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Unity of Youth Throughout the World

By Raymond Guyot

THE younger generation is growing up in the midst of world conflagration. Millions of young men and women are deeply troubled by the state of the world, in which they see their highest aspirations trampled under foot and destroyed by the unleashed forces of war and barbarism. The liberty, welfare and independence of nations, human brotherhood, the most sublime aspirations, all that is finest in mankind, are exposed to the ravaging attacks of fascism in its cruellest and most bloody form—Hitlerism.

Confronted with this appalling reality, working-class youth is aware of the important position it holds, of the great role which it has to play in the ranks of the international working class and the peoples of all countries. In the great struggle for the defence of moral, artistic, material wealth, accumulated by the nations in the course of their long history, the duty of the younger generation is to be on the side of those forces which represent life and a brilliant future, against the forces of social regression, barbarism, and death.

Seeing the innumerable crimes, the massacres of women and children, the wiping out of whole populations in Spain, China, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia and Austria, seeing destruction stalking over the earth, each young worker has to ask himself: "Who is responsible?"

We have only to open our eyes to behold, in all their horrible clarity, those on whom the responsibility rests. Only a person accessory to their banditry would deny that Hitlerism is a world incendiary, or would assert that Hitler made a peace gesture at Munich. Nevertheless it is a fact that such agents of fascism, humanity's enemy, do exist, and that they carry on their activities within youth organisations. Their criminal activities prevent the youth from seeing clearly the enemy whom they must combat, overcome and destroy. They create confusion in exploiting the very feelings for peace and justice which are typical of youth. Such persons are to be found not only in the entourage of Baldur von Schirach, Hitler's flunkey, but also inside progressive and revolutionary youth groups. These are the Trotskyists, spies acting on behalf of Hitlerism. They carry on their miserable and dangerous work particularly in the pacifist and socialist youth organisations. It is undeniable that this was one of the essential causes of the failure of such organisations to respond adequately to the September crisis, which struck

one of the hardest blows we have known to the cause of peace and liberty.

The duty of Young Communists is to act perseveringly to persuade the youth of all countries, including Germany, Italy and Japan, that Hitler is the enemy of humanity as a whole, the incendiary of world war, the provocateur who drives the younger generation to their death. Hitler's Trotskyist agents must be unhesitatingly denounced, mercilessly crushed, all the more firmly because they go under the name of revolutionaries, socialists and pacifists.

Having clarified this question, youth raises a second: "What are we to do to overcome Hitler, the war-incendiary?" The youth ask this question all the more sharply and insistently since they see Hitler realising his bloody victories with rapidity and not without ease.

We must first ask: Why so easily? Comrade *Dimitrov*, hero of the Reichstag Fire Trial and leader of the Communist International, has explained the situation in powerful phrases which ought to be read and re-read and deeply meditated upon:

"This has become possible as a result of the systematic retreat by the Governments of the so-called democratic States before fascist aggression."

And from this statement he draws the conclusion:

... "Without muzzling the reactionary imperialist cliques and the capitulationists of one's own country, it is impossible to control the unleashed fascist brigands, it is impossible to struggle successfully for the defence of liberty and independence of the nations, for the defence of world peace."

The attitude of the reactionary imperialist elements in Britain and France, with their spokesmen Chamberlain and Daladier, is typical. We must hail the enthusiastic struggle conducted by the youth of Britain and France at the side of the whole people, the struggle to drive Chamberlain and Daladier from power; and we must show the vital position which the Young Communist Leagues of both these countries hold in the vanguard in this magnificent struggle.

To overcome Hitler, the war-monger, we have to confront, in our own country, the reactionary imperialist cliques and the capitulationists; we have to construct a "peace ring," realising Comrade *Stalin's* words that "internationalism is the basic idea in the work of the Young Communist Leagues."

It is because the Young Communist International is animated by such a spirit of internationalism that it and all its affiliated bodies took part in the *Second World Youth Peace Congress*, at Vassar in August, 1938.

The success of this congress, in which 54 countries were represented by more than 500 delegates coming from the most diverse organisations—Communists and Socialists, Pacifists and Conservatives, Liberals and Catholics, Christians and Free-thinkers—is an indication of the profound hatred which the youth of the world feels for the aggressors. The abortive efforts of Baldur von Schirach and the Trotskyists failed to diminish the success of this world gathering, whose admirable decisions have become well known as the *Vassar Peace Pact*.

One of its passages runs:

"We solemnly condemn all wars of aggression against the political independence or the territorial or administrative integrity of a State. We agree to use our influence with our respective Governments every time that it may be necessary, in order: (i) that they shall have recourse to collective action to prevent aggression or put an end to it; (ii) that they shall give effective assistance to the victims of aggression or violation of treaties; (iii) that they shall refuse war material or financial aid to the aggressors. We resolve to mobilise world opinion to bring aid to the victims."

This unanimous resolution of the Second World Youth Congress constitutes a solid basis of action for the defence of peace. Nevertheless, since the aggression and invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Nazi hordes, the movement of united action by the youth for the defence of peace has not had the scope and the effectiveness which are indispensable for success,

and that although the attitude of working-class youth was favourable to the victim of this aggression.

It is true that there have been, in Britain, the United States, and in France, movements of sympathy and solidarity with Czechoslovakia; but they have not been sufficiently strong. For this there are several causes.

First of all, the movement is only just beginning to acquire experience in action. There is still serious disproportion between the movement's intentions and its effective action. This is a serious weakness which the "Leftist" elements within the Congress tried to aggravate in declaring for action of a kind disproportionate to the actual possibilities before the movement. The removal of this grave weakness is a question which receives much attention from the sincere friends of international collaboration in all youth organisations which have resolved to defend peace. The last World Youth Council, thanks to its practical decisions regarding humanitarian aid for Spain and against the shameful anti-Semitic persecutions in Hitler Germany, has made an important contribution to the solution of this difficulty. It is with the greatest optimism that we await the future of the youth peace movement.

The second cause is the weakness of propaganda work in the youth movement, and also in the Young Communist Leagues, in failing to explain the mystery surrounding the Munich dictate. The lie that "firmness before aggression means war" has not been destroyed in time. We have to learn to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of the youth and to make them familiar with the most modern methods of propaganda—especially the radio and the cinema. The firm and logical attitude of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, supreme leader of the world proletariat, to the peace problem provides an example which the youth of all countries should follow.

