecution of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government, she established the contact between him and the Central Committee of the Party. She took an active part in the October revolution and in the building of Socialism, working without rest in spite of her long illness; as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. she put her duties of a Bolshevik above everything else.

What a wonderful example to the youth, this life of *Nadiesda Krupskaya*!

Soviet Youth and the 18th Congress of the Bolshevik Party

SOVIET youth has never experienced the horrors of capitalist slavery. It only knows from books and papers what unemployment means to the youth. Its present and its future are assured as far as work and education are concerned, it can enter any educational centre it pleases and study anything in which it is interested. The Socialist society helps the youth which in its turn assists the Socialist society. A young man or woman in the Soviet Union feels every moment of his or her life that he is a valuable collaborator and citizen of a Socialist state.

This wonderful youth has grown up with the Socialist society. They are both children of the workers' revolution and its leader, the Bolshevik Party. Soviet youth has been educated by this glorious party, by their leaders, Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet youth never forgets it. It is the most conscious youth in the world and it is most grateful to the Bolshevik Party which guided it in the struggle for the happy and beautiful life, it is full of gratitude for the well-being acquired for the young generation of the country of Socialism.

It is not surprising that this glorious youth has welcomed with enthusiasm the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) for the calling of the Eighteenth Congress of the party.

THE IMPETUOUS SOARING OF PRODUCTIVE AND CREATIVE FORCES THROUGHOUT THE LAND

The news of this great event spread rapidly throughout the country. The hearts of hundreds of thousands of the workers in the U.S.S.R. were filled with abounding joy. An impetuous soaring of productive and creative forces spread throughout the land.

The young Communists and the youth of Moscow, the Soviet capital, and the great industrial centre of Leningrad were the first to start Socialist competition for the best preparation for the Congress.

The delegates to the Fifth Conference of the Leningrad Young Communist League issued a call to all the young patriots of the country challenging them to develop on an even greater scale the mass *Stakhanovite* movement, to organise special "Eighteenth Congress" Youth Brigades, to study even better the Marxist-Leninist theory, to advance with greater boldness the Soviet science, culture and art, to prepare hundreds of thousands of presents to the Motherland.

The youth of the country responded whole-heartedly to this appeal. The youth brigade of the steel foundry *Degtiarov* (*Dzerzhinsky Works*, Ukraine) undertook to produce in honour of the Congress, 1,120 tons of high quality steel in excess of the plan. The brigade of the young foreman, *Danilov*, of the locomotive and waggon repair shop of Kiev, decided to become completely *Stakhanovite* by the day of the Congress. In the machine and tractor station of *Meletovo* of the Saratov region, the "Eighteenth Congress" youth brigade undertook to repair almost double the number of tractors scheduled in the plan. In the enterprises, in the collective farms, on the railways, there are hundreds of thousands of such brigades.

Soviet youth knows that every ton of steel or coal, every bushel of wheat, every cubic metre of wood in excess of the plan, every increase in the productivity of labour provides the Socialist Motherland with new means of defence, makes it even more invulnerable to the designs and provocations of fascist aggressors. Soviet youth works for itself, it "forges its own happiness" in the complete sense of this term. Work does not lie heavy on its shoulders. It is a matter of honour and valour, because it gathers the fruits of its own labour, because the products of its work cannot be grabbed by a handful of parasitic capitalists.

The competition between the schools of mechanisation of agriculture has greatly developed. For the award of prizes to the foremost workers, the Central Committee of the Young Communist League and the People's Commissariat of the U.S.S.R. for agriculture have allocated nineteen awards ranging from three to twenty thousand roubles each for schools and forty-six individual prizes amounting to the total of 20,000 roubles.

The Communist youth and all youth of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and Navy also take an active part in the competition preparation for the Congress. The honoured pilot

of the N. unit, Comrade *Tveresi*, undertook in the name of his detachment to acquire by the date of the Congress, first class marks for firing of projectiles, anti-aircraft gunnery, navigation and political training.

The sailors and commanders of the battleship *Marat* have undertaken to master the military technique, passing tests as good and excellent only, to increase revolutionary vigilance and to guard military secrets zealously. They have challenged all the sailors, commanders and the political workers of the Workers' and Peasants' Navy to follow their example.

THE SHORT COURSE OF THE HISTORY OF THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY IS THE FAVOURITE BOOK OF THE YOUTH

Soviet youth who sees in the Bolshevik party its leader and teacher, naturally desires to learn the history of this party. The short course of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) published only a few months ago, has already become the favourite companion of all the foremost young builders of Socialism. Thousands of young Soviet workers, young Communist League militants and intellectuals have started a serious study of the revolutionary theory.

They understand perfectly well, writes the *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, that without the knowledge of revolutionary theory it is impossible to lead successfully the work entrusted to everyone of us by the party and by the Soviet Government. It is impossible to lead successfully the men engaged in production, to educate and instruct the youth, without the knowledge of the laws of social evolution.

The Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) is the favourite book of the Soviet youth. The book relates to the youth how the Bolshevik party led the struggle for Socialism, for the cause of youth. Armed by this precious book the young generation welcomes the Eighteenth Congress of the Bolshevik party with the full knowledge that this Congress is a further step on the road towards complete Communism.

Young Intelligentsia of the Country of Highest Culture

AN old proverb says—"Knowledge is power." Conscious of this truth, man strives continually after knowledge. In the class struggle knowledge is a sharp weapon, and precisely for this reason the ruling classes have cut off the broad masses of the population from the sources of knowledge. And when men have risen from the masses in spite of this and have learned to master this sharp weapon, they have been forced to remain silent. Not only books and works of art have been consigned to the flames, great men, too, have been burned at the stake.

Men and women are no longer burned at the stake. Blood-thirsty fascism loves the axe, for this is bloodier, and better fits the fascist psychology of "blood and iron." "We do not need any learned men—we need soldiers" shrieks Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess, foaming with rage. Hess is certainly not a learned man, and perhaps not a soldier either.

The pogrom makers are not satisfied with having reduced the number of college students in Germany from 137,000 to 61,000 during their despotic reign. A fresh campaign has again set in against the intelligentsia, for fascism is afraid of people with knowledge.

The pogrom actions against the intelligentsia in all fascist countries have caused a section of this intelligentsia to fall into despair. The invasion of Austria by Hitler's troops was accompanied by a wave of suicides among the Austrian intelligentsia. It is not only the intelligentsia of the "conquered" countries who find no other means of escape than suicide. Many representatives of the intelligentsia in Germany, too, have chosen the same path.

It need not be said that the best representatives of the intelligentsia have not chosen the desperate solution of suicide. But they could not place themselves at the service of fascism, and therefore they have chosen exile, or have stayed in their country to fight against the rule of the barbarians of to-day, the executioners of the German people.

THE NEW INTELLIGENTSIA

In the midst of this brutalisation, it is a pleasure to cast a glance to the East of Europe, to the Soviet Union, and see the new intelligentsia of this magnificent country. These are new men and women, rising out of a people who are not bent beneath the yoke of fascism. These are the creators of a new civilisation.

A YOUNG DOCTOR OF PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE

Before me there stands a young Soviet scientist, 27 years of age, doctor of physical and mathematical sciences. A fairly tall man, lean, energetic. Obviously he does not care to talk much, but the words he speaks are resolute, full of conviction and certainty. He is the son of a peasant. Until 1929 he worked as a wood turner. He had had a secondary school education and was able to enter the physics and mathematics faculty of the university of the city of Kasan. "But I longed for practical activity"—he tells me—"and I left this study fairly soon and tried to enter the aviation school."

This dream was, however, shattered by the medical commission.

He then continued his studies at the university, but this time in Moscow. For the second time he abandoned university study, this time to take part in the building of the famous "Turksib" (Turkestan-Siberian Railway). In 1932 he returned to the university and continued his studies. In October, 1938, he wrote his dissertation and took his degree as professor of Moscow University.

He speaks enthusiastically of the Soviet State, which has given him the opportunity of becoming a scientist.

"I am of the opinion that this is the explanation why people develop so quickly in our country. I remember the students who studied at the same time as myself, and graduated with me in 1934. Now they have leading positions as engineers."

And not these alone! Figures show that the number of engineers and technicians, totalling only 62,000 in the whole of Soviet industries in 1925, had increased to 578,000 by 1937. And all these men and women are from the people.

PROFESSOR AT TWENTY YEARS OF AGE

The whole world knows the famous Soviet violinist Fichtenholz, a boy 18 years of age, who with other Soviet musicians carried off the prize at the international violinists' contest in Brussels in 1937. The Soviet musicians won five of the six first places.

What is the secret of these successes?

Many people in the West cannot understand it. But the matter seems simple enough to Soviet youth, to the victor Misha Fichtenholz. When explaining, he instanced the failure of the violinist from fascist Italy:

"An Italian violinist told us that he had had to sell his overcoat in order to pay his fare to Brussels. He had to play in cabarets in the evenings in Brussels in order to live. Forced to study and to prepare for the competition under such disadvantages, he could not possibly achieve good results, and he won no prize."