The third cause is the weak state of the revolutionary movement of world youth, owing to the continuous schism in the ranks of the working-class youth. In recent years progress has been made towards liquidating the schism in the working-class youth, thanks to the efforts of the Young Communist International, in applying the decisions of its Sixth World Congress. After *Spain*, where the Communist and Socialist youth are united, in *Belgium* and *Mexico* and even in the *Scandinavian* countries, relations have improved between the Communist youth and the Socialist youth. The two Youth Internationals collaborate to bring aid to Republican Spain. Communist and Socialist students have created an international centre of collaboration. These are results over which we rejoice and from which we derive confidence for the future. But we do not shut our eyes to the difficulties. Young Communists and Socialists understand that in rejecting the united front with the Communist International at the present time, the Second International takes on the heavy responsibility of weakening the forces of the international working class. Further, it is known that certain reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, the British Labour Party and Socialist Party of France are the declared enemies of the budding unity of the youth movement, and that they do everything in their power to break it, aided as they are by certain youth leaders.

We must raise higher than ever the flag of unity of the young generation of workers and of the unity of the working class, so that with the peoples of all countries they may present a victorious front to Hitler's fascism and put a sharp end to fascism's assault upon the rights of peoples and upon peace and liberty.

The youth will be on the side of civilisation, with all its heart and all its energy.

FROM THE YOUNG PEASANTS OF BELGIUM

On November 27, the movement of the young socialists of Belgium organised a conference of the young peasants at Namur. The delegates, young peasants, who came from all the parts of Wallonia, expressed their firm determination to engage in immediate action for the defence of the young peasants. The conference decided to prepare a congress which shall inaugurate a powerful movement of the advance-guard of the young peasants.

United Front Against Fascism

We publish below an extract from the article on the international situation which Comrade GEORGI DIMITROV published on the occasion of the 21st anniversary of the October Revolution:

THE entire course of events has shown how correct Comrade Stalin, and on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, were when they warned that the fascist governments are preparing a fresh imperialist conflagration and issued the timely call to the working people to resist fascism on the basis of a united Popular Front.

In 1935 Italy attacked Abyssinia. In 1936 fascist Germany arbitrarily tore up the Versailles Treaty and soon afterwards organised with Italy armed intervention against the Spanish Republic. In July, 1937, Japan launched a war no less nefarious against China in order to complete the conquest which was commenced in 1931 by the annexation of Manchuria. In March, 1938, Germany occupied Austria, and in October seized the Sudetenland, took possession of all the military-strategic positions of Czechoslovakia in the endeavour to transform it into its virtual colony.

"All these facts go to show that the second imperialist war has, in fact, already begun. It has begun surreptitiously, without war being declared. States and peoples have somehow imperceptibly crept into the orbit of the second imperialist war. War has been begun in different parts of the globe by three aggressive States: the fascist ruling circles of Germany, Italy and Japan. War has already succeeded in drawing over five hundred million people into its orbit. In the last analysis it is being waged against the capitalist interests of Britain, France, the U.S.A., since its object is to secure the repartition of the world and spheres of influence to the advantage of the aggressive countries and at the expense of these so-called democratic States. (Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U., pages 318/19, Russian edition.)

This series of sanguinary fascist crimes has become possible because the ruling circles of the so-called democratic States have systematically retreated before the fascist aggressors, although they possessed adequate means wherewith to avert the outbreak of war (collective action of the States, members of the League of Nations, by employing Article 16 of the League of Nations Covenant and by applying economic sanctions), and would have met with the enthusiastic support of all peoples who want neither the bondage of fascism nor the horrors of war.

"However, the bourgeois governments did not put the system of collective security into operation. They did not do so because they did not want to, because their policy is determined by the reactionary imperialist circles who, out of fear of the growth of the working-class movement in Europe, of the movement for national liberation in Asia, out of hatred for the land of Socialism, sacrificed to fascism the interests of their own peoples. They supported German fascism because they want in its person to have a European gendarme that strangles every democratic anti-fascist movement of the masses of the people. In the name of their narrow class imperialist interests they yield the small nations to be rent asunder by fascism, thereby facilitating the further aggression of the fascist governments." (G. Dimitrov.)

To-day, to cover up their terrible responsibilities, the Governments of London and Paris make the lying assertion that by bending the knee to the fascist dictators they were saving the cause of peace.

"At all the stages at which war was unleashed, only the great Soviet Union pursued a firm policy of peace. Had the

other States accepted the proposals of the Soviet Government regarding a collective repulse to the aggressor, peace would have been preserved. Millions of people would not have been hurled, as now, into the bloody shambles of destruction by war.

Everybody is aware of the position adopted by the Soviet Union when German fascism was brandishing the knife over Czechoslovakia. In accordance with the agreement concluded with Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union declared before the whole world that it was ready to come to the assistance of Czechoslovakia should the latter be attacked, and would fulfil its obligation as provided for in this treaty.

The whole world knows how the Soviet Union answered the invasion of Soviet territory at Lake Hassan by the Japanese Samurai.

The Soviet Union pursues its policy in the interests of the genuine defence of peace, in the interests of the working people of all countries. Its peace policy corresponds to the aspirations of all peoples. The Soviet Union is the powerful buttress of the struggle against wars of conquest, the unfailing defender of small nations and weak countries against fascist aggression and imperialist enslavement. The land of Socialism is the staunch bulwark of the liberation struggle of the working people throughout the world, the most important factor in rallying the forces of the international working class and of the anti-fascist People's Front.

The whole of working mankind is vitally interested in the all-round consolidation of the Soviet Union, in the resolute strengthening of contacts between the great Soviet people and the working class and peoples of the capitalist countries. Herein lies the most important guarantee of the successful struggle for world peace.

It would be a most dangerous delusion at the present time for the labouring masses and the people to believe the false pro-fascist legend that it has been peace that has been secured at the price of the predatory dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, that German fascism has by this act of violence completed the fulfilment of its programme of aggression in Europe and that the peoples may sleep in tranquillity without grievous thoughts about a new war. Only accomplices in the fascist crimes, only deceivers of the peoples or hopeless political blockheads can spread such a legend. No person in his right senses will deny that it is precisely since the Munich conspiracy that the effrontery of the fascist aggressors has immensely increased."

Thanks to the reactionary British and French bourgeoisie German fascism has captured new, exceptionally favourable military-strategic and economic positions for the further development of imperialist war, not only in view of the redistribution of the existing colonial possessions, but the repartition of Europe itself, the colonisation of a number of European States and the imperialist enslavement of a number of European peoples. A map circulated by the German fascists themselves after the occupation of the Sudetenland clearly demonstrates this plan. It suffices to observe the disruptive work of German and Italian fascism in a number of countries and in the colonies to become convinced that the fascists are really working to put these plans into operation.

But the fascist plunderers are reckoning without the host. The peoples have not yet said their decisive word.

Never yet has the hatred felt for the war-mongers been so profound and strong as at the present time. Quite recently tens of millions of men in the majority of countries raised a strong

protest against the Nazi aggressors and demanded the unity of the anti-fascist forces in Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union in order to come to the assistance of Czechoslovakia.

The smoke screen created by the pro-fascist circles and their representatives in the ruling sphere, directly assisted by a number of reactionary leaders of the Second International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and designed to convince people that peace was saved in Munich, is beginning rapidly to disperse.

Two basic trends can be observed in international politics:

(1) The further conduct of the policy of agreement between German and Italian fascism on the one hand, and the imperialist cliques of Great Britain and France on the other; an agreement directed against the vital interests of their own peoples, against the poorly protected nations and countries, against the international Labour Movement, against democracy, against the great land of Socialism.

(2) The movement of the working class united front, of the united front of the peoples against this bandit agreement, against fascist aggression, in defence of world peace.

This second trend which leads to the victory of the Spanish and Chinese peoples, to the consolidation of the liberty and independence of the small nations, to the curbing of the fascist aggressors, corresponds to the interests of the working class and of the peoples of all countries. But the most important lesson of the recent events is that unless the reactionary imperialist cliques and capitulators in one's own country are curbed it is impossible to curb the unbridled fascist brigands, it is impossible to conduct a successful struggle in defence of the liberty and independence of the people and to defend world peace.

The working class and its Communist vanguard is the most resolute and consistent adherent and champion of peace. The defence of peace cannot be achieved by wordy pacifist declarations and invocations. What is needed is active struggle, resolute resistance in order to solve the following basic tasks:

To frustrate the policy of the bandit agreement between the fascist aggressors and the imperialist cliques of Britain and France;

to offer resolute resistance in the countries of bourgeois democracy to reaction which is raising its head and is aimed at the social achievements of the working people; at democratic liberties, at the Labour Movement;

to ensure the victory of the Spanish and Chinese peoples over the fascist vultures;

to protect the Czechoslovak people and the peoples of the small countries against foreign enslavement.

Forces that are quite real exist for the solution of these tasks. All that is necessary is that they be brought into action.

It would be difficult in post-war political history to find another moment when the interests of the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia, when the interest of the small nations, of the dependent and colonial countries when the interest of culture and science, the interests of peace and democracy, coincided and merged in a common current against fascism, the worst enemy of mankind, such as the present moment.

This is quite a real basis for the establishment and consolidation of the united front of the working class and of the peoples of all countries against fascist barbarism and the incendiaries of imperialist war.

But if the international working class is to fulfil its role of initiator, organiser and leader of a powerful united front against aggression and fascist plundering, it must realise its own strength and be able to make use of this enormous strength to rally together the masses of the working people, and first and foremost, it must establish unity in its own ranks. The opponents of working-class unity and of the anti-fascist popular front must be ruthlessly exposed and ousted as accomplices of reaction at home and of the fascist aggressors.

The fulfilment of the idea that is maturing in the ranks of the Labour Movement regarding the calling of an *International Workers' Conference* of representatives of the organisations of the working class of all countries would be an exceptionally important step on this road.

Youth and Politics

British Youth and the Struggle Against Chamberlain

By John Gollan (London)

IF Hitler was the aggressor at Munich, Chamberlain, with his policy of "appeasement," was his main accomplice. The policy of "appeasement" expressed in honest terms, is the policy of assistance to fascist aggression and the destruction of democracy.

The Munich betrayal, put across in Britain to the accompaniment of panic measures of trench digging, the issuing of gas masks, the mobilisation of the fleet and the anti-aircraft units of the Territorial Army, was only possible because of a lack of unity of the forces against Chamberlain, the lack of a clear-cut policy of halting fascist aggression, and fatal weakness of the anti-Chamberlain forces at the critical points of the struggle.

The results of Chamberlain's foreign policy have been accompanied in Britain by demands for more arms, while little or nothing has been done for civilian defence, threats of attacks on social services as a result of huge arms expenditure, increasing moves to industrial conscription, fascist national service, attacks upon freedom of speech, censoring news reels and so on.

All these things are arousing ever increasing masses of British people to a realisation of the fact that appeasement and friendship with fascism means war and the destruction of democracy both at home and abroad.

This is admitted even by Government newspapers. For example, the *Daily Express*, Government newspaper, wrote recently:

"Is Mr. Chamberlain's position crumbling? There is certainly less public support for the Prime Minister and his policy than there was a month ago. It would be foolish to pretend otherwise."

In a whole series of bye-elections which have taken place since Munich, the Government has received a number of devastating defeats. In the five bye-elections covering a fair cross-section of the country, the Government vote has been stationary (124,028 votes as against 123,061 at the General Election) and an increase in the Opposition vote (131,714 as against 109,904) by 20 per cent. If this was maintained on a national scale without splitting votes and the opposition was united, Chamberlain could be defeated to-morrow. A remarkable thing about the elections has been the large measure of local agreements between the parties. This is particularly seen in relation to the Perth bye-election where the Duchess of Atholl, opposition Conservative, was standing against the Government, and the Liberal candidate stood down to avoid splitting the vote.