"We Soviet violinists"—he continued—"work under very different conditions. I, for instance, was accorded a grant whilst I was still a child, enabling me to live comfortably. I was given 500 roubles a month. Eighteen months ago the Government granted me a beautiful four roomed flat in Moscow. I have a wonderful violin, one which might be the dream of the world's most famous violinists. It is a Stradivarius, and its value is estimated at 40,000 gold roubles. This violin is the property of the State, and I have been given the use of it. All the other violinists—prize winners at the Brussels contest—have violins of equal value. Thus you see, we live under magnificent conditions. All we have to do is to work and perfect our mastery of our art."

Thus a master of Soviet music. He is a clever and energetic boy, full of plans for the future and certain of further success. He knows exactly what he is going to do:

"In the autumn of 1938 I graduated from the Moscow Music Academy with the highest diploma, and my name was entered on the golden roll. Now I am studying in the aspirants department. After finishing this I shall do pedagogic work."

"Professor at twenty!" cried his listener in astonishment. Yes, but this is something which no youth can attain in fascist Germany, in Italy, or even in bourgeois-democratic France!

"IT SEEMS LIKE A FAIRY TALE TO WESTERN EYES."

Such brilliant examples as these of the development of the young intelligentsia might be multiplied without end, hundreds and thousands may be found in every sphere of work in every part of this wonderful country. A new indigenous intelligentsia has sprung up in the U.S.S.R., "bound up by every fibre with the working class and the peasantry" (Stalin). But this is not all. Molotov speaks, in his theses for the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) of the raising of the cultural technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technicians. It is not for nothing that the great anti-fascist writer Thomas Mann has written: "It seems like a fairy tale to Western eyes, which might even moisten."

During the Third Five-Year Plan (1938/1942), the number of scholars in the elementary and secondary schools of the Soviet Union will increase from 8.6 millions to 12.4 millions in the towns and workers' settlements, and from 20.8 to 27.7 millions in the rural districts. The number of high school students will increase to 650,000, and during the next few years great attention will be devoted to further improvements in the quality of higher education.

Molotov's voice is here the voice of the new civilisation, and it tells us that the cause of civilisation is not lost, in spite of the insane savagery of these bandits, the descendants of those German "dog knights" who were destroyed on Lake Chudkoye in the Middle Ages. The descendants of these dog knights will be defeated, like their forefathers, by the forces of culture, the forces of civilisation. The highest civilisation has always been victorious, and in the future, too, it will be victorious. Anti-fascism will triumph, for with us we have the land of Socialism, the land of the new and highest civilisation.

The Land of Young Engineers

EVERY real boy wants to be an engineer. But as soon as he leaves school drab reality takes the place of the boyish dream, and he is thankful if he can find any kind of work whatever. Thus is life in the capitalist world. Very different in the Soviet Union, the only country in the world where the right to work is guaranteed, the right to free choice of work and profession. And not only is free choice of profession guaranteed, but the promotion of Soviet youth to technicians and engineers. The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan sets the great task of "raising the cultural and technical level of the working class of the U.S.S.R. to that of engineers and technicians." To-day an army of millions of young worker enthusiasts is growing, young engineers and technicians. The theses submitted by Molotov to the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union provide for the development of a widely ramified network of schools and courses of instruction for the training and continued education of skilled workers, the training of 1.4 million technicians and 600,000 experts with college education.

And it is youth who become engineers, who acquire technical knowledge. By the beginning of the Second Five-Year Plan the proportion of youth in the industries was already 34 per cent. Millions of young people came from the villages to the towns. Here they learned to work building up the socialist industries, acquired a certain qualification and frequently became masters of socialist work. This is what happened in the great Kaganovich ball-bearing works, in the Soviet motor car and steel industries—everywhere. Rank and file building workers developed into young masters of socialist production. The ranks of the workers employed on building Moscow underground and way have yielded many engineers, experts in underground and tunnelling work. These workers have attended evening technical classes after their work, have studied at the Workers' Faculties, and have worked perseveringly to increase their technical knowledge. Many of the youths and girls who worked on the underground railway afterwards went to college.

There is no great factory, no industrial enterprise, in the Soviet Union which does not possess its own technical school, its courses of evening instruction. The largest undertakings have

even their own technological training courses, in which the young people study in order to master modern technique. And not only the youth study and learn. The adults, too, do not stand aside. In order to penetrate more efficiently the field of technique the workers attend courses giving them the secondary school level of education. In Moscow alone there are 170 secondary schools for adults. Instruction begins in these schools at six o'clock in the evening, and the students gain the foundations for further technical study. In one of these evening secondary schools of the Moscow Lenin District we find, for instance, the 27-year-old Vladimir Kulavzev. Only a few years ago he was an unskilled ironworks worker, now he is an electric fitter, and is studying to become an electrical engineer. And here is Alexei Balayev, a stoker, who has come to school to become a thermal technician. Ten per cent. of the students in this secondary school in the Lenin District are women. It often happens that men who gained their education during the last few years bring their wives to school so that they may become as well educated as they themselves and their children.

The road to becoming an engineer or technician is not a road of sacrifice and deprivation to Soviet youth. Young Sergei Kruchin, turner, employed in the Stalin motor car works in Moscow, has trodden this path. Let us hear what he has to say about it: "I have always had a great striving towards learning, towards education and knowledge. The Young Communist League made this striving in me stronger than ever. Since I have been a member of the Y.C.L. I have been learning, studying, and developing myself more and more. First I took part in a general educational circle. For two years I learned to work on the turning lathe, and afterwards I went to an evening technical school. I made a careful study of the universal lathe, and occupied myself much with mathematics, geography and literature. After finishing the evening technical school I took another one year's technical course of instruction, learned technical drawing and other special work. I am now taking part in instruction for masters of socialist work, and am preparing to enter the Industrial Academy, where leaders, engineers and directors are trained for the large industrial undertakings. I have achieved all this"—added young Kruchin—"without having to give up or interrupt my work in the factory, and without having to pay a penny for it." And this is not the story of one individual only, of an especially gifted youth. No, this is the path trod by millions of workers in the Soviet Union to-day.

Let us hear the report of the 17-year-old turner, N. F. Kuryanov, from the "Kubyshev" gasification plant, of how he worked up to the position of a technically highly skilled worker. Though he is only 17 he is known in his factory as a master of his trade.

"I will tell you how I learned to work so well. I came from a collective farm to the factory apprentices' school. I did not know what a lathe was. But as soon as I entered the factory school I set myself to master the technique taught me.

"In the factory school I was always awarded 'distinction' for my work. I was a shock worker the whole time, and won some prizes. I finished school as worker of the fourth wage class, and then entered the works. I was given a complicated German lathe. I passed the 'Technical Minimum' examination with 'distinction.' After I had passed this examination, I was given the opportunity to familiarise myself with the plunger of the Diesel pump, now being manufactured for the first time in the Soviet Union. . . . Since I work well, I was given an apprentice who is older and much bigger than I am. I am 17 years old and he is 18. I have commenced to show him the methods of work we have to use, I explain everything to him, show him the drawings. We have organised our work place well, and do not need to rush about looking for things, everything is in its place. He asks me when he does not understand anything, and if I say: 'Don't do that,' he replies: 'Well, show me how it is done.' I am doing my best to give him the benefit of my experience, although I am young."

There are hundreds and thousands of boys and girls like this growing up in the Soviet Union. Their lives are not destroyed by labour service, compulsory work, and forced choice of profession, as in the fascist countries. All this is entirely unknown to Soviet youth.

Similar conditions obtain in socialist agriculture, which has attained a high technical level in the Soviet Union. One com-

parison suffices: in America there are 104 million hectares of arable land cultivated by tractors, in the U.S.S.R. 131.2 million. 80 per cent. of the Soviet tractor drivers are young people. One of them is the best woman tractor driver in the country, *Pasha Angelina*. Her brigade cultivates 1,200 hectares with every tractor—a real technical world record. And what does her brigade look like? It consists of nine girls between 16 and 22 years of age. But anyone who thinks that these girls get their results by unending working hours is entirely mistaken. *Angelina* has described her methods of work, and sent in a report to Stalin (where else in the world would the greatest man in the state take an interest in the work experience of workers 17-18 years old?):

"Comrades, how do we utilise the tractors? I have not said anything about it before, but I must, as the others should know how we plan our day's work. We begin the shift at 6 o'clock in the morning. The girls who have had a night's rest take over the tractor, and the girls who have been working overnight sleep till two in the afternoon. If they do not awaken by themselves before two o'clock, no-one has the right to wake them. This is our rest time."

In the education of the young workers in the Soviet Union, in their training into a generation of technicians and engineers, a great role is played by the Leninist Young Communist League. It urges youth to study, to the gaining of technical knowledge. From its ranks there have come many men and women prominent in work and science.

During the two Stalinist Five-Year Plans the Y.C.L. alone gave the Soviet country 118,000 engineers and technicians, 69,000 highly skilled agricultural workers, 19,000 teachers, 8,000 physicians, and tens of thousands of skilled workers. Within the space of five years, 1,380,000 apprentices have been trained into skilled workers.