In this situation, the need of the moment is unity of all forces against Chamberlain. In this connection, significant events have taken place over past weeks. While the *Labour Party* leadership has still rejected the united struggle, it is pre-occupied with an incessant and increasing struggle within its ranks for unity. More and more leaders of the Labour Party are being forced to consider a united alternative to Chamberlain. The *Liberal Party* has announced its willingness to unite with all forces against Chamberlain, and *Sir Archibald Sinclair*, its leader, has publicly announced his willingness to lead a united combination against Chamberlain composed of Liberal, Labour and Opposition Conservatives. Of great interest in the struggle against Hitler is the significant opposition of Conservatives like *Churchill* and *Eden*. So far there has been no clear programmatic declaration of this group, and while they are advancing such ideas as more arms, and *Duff Cooper* has advocated conscription, *Eden*, for example, has declared, "We must, as a nation, agree not only on the steps we must take to put our defence in order, but on the purpose for which our armaments are required." There are several essentials to play our part. "Those essentials are three—unity, strength and a sense of justice." On this basis he has spoken for National Unity.

The key to the situation is *Spain*. All the opposition to

Chamberlain has expressed itself in ever increasing movement of food for Spain and against the granting of belligerent rights. Even Eden and Duff Cooper, previously supporting non-intervention, have declared a Government victory in Spain would be a defeat for the dictators and a victory for democracy. The Labour Party and the Co-operative Movement have launched a joint campaign for food. Dozens of towns have sent foodships. Ten million leaflets of protest against the granting of belligerent rights, to be signed and sent to Members of Parliament, have been distributed by the International Peace Council.

In all this work the *Youth Movement* has played an ever increasing part. Recently there took place the most representative conference yet held of the youth organisations, for humanitarian aid to Spain. Another Anglo-French Youth Competition has been launched to send a youth foodship to Spain for Christmas.

Of the greatest importance is the *Emergency Youth Peace Campaign*, a united Youth Movement against Chamberlain, launched jointly by the League of Young Liberals, members of the Labour League of Youth, the League of Nations Union Youth Groups, the Young Communist League, the Co-operative Youth, many young Conservatives, the University Labour, Liberal and League of Nations Societies. Immediately after Munich, an emergency National Conference was held in London addressed by *Captain Liddell-Hart*, famous Military Correspondent of the *Times*, and attended by 759 delegates and visitors from 26 different organisations.

Captain Liddell-Hart, opponent of Fascism, and strategical critic of the Government, said:

"The keynote of your movement should be co-operation with anything which fosters freedom; non-co-operation with anything that fetters it. It is spiritual folly to go totalitarian in an effort to stand against totalitarianism."

The main decision of this Conference was the call for the unity of all progressive forces for an alternative government to Chamberlain. All opposition leaders are being visited and the position of the Youth Movement made clear on this issue. A declaration of full support of the United Youth Movement for all steps by such a government in resisting fascist aggression is being made. The conference declared Spain is now the key to peace, called for food, no belligerent rights, arms for Spain; and the unity of Britain, France and the Soviet Union, and an understanding with the U.S.A. to halt fascist aggression.

The Conference made the position of youth clear to the important question of national service. It declared that the best defence of the people was a correct foreign policy for which youth would willingly serve. Defence of the people requires a united nation, an extension of democracy, a strong and healthy youth. It further declared "We are prepared to give our service to make air raid precautions the best possible defence and to participate and take the initiative in all forms of democratically organised measures to protect the people." It concluded:

"We are ready to do everything that is necessary to make Britain strong in defence of international law. This will never be accomplished while a policy is pursued which sacrifices and demoralises our allies and fetters our liberty. Whatever is necessary to arouse and inspire the youth of this country can be carried out through the machinery of the free youth movement. We are prepared to play our part."

The Conference decided to launch a *National Youth Peace Pilgrimage* of 5,000 pilgrims to arrive in London for February 18 and 19, 1939. In all the big towns, the campaign for the conference programme and against Chamberlain is going ahead. One million leaflets have already been, or will be, issued; a mass pamphlet, badge and posters for the pilgrimage have been issued. In the localities the campaign is forging ahead. Meetings and demonstrations have been planned, the Members of Parliament of the various towns are being visited by united Youth Deputations. Not only is it a campaign against Chamberlain for a Government of peace and resistance to fascism, but everywhere the Mayors of the towns are being visited for a town's conference of all youth on defence.

On February 18 the thousands of pilgrims will arrive in London. There will be a march past the Cenotaph in Whitehall to the Empress Stadium, seating 10,000, for a mass rally on Youth's programme. There will be a deputation to the Govern-

ment, to present the demands. All the political leaders of the opposition will be visited by deputations of the pilgrims with the demand of a united stand against Chamberlain and a declaration of full support of democratic youth for this stand. There will be a deputation to the British Broadcasting Company, the main newspapers, and the news reel companies on the policy. The pilgrims will then return to their areas to plan the next steps in the fight.

This greatest united campaign of the Youth Britain has seen has just been launched. But already *A. J. Cummings*, noted Liberal commentator, has written about this growing youth movement in the *News Chronicle* (December 8, 1938), that recent events have taught the youth of Britain a lesson; they are profoundly sceptical of the Government, although they are prepared to defend the people and save a cause in which they believe. He concludes:

"Political parties used to think they could control their own youth organisations sufficiently well to tap the reservoir for all their party purposes. If that was ever true, it is not true to-day.

The growth of independent or semi-independent movements of men and women under the age of thirty, may yet decide the fate of British Parliament. It could do so almost at once under genuine leadership."

The youth of Britain, knowing the stigma and shame of Chamberlain so well, are striving to face up to their responsibilities. Unitedly they will strain every nerve to help smash Chamberlain, and open a new era for the forces of peace and liberty.

Munich and Ourselves

By C. B.

IN the last three months the youth of France has undergone a severe test. It is a period worth surveying.

August 1938—The advantages gained for French youth by the Popular Front were particularly appreciated in holiday time. The highways and byways of France were crowded with groups of young cyclists, hikers and campers enjoying well-earned recreation. They were profiting from the June conquest—the forty-hour week, holidays with pay, and higher rates of wages.

But if the young people of France are gay, they are not lightminded. In 1938 they collected more than a million francs for Republican Spain. Many of them went to take up arms against fascism, as members of the International Brigade; among them were nine members of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League. At the great International Youth Peace Congress at New York, in August, there were 10 delegates representing French youth and bearing its message of peace to the world. These young people who are faced by the struggle for happiness are optimistic and confident of the future.