Out of 705,200 students at the technical schools, 70.5 per cent. were under 18, and 24.4 per cent. between 18 and 22.

It need not be said that study not only costs nothing, but the students receive adequate grants from the state.

The Third Stalinist Five-Year Plan, beginning in 1938 and ending in 1942 (in the Soviet Union the Five-Year Plans are always carried out before time, in four years), will make fresh hundreds of thousands and millions of workers into engineers and technicians.

Millions of young workers will not only become engineers and technicians, but will live as such lives of prosperity and happiness, for the young Soviet engineer knows nothing of the tragedy of the young engineer in the capitalist countries. After he has completed his studies, he does not become a newspaper vendor or a bootblack; he is given every opportunity to develop his creative powers, and takes a place of honour in socialist production.

The Role of the Leninist Young Communist League

The following is an extract from the speech of Comrade SACHAROV, of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, delivered at the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.) at the morning session of March 12.—Ed.

In the period between the 17th and 18th Congresses, of our Bolshevik Party, the Y.C.L. has become much stronger and has increased its ranks. The Y.C.L., which at the 17th Party Congress numbered about 4,500,000 members, has increased by the 18th Party Congress to an 8,000,000 army. Two and a half million of these are young women Y.C.Lers.

There are 200,000 tractorists and mowing thresher drivers in the Y.C.L., about 25,000 teachers, and many thousands of the soldiers and seamen of our glorious Red Army and Navy. (Applause.)

Whilst at the 17th Party Congress we could record 154,414 pioneer divisions with about 7,000,000 Young Pioneers, at this Congress we register 350,402 pioneer divisions with 10,000,000 Young Pioneers.

Since the moment of the reopening of new admissions to the 320,000 Y.C.Lers. have been admitted as members and 100,000 to the party. The Y.C.L. is the reserve and the

auxiliary of our Bolshevik Party, the ideological political school for the education of youth in the spirit of Communism.

During the two first Stalinist Five-Year Plans, the role played by youth in all branches of national economy has greatly increased. Hundreds of thousands of valuable men and women have grown from their ranks.

I give a few facts: The Moscow Automobile Works, bearing the name of Comrade Stalin, employ 43,000 persons, including 20,000 young people. The Y.C.L. organisation of this undertaking numbers over 5,000 members. In 1934 there were 800 young people among the engineers, technicians, and foremen of these works, by 1938 their number had increased to 2,342. In this enterprise alone there are as many young engineers working to-day as the whole of Moscow could muster at one time.

In 1865 the Petrovsk (now Timiryasev) agricultural academy was founded. In 1917 the academy celebrated its 52nd anniversary. In these 52 years, 2,705 persons graduated from the academy. In the First Five-Year period alone almost exactly as many students graduated from this academy as in the 52 years of its existence before the October revolution. The composition of the students too has changed radically. To-day the students at the academy are: 636 workers, 826 collective peasants, 76 children of specialists, 635 employees. Thus a new Soviet intelligentsia is growing up.

Many heroes and heroines of socialist work have risen from the ranks of youth. Names known all over the country are those of *Stakhanov*, *Demchenko*, *Krivonos*, *Borin*, *Pasha Angelina*, and many others, who take foremost places in increasing the labour productivity of our country. Over 20,000 young people have been awarded orders and medals of the Soviet Union.

At the elections to the Supreme Soviet, the people chose as deputies many young patriots of our country. Two hundred and eighty-four young deputies were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 1,009 deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Federal Republics, and 692 deputies to the Supreme Soviets of the Autonomous Republics.

Our youth record great successes in art, literature, science, and technique. I take one instance at random: Of the 35 world records in aviation attained by Soviet aviators, 29 fall to Y.C.Lers. and young people. Of 33 international women's records, 11 have been gained by Soviet young women Y.C.Lers. *Polina Ossipenko* holds six world records. Four records have been set up by the Y.C.Ler. *Katerina Mednimkva*, and the Y.C.Lers. *Kartashov* and *Rastorguyev* have each gained three records as gliding fliers. For the sake of comparison, it may be mentioned that Japan holds only four world records in aviation, whilst our *Polina Ossipenko* alone holds six. (Applause.)

The Soviet people, the Bolshevik Party, our fathers and mothers, may be proud of the fact that over 5,000 of our young Red Army soldiers have been awarded orders and medals by the Government for their courage during the fighting at Lake Hassan.

The successes gained by the Y.C.L. would be even greater, had not the contemptible, traitorous, fascist adherents of Kossarev carried on their machinations within it for a considerable time, and even wormed their way by fraud into its leadership. This handful of criminals, politically and morally disrupted by the fascist espionage service, carried on a despicable and treacherous undermining activity in the Leninist-Stalinist Y.C.L. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and Comrade Stalin helped the Y.C.L. to shatter this band. The C.C. of the party has given, and continues to give, tremendous help to the Y.C.L. in the consolidation of its organisations, and in correcting the existing shortcomings, errors, and omissions.

The Lenin-Stalinist Y.C.L. stands unitedly as never before around the party of the Bolsheviks, round their Stalinist Central Committee. Great and firm as never before is the resolution of the Y.C.L. and of the whole of Soviet youth, to give all their powers, all their knowledge and talent and if needs be even their lives—for the welfare of their Socialist homeland, for the cause of the party of Lenin and Stalin, for our Stalin. (Enthusiastic applause.)

From the Two Hemispheres

Before the 10th Congress of the Y.C.L. of France

By Victor Michaut

THE Tenth Congress of the Young Communists of France, which is to assemble at Issy-les-Moulineaux, at Easter, 1939, is of great significance for the youth movement of France.

A thousand delegates will represent the groups and districts of the Federation. The provincial delegates will be accommodated for the most part under the auspices of Parisian organisations. Travelling expenses will be met, thanks to the tireless efforts of the Young Communists, who are collecting the money in advance.

This Congress will open on April 17, with a great social evening, at the Sports Palace, where the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Maurice Thorez, will speak. The programme is being provided by youth organisations, the Labour Sports and Athletics Federation. The Union of Young Girls of France and the Young Communists, will give choral singing and a series of pageant scenes, portraying the glorious 150th anniversary of the Revolution of 1789.

The agenda of the 10th Congress has been drawn up as follows:

1. The younger generation's mission for the future of France and for peace. Unity of action among young workers.
2. Programme of action for education, apprenticeship, the right to work and the welfare of the youth.
3. The statutes of the Federation.
4. Election of the national committee.

It would be useless to deny that the tasks confronting the Young Communists are enormous at such a time as this. The second imperialist war has begun already, since "we are faced with a new division of the world and of zones of influence at the expense of the non-aggressor States, without any attempt at resistance on their part, and even with a certain complacency." (Stalin.)

It is clear, after the events in Spain, that France is already encircled by the axis powers and is directly menaced by fascism. The big capitalists and French reaction as a whole, together with the present Government—acting in the spirit of the pro-Munich policy—are deliberately betraying the nation and sacrificing the future of our youth.

We have already seen, from several demonstrations in the Latin quarter and on the boulevards and in the suburbs of Paris, that young France—both students and workers—is not inclined to bow to the Diktat. The National Aid Spain day, organised on February 5 by the Young Communists, had an unparalleled success: more than a million francs and hundreds of thousands of francs worth of goods were collected on a single Sunday.

All that reveals the feeling of many young Frenchmen and women, passionately devoted to the independence of their country, to Republican liberty and to peace. But the gravity of the situation and the rapid succession of events forces us to do far more still.

In defining the immediate task of our generation, the 10th Congress will call on Young Communists to *give a bold lead to the youth movement in defence of France.*

On the eve of the 150th anniversary of the great Revolution, we will sound the rallying note for all those who are menaced by fascism and we will proclaim the imperative necessity of our age: *the unity of French youth.*

To achieve this, first of all we must reinforce unity of action among young workers, improving the relations between the Young Socialists and Communists. In celebrating, on March 22, the 4th anniversary of the Unity Pact which binds together the Socialist and Communist Youth of France in the common struggle, we affirm our unshakeable loyalty to the sacred cause of unity.

Can it be forgotten that it was unity of action which barred the way to the enemies of the Republic in February, 1934? That the unity of the Popular Front, with its enforcement of the social laws of 1936, has made it possible for working-class youth

to look forward hopefully into a life of strength and happiness? At this time, when reaction is lifting its head, when fascism is lying in wait for us, any disruption in our ranks would be fatal. On the other hand, *unity can change everything.*

The pioneer task falls to the united Young Communists and Socialists and the politically advanced among the young workers. *Unity of action by young workers is the only thing that can crystallise and cement unity of the young generation.*

As the Young Communist Congress is being held at the same time as the National Conference of the Young Socialists, there will be opportunity for searching in common for the path to unity.

Both of us, concerned for the welfare of youth, must come to an understanding for the defence of their demands.

The Congress at Issy-les-Moulineaux will produce a programme of action which will be a real Charter of Youth Rights. It will deal with the organisation of apprenticeship, the struggle against young workers' unemployment, educational reform and the development of the secular school, the defence of soldiers, the development of the country's sports possibilities, etc.

This programme of demands, drawn up to meet the immediate necessities of production and national defence, will provide an excellent basis for the assembling of all strata of working-class youth.

This Congress of young France will also express the profound internationalism which inspires us.

We shall re-affirm our fraternal solidarity with the heroic youth of Spain and China, the youth of Germany and Italy, suffering under the heel of fascism, with the great democratic countries, to our brothers in the colonial countries and the magnificent youth of the Soviet Union, growing up in their Socialist country.

Finally, we shall define the most suitable forms of organisation and methods of work for assuring a bold development of the Young Communist movement.

The conditions under which it will be held, as well as the large scope of the agenda, will make the 10th Congress a decisive stage in the forward march of the Young Communist League of France.

The National Movement among French Students

By Yves Moreau

WE have about 80,000 students in France, of whom slightly more than 32,000 are on the books of the University of Paris. These figures are sufficient to show that the "student folk" can count in the social life of a country like ours, above all if we consider the fact that the intellectuals, in the most important periods of our history, have played a leading role, and particularly in the preparation of the Revolution of 1789, as has often been pointed out.

Since the Dreyfus affair, during which the French students revealed their solicitude for justice and progress, the majority of them remained indifferent to the political and social events which affected the world. This year, we are witnessing a true social and national awakening among the French student body.

Really one cannot say that the national conscience of the young intellectuals of France has ever been completely dormant. Quite on the contrary, their patriotic feeling has remained at a high level. But from the end of the world war to the present day this feeling has been exploited too easily by astute politicians, who knew how to use them for their own ends and to direct them to party ends which had nothing in common with the clearly defined interests of the French nation. By using ultra-nationalist phrases, these people, whose liaison with international reaction is only too obvious to-day, hope to win to their side a section of the university youth, or, at least, to lull them into a sleep by which the reactionaries would profit by being able to make their moves undisturbed.

Reality is unmasking their intrigues. Twenty years after the victory of the Allies and only five years after the Third Reich began its vast rearmament scheme, we are witnessing the tragic encirclement of France, the most clearly aimed threats at our colonies, whose integrity is menaced in Africa by the installation of Italian and German troops in Ethiopia, in Spain, in Spanish Morocco, in the Canaries, in the Balearics, and

whose security is rendered problematic in the Far East by Japanese aggression against China and certain Chinese islands, such as Hainan. At the same time, Berlin and Rome proclaim their intention of seizing from France Jibuti, Togoland, Tunisia, the Cameroons, and even Corsica, Nice and Savoy. While anti-French espionage is redoubled, particularly in Alsace-Lorraine.

It was impossible for French students not to take account of all this. It was equally impossible for them not to see that the parties or organisations, some of which they belonged to, were completely abandoning even their nationalist phraseology in order to adopt the mask of anti-Communism: ("What does the defeat of France matter, if that brings about a defeat of Communism") or pacifism ("After abandoning Czechoslovakia, let us cede Corsica, to avoid war").

Shortly after Munich, the general attitude in France, and particularly among students, was a feeling of distress and disgust at having believed so credulously in the farce of "saving peace." This feeling is expressed by *Henri de Montherlant*, who wrote for the Right-extremist weekly, *Candide*, the following passage (which was, be it noted, not published):

"Great spoonful of sentimental muck are emptied out of the pens of hired journalists. Upon the still breathing corpse of a betrayed nation, upon the still breathing corpses of their honour, dignity and security, millions of men and women dance the frantic dance of peace."

Then came Hitler's Reichstag speech, declaring that he would appropriate colonies, if necessary by force, and the Italian demands, revealing absolutely unheard-of and intolerable claims.

The Latin Quarter began to become alarmed. On December 8 came the first demonstration, organised by students belonging to the most varied political circles, which kept their anonymity and were content to circulate humorous leaflets demanding the "return of Venice to France." Another example of the way in which, at the most tragic moments of its history, France never loses its characteristic tradition.

The demonstration of December 8 owed part of its success to the fact that it was lent something in the character of a students' joke. But the movement was not to confine itself to a joyous farce, turning Mussolini's bombast to ridicule. Beside the posters demanding "Venice for France," "Italy for the Negus," &c., there were placards with "Corsica will remain French," and as many as six to eight thousand students shouted "Caporetto! Caporetto!" or "Hang Benito." This demonstration, in face of the common danger, was the beginning of a real unity of the student population of France. For the first time, Right-extremist students were seen marching together with those of the Popular Front.

The movement spread to the provinces, where similar demonstrations took place, in December in all the university towns. Sometimes they even clashed fairly severely with the police, who, in spite of numerous arrests, were unable to prevent them.

Nevertheless the tone of the Italian claims did not change: the gangsters knew only too well how their shameless bluff was helping M. Bonnet to follow his miserable policy of betraying France's interests. An Italian newspaper, *Le Tevere*, went so far as to publish, at the orders of Chigi Palace, an impudent article, a tissue of provocation and abuse, entitled "We spit on France." The next day, Parisians observed that the underground station "Rome" had been rebaptised overnight and was now called "Caporetto." Suspicion fell upon medical students at a hospital nearby. The chief editor of a Paris evening paper wrote, in connection with this incident, that French students were making up for the deficiencies of French diplomacy.

Among the various student demonstrations which took place recently, one of the most important was that of January 26, in front of the Italian Embassy, where, as a police record states, a hundred or so students, grouped around the French colours, struck up the Marseillaise and shouted, for instance: "France for the French! Spain for the Spaniards! Italian hands off Spain! Down with the blockade of the Spanish Republic!"

There appear to be immense possibilities for the development of this movement among French students, already beginning to unite round the idea of national defence.

First of all, the movement is already becoming organised. Around it new organisations are growing up, each making their own appeal: the *Union of Students of the French Empire*, whose Constitution was published, not without some uneasiness, in the last number of the *Bewegung*, central organ of the Union of National-Socialist Students of Germany; the university section of the French Energy, which has already organised a conference for representatives of all student organisations; the *University Action for Liberty*, whose campaigns, supported by the majority of university teachers, have had considerable success, in Paris and in the provinces.

On the other hand, on all sides there is to be found, among all the tendencies of young French intelligentsia, a real upsurge of national spirit, breaking down barriers and gradually removing the obstacles to unity.

Thus the corporative movement which, until recently, was exploited by the fascist leagues, or which at any rate held itself aloof from all social questions, is in its turn awakening and beginning to take part in the organisation of the defence of France: the Paris Students' Fellowship contributed, officially, to the success of the "Venice for France" demonstration; the General Association of Students of Clermont-Ferrand addresses a vigorous protest to the Italian Consulate. The students of the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, the Ecole Normale Supérieure for Girls at Sevres, and the Rouen Ecole Normale, among others, have sent to ministers, deputies and public authorities resolutions, telegrams and delegations which express the anxiety of French students.

The most active are the *Popular Front students*. Communist students published several leaflets and brought out two posters, calling upon their fellow students. In the Latin quarter they organised a demonstration to demand the re-establishment of international law on behalf of the Spanish Government. A joint delegation of Radical, Socialist and Communist students was received by the various Parliamentary groups of the Chamber of Deputies. Leaflets signed jointly by the socialist students and the communist students were distributed. One of them was signed also by the University Labour Federation of Great Britain.

Finally, the exodus of the Catalan population gives the students of France a foretaste of the tragic scene our country would offer the world to-morrow, if we do not succeed in raising a barrier fast enough against aggression. Student unity has been achieved also on behalf of the Spanish refugees, under the leadership of the Student Christian movement, the Federation of French Catholic Students, the Women's Student Christian movement, and the Union of Students for the Aid of Spanish Children, associations which number about 30,000 members, and which organise joint collections and have obtained from the university authorities permission for the students to deposit their contributions with the secretaries of faculties. Thus the Spanish war takes a central place in the activities of our student movement, which is aware that on this depends the destiny of France.

We hope that this awakening of the national conscience of French students may help the free people of all countries to preserve democracy against the forces of obscurantism and slavery.

YOUNG SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL SEND MESSAGE OF SUPPORT TO SPANISH REPUBLICAN RESISTERS

Paris, March 11.

A message of solidarity and support to the Spanish Republican youth resisting, was yesterday unanimously dispatched by the Executive of the Young Socialist International meeting in Oslo. The Executive sent a message of solidarity to the General Secretary of the United Socialist Youth Movement, *Santiago Carillo*, following a rousing speech by the Spanish delegate, *Alfredo Cabello* during the session.

Giving a report on the situation *Cabello* launched an appeal to the Youth of the International Socialist Movement to continue their action of solidarity for Republican Spain and give every possible indication of its support for those struggling in Spain for their liberty and freedom.

Unity is Possible

Arne Gauslo (Oslo)

THE serious situation which has arisen in Spain makes it more imperative than ever before for the Communist youth of all countries to achieve unity with the Socialist youth of common struggle against the fascist war policy.