In September the sky became clouded. Hitler brandished his war-threats in the face of the world as he advanced against Czechoslovakia. The militancy of young France increased, no less ardent than its desire for peace. The young men responded splendidly to the mobilisation order given by Daladier—given, unfortunately, only with the vilest motives.

Expressing the attitude of young France as a whole, the *Young Communist League* issued, on September 17, a manifesto which was published in the *l'Avant Gard* and in 28,000 leaflets. Here are a few extracts:

"We are with the youth and the people of Czechoslovakia, who do not want to have their country dismembered. It is in the first place a question of justice and right. Above all, what is at stake is the existence of France and the peace of Europe.

Hitler will retreat if we stand firm.

We, the youth of France, for whom the defence of the nation is identical with the defence of the democratic liberties and social laws gained by the Popular Front, will not permit any attack upon the forty-hour week nor upon any of the conquests of June, 1936.

In this grave hour when the war-clouds are gathering, the younger generation of our country, which has a decisive role to play, must give the example of unity which alone can achieve peace."

Mass youth meetings were organised in several French towns, but the most important was that at *Wittelsheim*, where 2,000 young Alsatians met on mobilisation day, while the panic-stricken bourgeoisie were fleeing towards Paris.

But on September 30 the heroes of Munich consummated their crime against the nations, against Czechoslovakia and against peace. Falling victims to the war-blackmail, deceived by villainous demagogues of Munich, considerable sections of the youth at first took the Daladier-Chamberlain capitulation to be a real saving of peace.

The Young Communist League lost no time in denouncing this treachery in a vigorous placard, of which more than 10,000 copies were posted up throughout France. Its substance was as follows:

"Resign, Daladier!"

"You are leading France towards catastrophe."

"Forswearing your allegiance to the Popular Front, you are attacking our social conquests. You are putting yourself at the service of the Two Hundred Families."

"We will not permit you to turn the Pyrenees into a Nazi frontier."

"War can be prevented by the unity of the democratic States."

"We call upon the youth to unite and tear up the shameful ultimatum you signed, in order that we may save France, liberty and peace."

This denunciation was so embarrassing to the Government which had gone to Munich that in several cities arrests were made of the bill-stickers. The placards themselves were torn across in almost every case.

But the young militants were not discouraged. In many districts they took the initiative admirably by reproducing the placard in leaflet form, and so bringing it to the public notice. At the same time they protested against Daladier's attack on free speech.

As it was easy to foresee, the policy of submission to fascism, which embodied the Daladier-Chamberlain foreign policy, brought with it also an increase in their fatal complacency towards the aggressors in Spain. At home, it meant an attempt to deliver up the French people to the savage attacks of the financial oligarchy.

The pressure of foreign fascism began to extend itself over our internal politics.

The dangerous situation was analysed by the C.C. of the Young Communist League, at a meeting at Ivry, on October 31. As a result, a proclamation was issued containing the following important passages:

"Forward, youth of France."

"Old, withered politicians, servile in international finance, are turning our country into a mockery; they are weakening it in strength and prestige. They are trying to force our country to give way to the threats of fascist powers and to break with our glorious traditions."

"No! We shall never allow foreign dictators to have their will in France."

"We desire peace ardently. To those who say they prefer slavery to death, the youth reply:

"We shall save both life and liberty."

"We shall carry on the tradition of France."

"Youth wants a new life!"

"Make way for a government of the people, loyal to the pledges given in May, 1936!"

The youth of France was quick to estimate the extent of the Munich disaster; anger mounted against the traitors of Munich.

But the Daladier government, casting aside parliamentary control in its hostility to the people, has issued a whole regiment of decrees making for hardship and social reaction.

What do these decrees mean for the youth?

They take away from 300,000 young unemployed every hope of finding work, since they increase the working hours of those in employment and put an end to recruitment for public works.

It can be predicted that these decrees will increase the unemployment of young persons to a considerable extent, for, just as they refuse pensions which would permit old workers to enjoy a well-earned rest, they prevent youth from taking its part again in production.

By suppressing the 40-hour week which allows the youth to enjoy healthy sports, cultural activities and travel, these decrees attack our well-being.

They are already about to suppress holidays with pay, which are so necessary if young workers are to regain full health after a year's exploitation. In nullifying these articles of collective agreements, which forbid piece-rates, they open the door to savage rationalisation.

Since they treat the youth as machinery, these decrees sabotage apprenticeship. The measures suggested for occupational training are nothing but a mockery. The ten million francs to be devoted to this plan will not make it possible for every young man and woman to have a trade, as was promised by the decree of May 24, 1938. Such a sum would scarcely make possible the re-training of 2,000 workers.

These decrees bring us nearer to the fascist system of forced labour. They are intended to make us subservient to conditions laid down by the exploiters, on pain of dismissal without notice and six months' unemployment without benefit of any kind, nor the possibility of getting new employment.

The youth, always the most heavily exploited stratum, will no longer have any voice in the defence of their own interests.

No one under 21 will be allowed to vote in the election of trade union delegates in the factories, and no one under 25 will be eligible for election.

Not only will the meagre wages of young workers be severely hit by the increase in indirect taxation, but the apprentice who earns less than 10,000 francs a year will be liable to a direct tax of 200 francs a year.

In spite of the fact that those who draw up these decrees underline the dangers of the falling birth rate in our country, young men and women will be forced down to such a low level of existence that they will have no hope of marrying and setting up a home. It has not occurred to Minister Paul Reynaud to grant the just claim for allowances to young families.

Finally, these decrees put a stop to large-scale public works. This means not only increased unemployment, but also no more building of schools, healthy dwellings and sports stadia, all of which are vital to the intellectual and physical development of young France.

Thus these decrees sacrifice our youth upon the altar of mammon, while bringing France ever nearer to catastrophe, instead of to greater strength.

The youth know all this. That is why they have shown such great enthusiasm in taking part, with their fathers and elder brothers, in the general strike of November 30. They will remain united in action in order to drive from office those who went to Munich and are now bringing about the ruin of France.