The *Young Socialist International* which held its bureau meeting in Oslo on March 2 again failed to take the necessary measures for the uniting of all the forces of anti-fascist youth. The main question before the bureau meeting was the coming Congress of the Young Socialist International at Lille in July. It is necessary for the Communist and Socialist youth of all countries to greatly strengthen their efforts for unity so that the idea of unity will permeate this Congress. To do this it is necessary that the greatest efforts be made everywhere to realise a comradely co-operation in the present joint tasks.

At the same time the Co-ordination Committee of the *Scandinavian Social Democratic Youth Organisations* met in Oslo. The Communist Youth Organisations of Sweden, Norway and Denmark, presented a letter to the meeting proposing that the youth of Norway conduct, through joint action, a unified counter-offensive against the fascist and reactionary forces that are threatening their freedom and their future. This proposal is based on the ever-increasing pressure which Hitler-Germany is exercising on the Scandinavian Governments to force them to capitulation and submission.

The Scandinavian Co-ordination Committee unfortunately rejected this proposal with the old "argument" that organisational unity must first be realised; that joint action would only lead to continued dissension.

The rejection of unity in this serious situation is an indication that the social democratic leaders feel no sort of responsibility for the interests of the youth. We are of the opinion that this attitude is not in accordance with the wishes of their membership. As a matter of fact at their Congress in May, 1937, the socialist youth of Norway (*Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking*) on the subject of the resolution to affiliate with the *Young Socialist International* decided unanimously that:

"Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking, within the International, will at all times support such measures as would make possible joint international action and the rallying of the youth forces."

This was endorsed at the meeting of the National Executive of the *Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking* on February 5-6, 1938, in the following resolution:

"The National Executive, after a discussion of the international joint work, wish to recommend to the Central Executive that they work through the *Young Socialist International* for an international conference of all working class youth."

These resolutions clearly show the opinions which prevail among the members. It appears that the membership of the *Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking* see no contradiction between joint action and organisational unity any more than do the young Communists. On the contrary; the comradely co-operation of Socialist and Communist youth would help to root out the old feelings of distrust and dissension. It would create mutual respect and a spirit of solidarity. It would call forth activity, faith and enthusiasm among young workers. It would give both organisations greater effectiveness and greater ability to attract new members. Thus co-operative work would create conditions favourable for the growth of organisational unity, as was proved by the brilliant example of the united socialist youth of Spain. It would also facilitate the formation of a wide front of all anti-fascist youth.

We find, therefore, that the reason for the refusal of the Scandinavian Co-ordination Committee is not tenable. The young Communists will actively continue their efforts to bring about unity of the youth.

That this joint work is possible and achieves good results is shown by the part played by the Norwegian youth in relief work for the heroic Spanish people.

There is no other cause which has so enormously roused the Norwegian people and united them in a great common

solidarity movement. In Norway we have at least 200 local Spanish relief committees. Up to March 1 of this year, the total sum collected for Spain exceeded 1.7 million Norwegian kroner (or about £89,000; that is, approximately 1s. per person of the adult population). Added to this there are large shipments of goods.

The Norwegian youth has contributed in a large measure to this great solidarity action. And in just those places where the youth organisations carried out their relief work jointly the greatest results were achieved. Special *youth Spanish relief committees*, organs of this joint relief action, now exist in eight of the largest cities of the country. This unity, which has replaced the unorganised individual activity, has enormously increased relief work.

The Youth Relief Committee in Oslo serves as an example: the *Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking*, the Workers' Friends of Sport, the Young Communist League, the Youth Anti-Alcoholic League, the Students' League, the socialist students and the organisations of the progressive middle class youth are all affiliated to it. The Boy Scouts have also participated in certain of the collections, and the Bishop of Oslo and a number of priests have signed the appeals which the youth organisations have presented.

From August, 1938, to March, 1939, the Youth Relief Committee in Oslo has achieved the following results: 17,000 Norwegian kroner in cash, 10 tons of clothing, and about 30,000 cases of milk.

Similar examples could be cited from the Youth Relief Committees in the other cities of the country, and also from the villages where the youth organisations work within the local Spain committees.

Does this not refute the assertion of the *Young Socialist International* leaders, that joint action would only lead to continued dissension? Do not these practical examples show that unity is possible? The experiences of Norway have thus shown that unity has greatly furthered youth relief work. And would not unity in the struggle against the fascist threat and poisonous fascist propaganda increase a hundredfold the effectiveness and activity of the youth? Of course, and therefore (in spite of the refusal of the socialist youth leaders) the young Communists of Norway and the other Scandinavian countries will continue their tenacious struggle for unity, thus acting in accord with the most vital interests of youth and the grave needs of the hour.

The Clerical Union in Great Britain

By S. E. S.

IT is a fault of the unions catering for clerical workers in all countries that they have hitherto only attracted to their ranks the politically developed clerks, and have gained little support from the masses of ordinary men and women clerks.

In England the *National Union of Clerks*, because of the progressive feelings of its members was the first union to see the need for the development of the youth, for giving young people the opportunity for self-development, for developing the initiative of the youth, and thus to harness the unbounded energies of the young people in the struggle to draw clerical workers into the unions.

That was why, nearly five years ago, the N.U.C. set up the *London Youth Advisory Council*, which had as its aims:

1. To consider and advise on all matters relating to the conditions of employment of the young members of the Union, and to investigate the conditions of employment of young clerical workers;
2. The recruitment of all unorganised clerical workers, particularly the youth;
3. The provision of educational, cultural and sports facilities for the young members of the N.U.C.

The N.U.C. Youth Council in London is one of the most active sections of the union, and is one of the most energetic Trade Union youth committees in the country.

The first task of the Youth Council has never been finished—that of surveying completely the conditions of labour of the young clerks. But sufficient data has been collected to add to the extensive information published by Dr. Klingender in his "Conditions of Clerical Labour in Great Britain" and to the infor-

mation gathered by the N.U.C. for the promotion of the Offices Regulation Bill in 1937, to show the general bad conditions of work of the young clerks in London, and especially to show the low standard of wages.

But the information obtained has been to a large extent during the past few years a great stimulus to recruiting by the youth and has been used as a basis for action to improve conditions. Several young members of the Council have gained Trades Union Congress recruiting awards, and some members have been very active in initiating recruiting drives in London and the provincial towns; the two large staff branches of the union in the London area were formed as a direct result of the activity of the Youth Council members.

The N.U.C. Council has also been very active with its *sports association*, and now has a fine sports movement, largely supported by the youth, and managed by a committee composed mainly of young people.

The Annual report of the Council shows that the activities of the youth in the N.U.C. cover a very wide radius—apart from the hard work done by the members to form Youth Advisory Councils in the other important unions in London, and to develop the activity in the important provincial towns, such as *Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol and Leeds*.

Apart from this recruiting activity, and the general stimulus to recruiting and propaganda which the existence of the Youth Council gives to the N.U.C., the Council has done magnificent work in other fields.

One member went to *Spain* with the British Youth Peace Assembly delegation (representing the Trade Union youth) and the Council has helped to collect money from the branches and from other organisations for the youth foodships.

The Council has organised several *week-end schools* for the union members, all of which have been very successful. Members have arranged group visits to theatres and film shows, week-end camps, socials, and have played a great part in the work of making the actual branch meetings of the union attractive to the young members by introducing speakers on lively topics, arranging branch social life, etc.

Exceedingly good publicity work has been done by the Council, members of which helped to produce the first pamphlet published by the union since 1920.

When the Munich crisis was developing in September the Youth Council was the first body in the union actively to take up the demands of clerks for immediate measures of protection from Air Raids and to force employers and the government to provide adequate precautions in the large commercial offices of London. It was able to use this campaign to recruit new members on the basis of a strong union being the only guarantee that something would be done. A list of thirteen points indicating activity which could be undertaken immediately by the union branches was drawn up, and circulated before the stink of Munich had been brought back to London on Chamberlain's umbrella.

In an endeavour also to further activate each and everyone of our 1,500 young members in London, members of the council are visiting each of our branches and trying to form *Youth Groups* in each of them, so that all aspects of the life of the youth in the branches can be catered for, and the youth activated on the essential task of enrolling clerks into their trade union.

The activities of the Youth Council also extend to the International field, and the Council now has contact with the youth in the clerical unions of several European countries.

It was as a direct result of the establishment of these contacts with the youth abroad that the Youth Council decided to approach the *International Federation of Trade Unions* and to persuade them, through our General Secretary, Mr. H. Elvin, to hold an *International Youth Camp* for the Trade Union Youth during the summer of 1939, so that the youth in the unions can really get together to discuss the international problems of the youth and the fight for the demands of the youth in this and other countries as shown in the Youth Charter and other movements.

THE YOUTH CHARTER

But running through the whole of the work of the N.U.C. Youth Council and the work of the other Youth Councils with

whom we are associated, must be the Youth Charter. The campaign launched by the T.U.C. and its 13-point Charter for the Youth, the campaigns of the British Youth Peace Assembly for their Charter, the Youth Hearing with its opportunities to show to the people the bad conditions in which the young clerks work, the Youth Pilgrimage with its demands for the Charter presented by a strongly united youth movement, the National Parliament of the Youth, which brings to the fore the possibilities of gaining certain Charter points by parliamentary action—these things must command the attention of the youth in the N.U.C. youth bodies. Therefore the Youth Council in the union has given its support to these activities, and has striven to rouse the youth membership of the union to mass activity behind the campaign, linking the work up with the essential task of recruiting more and more young clerks to the N.U.C., realising that it is the support of the masses of industrial youth which will ensure victory.

It is for this reason that particularly in the N.U.C. must we build a strong Youth Council; for the conditions of work of the great mass of young clerks are appalling, but they can be rectified if we organise the youth already in the N.U.C. into activity with the council, and thus encourage the unorganised clerks to join with us in the fight for better wages and improved conditions.

The young clerk is to-day still unorganised. The average wages are declining in comparison with the wages of the manual workers. We can break down the snobbish attitude of the well-educated towards the trade unions, we can show the clerks that they are workers too. We can point to the small pay packets which most young clerks under thirty get, and we can tell them to join with us in the demands of the youth for security, for a decent wage, for better working conditions.

Every worker, whether manual or clerical, must see the importance of organising the clerks in the offices, of making them active participants in the struggle for better conditions of the clerical youth.

Apprentices' Problems in U.S.A.

By Leon Straus

INDUSTRY has excommunicated about five million young people in the United States. These young people have never had a chance to work on a job. They have had no chance to utilize the educational facilities of this country. In none of the problems of our nation are they considered as a factor. Restrictions prevent them from getting on W.P.A. while these same restrictions prevent them from getting on home relief.

The *National Youth Administration* is too small in scope and reaches only a few thousand. Just because they are young, American youth are refused that modicum of help which the federal government has already recognised as necessary for the unemployed generally.

The most important problem for these young people is to get into industry. They want jobs. They want to learn a trade. They are ready and willing to work. They want training for our new industries, in aeroplane design, in machine building, in electricity. They feel that not only the wealthy and their children should have this opportunity. They feel that unemployed workers, even those who have never had a chance to go beyond grammar and high school, should also be able to receive training that will equip them for a livelihood in a changing society.

A real democracy must recognise this, and must make constructive efforts to help the unemployed and, in some cases, the employed unskilled young workers achieve their goal: a skilled trade and a decent standard of living.

All these things can be done through a system of apprenticeship and vocational training. Employers to-day are willing to provide young workers apprenticeship training in skilled jobs. For them it is a method of fighting union conditions and unions. They want their factories full of young workers because apprentices working for long hours and low wages mean greater profits for themselves. Employers want a chance to throw out their gradually ageing workers without assuming responsibility for them after they have given the best years of their lives to their work. In this way, employers seek the chance to destroy the unions which to-day have become a major factor in regulating working conditions in this country.

But unions to-day cannot so readily agree to that kind of apprenticeship system. Hundreds and thousands of their own members are unemployed. Some of their elderly members may be permanently unemployed. Others hold jobs only by reason of their membership in the union. We can see, therefore, the difficulties that confront the unions with whom the unemployment and security problems of their own members come first.

On the other hand, young people who are discouraged and see no future for themselves are easily made criminals and the enemies of Labour. This danger to the whole 150 years of work of the American labour movement cannot be underestimated. The vast *unemployed army* represents a group larger than either the entire A.F.L. or C.I.O.

Employers are ready to promise fancy things to these five million young people, and it may seem to these young people who are becoming more and more desperate, that the only obstacle in their way is the union. In order that they shall not become an anti-union force, a vast scab army of capital, in order that this tremendous power, the youth of the nation, shall see a measure of hope for their future, the trade unions must make a constructive effort to solve their problems.

A thorough, farsighted apprenticeship programme should be established in each industry. This programme must provide for adequate protection of unions and their members by guaranteeing the seniority rights of unionists. Members who are working in the same plant or industry where the apprenticeship system is set up should not lose their jobs to apprentices. Union control of the apprenticeship system must be guaranteed by having an apparatus in each industry that will be voluntarily accepted by the employers, union groups, and the government representative.

Unless the ratio of apprentices to the industry is controlled by the union itself, the apprenticeship system is likely to be harmful. Further, union standards must be assured by a minimum wage and regulated hour schedule for apprentices in each industry.

What exists to-day in my industry, the *fur industry*, can be used to illustrate the problem. In New York City there are some 14,000 fur workers engaged in the manufacturing of fur garments. They cut, sew and nail these garments. The average employment period, for those who work, is four and five months a year. Of these 14,000 workers, from two to three thousand are almost constantly unemployed.

This condition has existed since the first crisis years, 1930 and 1931. Obviously it is impossible for the fur workers and the Furriers Union to permit other workers to come into the industry. If new workers were to come into the industry they would, in effect, take away jobs from those who to-day work little enough as it is.

In addition there are 2,500 floor boys working in the fur industry. These young workers wet the skins, take coats off the board after they have been nailed there by skilled mechanics and do other unskilled tasks that aid in the production of the fur garments. Among these workers, there are some who have been working as floor boys for five years and who still earn only \$18, \$20, and \$25 per week. They also average approximately five to six months employment during the year.

In view of all these complex problems, we are planning an apprenticeship system which will be based on a factual analysis of our industry. A survey will be made of the number of workers that leave the industry for such reasons as death, sickness, or retirement. This survey will include the number of workers that other machinery provides work for, taking business conditions into consideration.

Vocational training and apprenticeship cannot solve the basic problems of capitalist society, unemployment and crises. Nor can it solve all the immediate problems of our young people. But, on the other hand it can provide some temporary aid. And it will certainly prepare the present generation and future generations for a Socialist society, a society that will be able to liberate the energies and skills that lie dormant and useless to-day through forced unemployment.

Fascism and Youth

Apprentices in Fascist Italy

By Giovanni Ferri

MUSSOLINI'S paper, the *Popolo d'Italia*, in its issue for January 15 this year, reports, under the heading *Trade Union Problems*, a scandalous case of the exploitation of apprentices.

"After having made a very careful investigation among the staff, certain directors, and the statistical offices, we are in a position to publish details of a deplorable case which the organisation of commercial workers has been trying to suppress for some years. . . .

The company concerned is the Uni-Prix of Milan. This concern has enjoyed, first of all, a special agreement of July, 1933, slightly modified on February 29, 1936, under which it has been able, by violating the national agreement in force for similar enterprises, to employ four assistants and five apprentices to every employee.

Nevertheless, in spite of this favoured treatment, it appears that Uni-Prix have been employing twice this number of apprentices; indeed, on June 30, 1938, Uni-Prix was employing in its 34 workshops 130 labourers, 473 assistants, and 1,022 apprentices. The average wage was 253 lire per month, which shows that the majority of the apprentices were receiving no more than 120 to 150 lire a month.

After having worked for two, three, or four years under these conditions, the staff, which rightly wants to improve its status, is dismissed. In 1937, the employment exchanges verified that Uni-Prix dismissed 1,152 persons and was employing about the same number. In this manner they were able to keep the average wage down to the level mentioned, while, under the national agreement, the wage ought to reach 445 lire monthly.

Simple arithmetic proves that Uni-Prix was thus profiting to the extent of some 3,740,000 lire a year.

No commercial pretext nor public interest can justify such a state of things; and even less the fact that female workers were doing light work, for it is proved on the contrary, that the type of work and the youth of the workers caused a percentage of illness rising to as high as 93 per cent.

Is the case of Uni-Prix an isolated one? On the contrary. Special agreements exist for many concerns, or rather, for all big concerns which, like Uni-Prix, number on their board of directors important personages in Italian finance. In the same way, where special agreements do not exist, the employers easily turn to their own account the social-fascist legislation we have mentioned, and more especially the legislation concerning apprenticeship. The *Popolo d'Italia*, for its own obvious demagogic reasons, recognises this when it writes:

"This illegality has characteristic results: illicit exploitation of another's labour during two, three or more years of young workers' apprenticeship, at a very low wage; increases of unemployment among the youth and the dismissal of a great number of apprentices, who, after this long and severe period, have reached legal and occupational maturity and are demanding a fair return; the demoralisation of large strata of workers who know, for example, that as soon as their military service is over they will not be re-employed in their former positions, from which they won a paltry wage from the years of 16 to 20, for the employer prefers to employ young labour for which he pays less."

Since when does fascism talk about the control of apprenticeship? Certainly since it began talking of social legislation, which is some years ago now. Nevertheless, the situation of apprentices, in spite of all the declarations of the trade union hierarchy and the demagoguery of the *Popolo d'Italia*, has only become worse and worse.

A recent decree, published in the *Official Gazette* for December 25, 1938, takes up the question again, laying down in a series of articles the legal regulations for a new settlement between employers and apprentices. But what industrialist

takes seriously decrees which are inspired by fascism's need for social demagoguery?

At the same time, apprentices cannot continue to be the victims of their employers' cynicism, which the trade union leaders try to tone down with sweet words. It is only the young apprentices themselves who can change their position. How? By a very simple method: by demanding respect for the letter and the spirit of these very laws made by fascism and which the employing class violates in the most bare-faced manner.