German Youth and the Anti-Jewish Pogroms

By Felix Pohl

THE overwhelming majority of the German people have shown that they have nothing whatever to do with the anti-Jewish pogroms organised by the Nazi Government.

"It is not right; the Jews are human beings too."

"It is not the Jews, but the Nazis, who are Germany's misfortune." "Wrath of the people! Ridiculous, not one of the workers employed at our place took part, even the Nazis are against it." "No wonder that we are decried all over the world, it is a disgrace to Germany."

An Aryan shopkeeper: "The more the Jews are persecuted, the worse off we are. They have broken Hirsch's (Jewish shopkeeper) windows, but I shall have to shut my shop, for the dogs have ruined me with their high taxes."

A former Nazi: "And what good do we get from the anti-Jewish pogroms? Not an ounce more butter. If we must have pogroms, then pogroms of the bosses!"

This is the opinion held in Germany of the pogroms. It is realised that the pogroms are directed not only against the Jewish section of the population, but in reality against the toiling masses, and in particular against the opponents of Hitler's war policy. Propaganda Minister Goebbels has not succeeded, in spite of his

press slanders and threats in making the German people believe that peace has been saved by the Munich agreement. Since Munich rearmament has continued at a madder speed than ever. The Nazi leaders fulminate against the other nations, just as they did before Munich. The "Munich Peace" has brought the toiling masses no alleviations, but, on the contrary, fresh burdens, greater output through increased exploitation, inferior food, etc. The workers of Germany are whispering about all this to one another.

In order to distract the attention of the people from these evils, and to shift responsibility for them to others, the Nazis organised these savage pogroms. A workman employed by Blohm & Voss, Hamburg, explained the meaning of the anti-Jewish pogroms to his fellow-workers by the following fable:—

"A Moorish Emir once said: My people are a set of rats. They must be put into a sack and shaken up continually, to prevent them from gnawing through the sack. This is how it is in Germany to-day."

And this is true! The Nazis are exerting every effort to prevent any unity of the toiling people against their oppressors. One section of the people is played off against another. Yesterday it was the Marxists who were to blame for the distress, to-day it is the Jews. A Catholic rightly declared: "To-day they are burning down the synagogues, to-morrow it will be our churches, and we shall be called 'enemies of the people.' But Hitler is mistaken if he thinks that he can keep the people down by such mediaeval methods.

What is the attitude of German youth towards the anti-Jewish pogroms of the last few days? A large number of reports state that many Hitler Youth members have taken part in the looting of Jewish shops and maltreatment of Jews. A report from Cologne states, for instance, that the Hitler Youth have behaved with great brutality. In many towns whole units of the Hitler Youth have been sent under command to carry out pogroms.

But it would be wrong to assume that the majority of German youth, or even of the young people organised in the Hitler Youth, welcome these pogroms. Those who have taken part are for the most part very young, misled elements. It must not be forgotten abroad that the children in the schools, and the young people in the "Hitler Youth" and "League of German Girls" are systematically trained in anti-Semitic spirit. The notorious pornographic children's books of the chief anti-Semite, Julius Streicher, are to-day officially recognised text-books. Day by day the children are told that the Jews are to blame for all poverty and want, all evils. It would be a mistake to ignore the fact that this training bears certain fruit among youth.

But to the honour of German youth it may be stated that the majority of them reject this barbarism! In shame and disgust they turn from this mediaeval bestiality, unworthy of a civilised nation. Heated discussions took place during the pogrom days in the factories, the "Hitler Youth," the sports' clubs, the vocational schools. The following argument was often heard:—

"We have been running upstairs and downstairs for weeks, collecting rags and scrap metal, and now valuable goods are being destroyed in a few hours on orders from 'above.' No, they won't get me to go out collecting any more."

Three young workers, one of them a Hitler Youth, having the opportunity of hearing the world opinion of the anti-Jewish pogroms by means of a translation of a foreign newspaper, were greatly impressed. "It is not right to hold all German Jews responsible for the deed of one," was their unanimous conclusion. "Our newspapers are cut to the pattern of the Propaganda Ministry; they say nothing about this."

It should be mentioned that adults did a great deal towards enlightening the young people in the pogrom days. Parents restrained their children from following the orders of the Hitler Youth to loot the Jewish shops. It is reported from Frankfurt on the Main that mothers there went to their children's teachers and protested against the anti-Semitic agitation in the schools. The mothers continue to complain that National Socialist education is converting their children into savages. One mother said: "Everything that was once sacred to us is now dragged in the mud."

Several cases are known where teachers, conscious of their responsibility, have cautiously enlightened the children under their care against the anti-Jewish pogroms. During the last few

days some German mothers have gone by night to the owners of the Jewish shops which had been wrecked and plundered, and have restored to them the goods stolen by their children during the pogrom.

The German anti-fascists will spare no efforts to enlighten misled youth. The struggle against these pogroms is, however, not only the duty of the German people, and of the German anti-fascists in particular. Comrade Pieck says rightly:—

"This fight against the barbarism of Hitler fascism is the affair not only of the working masses of Germany, but also of the people of the whole world. This fight is a fight in defence of the independence, democracy and liberty of the peoples against which Hitler fascism is committing its crimes. It is a fight for the maintenance and security of peace in face of the war provocateurs. Therefore, all men and women who are rendered indignant by the cruel anti-Jewish pogroms of Hitler fascism and protest against them must draw the correct conclusion that the only way to repel this fascist barbarism and war provocation is by creating a broad international fighting front against Hitler fascism and against his confederates among the reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie of the democratic countries and against the Trotskyist agents in the working class."

Young Spain Fights and Works

By Luisa Rivaud

THE youth of Spain to-day is split in two. The two sides are divided not only by trenches running across our countryside, separating the Republican zone from the invader's zone, but also by differences which go still deeper than the trenches.

It suffices to glance at the so-called youth press of the rebels in order to realise that it is not actually concerned with the youth. In the army the youth have to submit to Prussian discipline, and in the factories and fields to iniquitous exploitation. One may say that, here, the youth have ceased to be young. Even small children lack the characteristics of childhood, for their games have been replaced by the idea of war, by drilling and marching. And in the same way the young men are not young. They fight, they risk and lose their lives at the front, without knowing for whom or for what, but driven ahead by force, without faith or will of their own.

In contrast, we have our own youth, the youth of loyal Spain, the youth who know for whom and for what they are fighting, and who fight in the burning desire to drive out the foreign invader, so that Spain may once again belong to the Spaniards.

Before July, 1936, the working class youth of Spain were completely different from what they are to-day. Exploited, driven by the necessity of earning a harsh livelihood, they worked only for a bare existence. In spite of the great misery of their life, they had also a certain recklessness and irresponsibility—qualities not unnatural to youth.

But when the traitor generals rose in revolt against the lawful government of the Republic, the working class youth, who had been on guard for days on end, in their organisations, vigilantly watching the slightest move on the part of the age-old enemy—the youth of Madrid, Asturias, Catalonia and every part of Spain, recognising the gravity of the situation, were the first to arise and take arms. Or, when there were no arms for them, advanced against the enemy with nothing but sticks and spades. Among these young men there developed a rapid sense of responsibility, and they lost their former carelessness.

Every day, from every organisation, the youth came in their hundreds, bound for the front. The Madrid branch of the *United Socialist Youth*, already the most powerful youth organisation in Spain, became a small-scale War Office. It was from these offices that the first columns marched, the first battalions left for the various fronts. It was there that arms and the still rudimentary equipment was distributed.

From the taking of the Montaine and other barracks, they pressed on into the Sierra. Many of these boys had brought with them their schoolbags, their sisters and workmates. The youth columns marched into the Sierra, but no one thought that they would be able to hold it, without supplies or munitions.

After a few days some of them came back, with torn clothes,

tanned by the fierce July sun, and very hungry. In the enthusiasm of the first hours no one had remembered that even at the front one has to eat and drink, and that one cannot do everything with heroism. This piece of organisation was then carried out rapidly, like so many other necessities. A first aid service was also established without loss of time. The most luxurious hotels in Madrid and the largest palace rooms were turned into hospital wards and operating rooms. The aristocratic clubs were converted into rest homes for wounded militia men, invalids and convalescents.

And all this time the girls were working in the rearguard, organising workshops which turned out clothing for the militia at a real war tempo. Others took service in the hospitals or accompanied the doctors with the ambulances. Others remained at the head of their organisations.

The first feverish weeks passed and with them passed some of the disorder engendered by the situation. Above all what was clear was the need for organisation.

What, in principle, seemed to be a minor conflict, easily suppressed, turned out to be more serious. Even at this time it had ceased to be a civil war. Germany and Italy began to send material and troops to the rebel generals. The war became an invasion. All that our people had was their courage and their bare hands, against Krupp's artillery and Capronis and Savoias. Evidently, courage was not enough. It was necessary to organise a real army and a united command.

The youth, convinced of the importance of their role, began to swell the ranks of the army with the best of their men, already proved in struggle, and who were to reveal themselves as potential leaders and aviators. From the very beginning of the war the factories had been deserted. So were the political organisations. Many, therefore, had to return from the fronts to take up their former work and carry it on, not in the old way, but with accelerated vigour. Boys in the factories transferred the heightened rhythm of their pulses to the machinery. The centralising of organisation was the best method of helping the Government cause. The young girls' workshops, previously small and scattered, were co-ordinated under the military administration.

This was in the first days of November. They were days of tragedy for the Madrilenos, but even more disastrous for the rebels, who had thought they could settle the Republic quickly by taking the capital. With ever increasing ardour, the youth showed their maturity, their new sense of responsibility. In helping the defence junta, under General *Miaja*, they were given responsible positions, some of them as important as public order, the press, etc. It was not only the youth of Madrid who helped to save the situation. All over loyal Spain, in the trenches, in the fields and factories, in offices, youth was doing its share. The youth of Valencia helped to evacuate Madrid, providing shelter and care for the women and children in an attempt to save them from terrible air raids. The same was done by the Catalonian youth.

In *Valencia*, January, 1937, a Youth Conference was organised by the United Socialist Youth. But this was more than a conference of one organisation: it was, as every one recognised, a conference of the youth as a whole. Young people from all organisations took part. Beside the leaders were young officers from the army, soldiers, intellectuals, and girls. From this conference were drawn lessons of vital importance, directives which remain printed on the minds of the whole of Spanish youth and which they have been following unceasingly since that time. It was there that the first anti-tank fighters spoke; their lessons served to broaden the movement which is our glory to-day. It was there that the independent organisation for girls was set up, a broad organisation which includes young people of all tendencies and which is known to-day as *The Union of Young Girls of Spain*. Above all, it was from this conference that the Young Anti-fascist Alliance was developed; to-day it is a magnificent reality.

The enormous mass of the youth who form the ranks of the Republican Army have important things to think of besides the daily preoccupations of waging war. For the youth organisations are expected to provide leaders, officers, and commissars; some of them are less than 23 years of age. Aided by their men, they are constantly giving new impetus to their units. Few units do not possess an *educational club* for the men, where the

soldiers may read and think, in order to apply the directives which come from the rearguard. At the same time that the youth are fighting and dying in the army, they are able to acquire cultural and technical knowledge useful for the cause they are defending. The youth were the first to form the anti-tank and anti-aircraft brigades. It is they who have done the greatest deeds of heroism in the air and at sea. They have carried out exploits like that of *Jose Luis Diez*; and their leisure time is passed in polishing and cleaning their weapons so as to economise to the utmost degree on material which is so much needed in the rear.

The youth, and especially the girls, taking the place of responsible comrades who have gone to the front, carry on the fight in the rear. They work with a magnificent spirit, seeking only to make each day's work better than yesterday's. Now every factory worked by the youth is noted for its shock brigade. However tired one is, one has to do the job better in the same space of time. To care for the machine as if it were a personal treasure, the vital instrument with which one works to forge victory. And, coming out of the factory or workshop, to find time for repairing and restoring everything which may be useful to the Government. The youth issued the call to collect old iron: in a fortnight thousands of tons had been collected. In the same fortnight metre upon metre of barbed wire was sent to the front to contribute to the defence of positions. The paper factories received tons of old clothes.