The young apprentices of Italy have understood how to win in this respect. Fascism has provided Italian youth with a compulsory, totalitarian organisation known as G.I.L. Within this same G.I.L., just as inside the trade unions, the youth can, by uniting, succeed in spite of everything to proclaim its rights and to demand that these rights are respected.

Why does G.I.L. not concern itself with these problems which torment the young working class and, above all, the problem of apprenticeship, one which constitutes, on the economic plane, one of the greatest scandals of fascism? Obviously the fascist leaders would be opposed to anything of the sort. *But G.I.L. can be forced, through the militancy of its young members, to make a stand for the rights of a generation to which fascism has accorded the fairest promises in words and, in fact, the harshest of exploitation.*

Learn and Comprehend

The Condition of the French People in 1789

By Jean Bruhaut

THE great Revolution, of which we are celebrating the 150th anniversary this year, destroyed the feudal regime and established the power of the bourgeoisie. But the overthrow of feudalism could not have been possible without the direct intervention of the masses of the people. These masses, from the towns and the countryside, entered into the revolutionary struggle precisely because it was they upon whom the weight of the feudal regime pressed most heavily.

That is what we want to recall in this article.

In France there were 21 million peasants. They represented 90 per cent. of the nation. Several categories existed in the masses of the peasantry. First of all there were the *serfs*. Certainly they were not so numerous as in the Middle Ages. Serfdom had been abolished in 1779, on the royal estates, but the lords had not followed the example given them by the government. In spite of the great campaign led by *Voltaire* on behalf of the serfs of Haut-Jura, there were still a million in 1789. They were to be found in Champagne, in Burgundy and in the Franche-Comte. The serfs were bound to the earth. They could not get away. They had not the liberty to marry without their overlord's consent. They were liable to *main-mort*, i.e., if their children did not live with them, they could not inherit any of the parents' goods, even personal possessions.

The great majority of the peasantry had been freed. But most of them only possessed a miserably inadequate patch of ground. Those who were able to make a living out of their fields formed an agricultural aristocracy: the *labourer class*. The others were *farmers or renters*. The farmers paid rent for their ground in coin. The renters paid in kind. Rent contracts were particularly severe. The proprietor advanced them seed and livestock, and the renter gave the proprietor half of the harvest. In some districts, indeed, as in Brittany, repayment in coin was added to the payment in kind.

Upon all these peasants, whether they were serfs, labourers, farmers or renters, there weighed the feudal charges. Part of the harvest went to the overlord. At every succession, the peasant had to pay; he also had to pay when he bought or sold land. If taxes were less oppressive than in the Middle Ages, they were still heavy and humiliating. The peasant had to take his corn and his grapes to the mill or wine-press belonging to

his overlord, even though that meant going a considerable distance. The overlord still kept his rights over bridges, roads (tolls), markets and fairs. Only the lord had the right to hunt. The peasant was forbidden to kill a pheasant or a hare. On the other hand, game for the overlords' hunting expeditions were allowed to devour or trample down the peasants' harvest. Finally, the overlord was judge of crimes committed on his estates; he was both judge and plaintiff. Furthermore, the peasants had to pay tithes. It must not be thought that tithes went only to the clergy. It was reserved for the so-called patron of the church, who was, in most cases, the overlord. Tithes were exacted not only from the harvest but also from flax, hemp, beans and fruit. In some districts they amounted to 14 per cent. of the peasants' income.

Opening the complaints book of the Third Estate at Vannes, we read:

"We are truly serfs, say the inhabitants of Vannes, slaves of the overlords, the real slaves according to the rights for which they make us pay; feudality is our greatest scourge; the necessity of abolishing it is urgent. It is the universal cry of all the parishes."

The most miserable of all the peasantry were the day labourers. Poor peasants, without land or with only a few wretched acres, they were forced to hire themselves out. Often without work, they formed the main contingent of the vagabonds and beggars who were to be met everywhere in the French countryside on the eve of the Revolution. At Denneville, in Artois, there were 60 beggars to 130 houses. At Saint-Patrice in Normandy there were 400 beggars to 1,500 inhabitants. . . .

The feudal taxes increased in the second half of the 18th century. The nobles, short of money (for in spite of the king's liberality, the court was expensive), re-introduced privileges which had fallen into disuse. Ever fresh measures were taken against the peasants. The nobles contested their tenants' right to gleanage and free pasture.*

From that, it is easy to imagine the condition of the peasantry. According to the intendants' report,† the staple nourishment, in Normandy, was oats; in the Troyes region, buckwheat; in Limousin, buckwheat, chestnuts, turnips; in Auvergne, buckwheat, chestnuts, skimmed milk and a little salted goat's flesh. No butcher's meat at all; at the most, if the peasant killed one pig a year. When the harvest was poor, the result was worse than poverty: it was starvation, with plague in its train. The year 1778 was one of drought; just before the harvest was ripe, hail storms swept the countryside. The winter of 1788-89 was a very severe one: in Provence, frost had killed a third of the olive trees; in Vivarais, the chestnut woods had perished. As want increased, so did hatred of the feudal regime.

Can we reconstitute the life of the young peasants? Only with great difficulty. Children went to work at an extremely early age. "Often, little girls of six spent their entire time spinning, while looking after new-born babies."‡

Nothing, or next to nothing, was done for the education of these children. Education depended on private charity. The peasants suffered as a result of this lack of schooling, and many petitions of complaints were to demand "a schoolmaster, of whom the children have till now been deprived."

Passing from the countryside to the towns, we find there were about 2,500,000 workers. But if industrialisation was progressing, concentration was in its infancy and, on the whole, small industry was dominant. There were artisans; and many of them were on the way to losing their independence. In Normandy, the weavers were leaving the villages to enter the factories of the Lower Seine district as wage-slaves. There were the guild workers. The guilds had developed considerably. Formerly, one began as apprentice, became a member, then a

*Ancient custom permitting poor peasants to send their flocks to graze in the fields after the harvest had been gathered.

†Royal officials in the provinces.

‡G. Lefebvre. *The Peasants of the North*.

Henceforth, the degree of master was to stand for a closed caste, into which only the sons and sons-in-law of masters were admitted. In "free" industry (this was the name for industries which were not bound to the regulations of a guild) the workers worked in large factories. Sometimes they lived on the premises. Working conditions were extremely bad.

"At Lyons, the silk worker works from 16 to 18 hours a day, sometimes less; he cannot often buy more than the strict necessities of life. . . . At Versailles, they toil, in some workshops, from 4 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock in the evening. In Paris, the day lasts as long as 16 hours."*

From the age of seven years, children could be employed in factories. Some, even, in the textile industry, were employed as dividers of skein from the age of four and five years. In Provence, the silk shops took girls between the ages of 8 and 16. In Brittany, the miners' children worked at the pit-head at a very early age, gaining their living as ore-washers. . . . Wages were extremely low, so that all these urban populations were highly susceptible to fluctuations in the cost of living. One hears the echo of this misery in the petitions of complaints. The porters of Marseilles wrote:

"The fruits of his work do not bring the worker more than the most meagre subsistence. Crushed by the weight of his toil, he must often have need of some nourishment capable of restoring his strength."

And it was on these very masses of the labouring people that the taxes weighed most heavily. The nobility did not pay taxes and the clergy obtained dispensation by the payment to the king of what was known as the free gift. There were direct taxes, the *taille*, the poll-tax, and the twentieth; indirect tax, such as the tax on salt. The duties on drinks, the internal customs, increased the price of goods. Indirect taxes were not raised directly, but by individuals (tax-farmers) who paid the State an annual sum, fixed in advance, and pocketed the surplus. Thus they had a personal interest in increasing the rate of taxation; they did not lose by it. In all the petitions of complaint the workers and peasants asked that such an unjust financial policy be abolished. The following extract is from the petition of complaint of Culmont (near Langres):

"Sire,

We are crushed by taxes of all kinds; we have given you, up till the present, a part of our bread, and soon we shall have none, if this continues. If you could see the poor hovels in which we live! the poor food that we eat! you would be moved by it. This would tell you better than our words that we cannot go on like this and that our burden must be eased. What troubles us extremely is that those who have the most pay the least. We pay the *taille* and its accessory taxes, and the churchmen and the nobles, who have the most fine possessions, pay nothing of all that. Why then is it that it is the rich who pay the least and the poor who pay the most? Is it not right that each pays according to his power? Sire, we ask you that this should be so, because that is just. If we dared, we should undertake to plant some vines upon the hillsides, but we are so tormented by tax-gatherers that we would rather think to pull up those that are planted already. All the wine that we would make would be for them, and we should be left nothing but the labour. This extortion is a great scourge, and, to escape from it, one would rather leave the land fallow. Rid us first of these extortionists and tax-men: we suffer greatly from these same inventions. Now is the moment to change them: so long as we have them, we shall never be happy. We ask it of you, Sire, with all your other subjects, who are also as weary as ourselves."

The will of the popular masses thus expressed itself perfectly clearly. What they wished was the end of feudal exploitation and the destruction of the privileged class. And it was because the Revolution broke the feudal regime that the memory of 1789 remains alive in the hearts of the French people.

*Soreau. *Workers and Peasants from 1789 to 1792.*

Sports Movement

The London Fitness Conference

BY the time this appears there will have taken place in London a Conference called by the London and Middlesex Fitness Council, at which 1,000 youth delegates will discuss for the first time what they think is needed for fitness.

The council itself was set up as the result of a Act of Parliament passed in July, 1937. This Act firstly extended the powers of the Local Authorities and enabled them to provide various schemes for recreational facilities. Secondly, it established the *National Fitness Council*, and 22 area councils throughout the country, of which the London and Middlesex Council is one. These councils consist of representatives of the various local authorities, of the voluntary youth organisations and of individuals with a special knowledge of the problems involved.

Their task is to educate the public in the value of fitness and the means by which it may be achieved, to survey the facilities in their area, and to consider and report on applications for financial grants from clubs, etc. Four million pounds has been set aside by the Government for this fitness movement, but the money can only be used for capital charges. Further grants can only be given to aid schemes where it can be shown that the maintenance charges of the new construction can be fully met, and even then are only for 40 per cent. at the most, of the total cost. This, in effect, makes it impossible for any but large well-established clubs, local authorities, or national movements to get a grant.

However it is clear that, even within these limits, the scheme was not so much concerned with giving youth an opportunity and desire to keep fit, but to form a definite step in the plans of the Chamberlain Government to regiment youth behind its pro-fascist policy, a policy absolutely opposed to all the traditions and ideals of British sport.

Yet this conference will have tremendous significance. Of the 1,000 delegates, all between the ages of 16 and 30, 650 will come from sports clubs and fitness organisations, 150 from religious and social welfare organisations, such as the Y.M.C.A., the scouts, etc., 100 from the political youth organisations: Liberals, Conservatives, Communists, etc., and 50 from the trade unions. It will, therefore, be the most widely representative youth conference ever called.

Fitness is a great social and cultural demand of the youth. Around this conference new and wider associations of youth can be built. Around this movement youth, hitherto unorganised, can be drawn into association with the organised youth, will themselves become organised on the basis of the things which appeal most simply and widely to the youth. Lastly, fitness is essential for *democracy*, and the development of this movement, essentially democratic, will be a further step in rallying all youth against the enemies of democracy.

The conference will be opened by *Sir Wyndham Deedes*, of the National Fitness Committee, and will then split in four commissions dealing with (1) the health and leisure of youth; (2) recreational facilities; (3) rallying youth to the fitness movement; (4) the fitness movement and education in citizenship.

With regard to the first commission the preliminary material which has been issued as a guide to the discussions raises such points as the effect of malnutrition and long hours and unemployment on the possibility of keeping fit, and the effect of the high cost of travel to sports grounds and the cost of equipment, etc. Here it is clear that, although, if the existing powers and facilities were more widely known and used, improvements in health could be made now, yet a government really keen on getting a healthy youth must introduce many of the points of the *Youth Charter*, on the 40-hour week and holidays with pay, etc.

On the second commission much is already known of the shortage and lack of facilities, sports grounds, etc., particularly in the crowded boroughs of central London; though even on the outskirts building is rapidly robbing the youth of many playing fields and open spaces. Particularly the question is asked here: "Is it necessary to extend the powers of the local authorities to control this?" And "What steps are necessary to get new and better facilities in the towns?"

It is the last two commissions which are perhaps the most important. For the third commission it is pointed out that the movement, under the present Act, can only work through existing voluntary organisations, or local authorities and, further, that the small clubs, who cannot afford to get a grant or affiliate to the large sport organisation, are neglected. How can these and the unorganised youth be drawn in and helped?

Here it is clear first of all that the youth cannot be rallied to fitness in the abstract, there must be a reason and an aim for keeping fit and this can only be "Fitness for Democracy"; and it is equally clear that such a slogan would arouse whole-hearted support among democratic youth. The development of sport, and the democratic ideals and traditions of British sport, is itself a blow against the conscriptionists and the warmongers. The development of a fit and healthy youth is essential for the defence of democracy against fascist aggression.

Already being discussed in this connection is the idea of a *fitness standard*. This would consist of a number of simple physical tests which, while easy enough for millions of youth to pass, would raise the physical standard of the youth and secondly would be combined with a democratic ideal and education in democracy.

It is further suggested that *Youth Advisory Committees* should be set up in each area, who in co-operation with the local authority would control the application of the standard, and would act in an advisory capacity on all matters relating to physical fitness. The members of these would be elected by the various voluntary organisations and would ensure the democratic character of the movement.

All youth, whether in organisations or not, would be encouraged to pass the tests. This and the development of community centres and *recreational centres* in each borough would provide the basis for drawing the majority of youth into the fitness movement.

Originally the discussion on a "Fitness Standard" was to have been the subject of a fifth commission, but it was withdrawn on the grounds that the National Committee have set up a special committee to consider it and this has not yet reported. However, it is being raised by many youth in the other commissions at the conference. Yet there are people who are now openly saying that what is needed is a youth movement like the Hitler Youth. This makes it all the more necessary to strengthen this movement for fitness, not only because a Nazi organised youth can never be fit, indeed they will quickly crack up under a strain, but also because only such a free, democratic, voluntary movement will ensure whole-hearted support and real health for the youth.

Part of what we have dealt with for this commission also concerns the last commission on "The Fitness Movement and Education in Citizenship," and it is impossible to separate it, since education in democracy is an essential part of rallying the youth to this movement. Yet this commission will also deal with the wider question of the relation of intellectual development to fitness, and the organising of talks, socials, community life, etc., in community centres. These are envisaged as a large building provided by the local authority, where all the voluntary organisations, and unorganised youth, can find a home and where all the views and interests of the district would be represented, where there would be facilities for indoor sports, lectures, films, etc., and where possible, open air grounds attached. Each organisation, while having full use of such a centre, would retain its own identity. The Centre would be run by a democratically elected Community Association. The development of these will bring together youth of all shades of opinion, yet all with a common object, to keep fit for democracy, and to accept their responsibilities as citizens in helping to run this movement.

These are the main things which will be discussed at this conference. It is obvious that there will be certain opposition to it. The big employers will oppose the giving of better conditions and shorter hours to the youth, etc. But mainly opposed to it are those who, supporting the Government, stand for conscription.

The Act was originally passed, not primarily to help the youth to be fit and healthy, but as a step in the plans to regiment the youth. Now comes the threat of slave camps for the unemployed youth, made by Mr. Chamberlain at Blackburn, and the renewed outbursts in the Press and in speeches, that the youth do not want to serve, do not want to be fit, and must be conscripted. Alongside this are the rapid putting into practice of the Government's threats to democracy, in the police control of the Air Raid Wardens' organisation and the appointment of the 12 wartime dictators, one for each area of the country.

It is on this background, that the conference will take place. But the youth are democratic. They have not only duties but rights in a democratic state. It is in bringing together these representatives of hundreds of thousands of British youth to say what they think is necessary for fitness, and what they will do to keep fit, that this conference will enable the youth to exercise its democratic rights, will defeat the aims of the reactionaries, and will mark a further step in uniting all youth behind a policy of peace, freedom and social advance.

INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE DECISIONS

Paris, March 13.

Proposals for the solution of the extremely acute problem of Spanish refugees in France are to be submitted to the French Government as the result of an *International Youth Conference* held at Rheims on March 10 and 11.

Main lines of the proposals are: Immediate investigation by an *International Youth Delegation* of the conditions in the concentration camps established near the French frontier in which over 300,000 refugees are living; the establishment of "Children's Cities," composed of Spanish children whose parents have been killed, while investigations into the question of their education and development are examined in collaboration with the National Union of Teachers; the publication of a map of France through which can be indicated the possibilities of distributing and providing shelter for these children in those districts capable of supporting them.

The Conference, at which were represented important youth organisations of 17 countries, including the United States, South America, Britain, South Africa, Scandinavian countries and Eastern European countries, was also attended by representatives and observers of such expert organisations as the Central French Committee for Refugees, the British Council for German Jewry, the American Distribution Committee, the World Young Women's Christian Association, and the Kuomintang.

Three of the delegates from Yugoslavia travelled for more than 40 consecutive hours in order to be able to attend the Conference in time.

The Conference was officially welcomed to Rheims, the "Martyred City" by the deputy Mayor of the town on behalf of the Minister of Justice, M. Marchandau, who is also Mayor of the town.

Plans for medical, financial aid for the Chinese refugees were formulated at the Conference, and an International China Week is shortly to be organised to bring the case of China before the eyes of world opinion.

The number of refugees in China, it was pointed out, is greater than that of the total population in France. As for the young people of China, refugee or not, they lack not only the most elementary requirements of food and clothing, but 80 per cent. of all educational institutions in the country have been destroyed as well as over two million books.

The Conference, organised by the *World Youth Congress Movement* has set up a strong Continuation Committee to continue the work.