The whole of our youth has learnt to repeat: "The harvest is sacred." "Not a grain of corn, not a single fruit shall be lost," is the response. The promise has been kept. The soldiers, workers, young girls, all spend their free hours in the country helping the peasants. In the fields of Spain to-day only the old people remain. The young men have exchanged the plough for the rifle; but they have not abandoned the plough completely. Whenever it is possible, and whenever it is necessary, young men and girls return to the hard work in the fields. They have brought in several harvests. Now that they have gained the battle of reaping, they will gain the battle of sowing.

The young peasant girls want to remain peasants. Others want to learn to be so. That is why we have established farm-schools, so that the Spanish countryside may be able to provide supplies for its army and civil population, and, in the future, be one of the real sources of wealth in the new Spain.

All youth's activities are dominated by a great spirit of construction; they have a vast hunger for knowledge, to know more and to be of more use. Confronted with the enemy's work of destruction, they redouble their desire to triumph, to gain victory which will enable them to *build*.

The Chinese Youth in the Struggle Against Japanese Invasion

By James Gordon

WHEN the civil war was still raging in China, the Chinese youth and students played an important role in restoring national unity and building up the united front against the Japanese imperial aggression. In 1931 the Chinese Communist Party, faced by the Japanese invasion of *Manchuria*, declared publicly its policy of "internal peace and resistance against Japan." In 1935 the Communist Party published the famous August 1 declaration, calling for the establishment of a strong national united front against the Japanese invasion. At the end of the same year, when the Japanese armies were threatening to continue their advance into the five northern provinces, hundreds of thousands of Chinese students, starting with the famous *Peiping demonstrations* of December 9 and 16, demonstrated in the main twenty cities, carried on strikes, in several cities occupied the stations and commandeered trains to drive themselves to Nankin the capital; calling for the cessation of the civil war, for united action by the different political parties and for the union of all armies and all forces of the Chinese people to drive back the Japanese invaders and defend the territorial integrity of their country.

In July, 1937, after the *Lukouchiao incident* the Japanese militarists began a large scale war of aggression on the Chinese people. With the end of the civil war and the establishment of unity between Communist and Kuomintang parties for the war

of resistance, the Chinese youth turned their efforts towards the heroic struggle for the defence of their country.

Speaking at Hankow on May 26 of this year to the International Student Delegation that visited China, Wang Ming, secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, said:—

"You have heard that the Chinese youth have struggled ceaselessly for the last two decades for intellectual freedom and for international peace. You will also be aware that the Chinese youth possess an international spirit which has prompted them to co-operate with the youth all over the world for the liberation of mankind. . . . Of the millions of our soldiers fighting and dying at the front, young men constitute the overwhelming majority. Our youth have organised countless wartime service corps working at the front and in the rear. Six hundred young Chinese soldiers defended Paoshan (near Shanghai) literally to the last man. It was our youth who formed the *Doomed Battalion* of 800. It is our youth who are fighting in the air defence. *Li Kuei-Fan* brought down a dozen enemy planes on February 18, and gave his life to his country. *Chen Huei-Min*, when wounded, crashed his plane against an enemy one so that he willingly died with his enemy. *Yen Hai-Wen*, after having made a forced landing behind the enemy's lines, killed ten enemies and then himself. They were still in their twenties when they died in defence of their country. On May 19, *Hsu Hsian-Sheng*, *Tung Yen-Po*, *Chiang Shao-Yu*, *Han Kuang-Hua*, *An Sih-Chiu* and *Mei Yuan-Pei* made a surprise appearance over the Japanese islands and dropped, not bombs, but leaflets. These brave aviators are young men. *Lin Piao*, the famous commander of 8th Route Army, credited with a major victory at the battle of *Ping Hsing Kuang*, is a modern knight of 28. *Nieh Enh*, the famous composer and author of the 'March of the Volunteers' and many other songs on national themes, sung by millions of people in China, was scarcely 24 years old when he left the world which worshipped him."

A view of the Chinese army to-day, both soldiers and officers, gives the strong impression that it is an *army of the youth*. In all universities and secondary schools of the country the students follow courses of military training, young men as well as young women. In the villages of Kwantung and other provinces, under the leadership of the young peasants, self-defence groups are organised. The *peasant youth* play a role of special importance in the different partisan units all over China, and in these the students, particularly the students whose universities and schools have been destroyed or occupied by the Japanese armies, are also very active. One of the guerilla units operating around Peiping is known to the people as "the Students Army." In the *8th Route Army Schools*, and in the partisan schools in other parts of the country, as, for example, at *Kinghua* in Chekiang province, young workers and peasants come from all parts of the country to learn the tactics of guerilla warfare, and at the same time to study reading and writing, the history of their country and international affairs, so that when they go to war, fully conscious of why they are fighting and the justice of their struggle against Japanese imperialism, they are infinitely superior in morale to the young Japanese soldiers conscripted against their will to carry on a war of aggression in a foreign land. Youth from all parts of the country are flocking to the different political and military training institutes to prepare themselves for officers' rank or to join the ranks of the "Political Workers" who are attached to many sections of the army, and whose task is to carry on work of education amongst the troops, intelligence work, contact work with the Japanese troops, and to form solid links of friendship and cooperation between the army and the people. The "*Vanguard of National Liberation of China*," organisation of the advanced youth founded three years ago, organised soon after the war began thousands of youth for guerilla warfare, who are fighting with *Fan Chuo-Shieni's* army in Shantung, with *Chao Tung's* army around Peiping, and in the provinces of Shansi, Hopei and Chahar.

Behind the lines the Chinese youth is carrying on the work of mobilisation for national defence with the same heroism as at the front. There are more than 60 million refugees in China from the regions destroyed or occupied by the Japanese armies. Much of the work of transport of refugees and establishment of camps in the western provinces to receive them is carried on by

the youth. In the hospitals and dressing-stations, through lack of experienced doctors and nurses, a heavy responsibility falls on the shoulders of the youth. Students with only a few years medical training have to perform serious operations, the various youth and school organisations send "comforting squads" to the front, and send groups to the hospitals to dress the wounds, sew and write letters for the soldiers, serve their food, sing and read to them. The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides organisations also form *Red Cross Groups*, and relief groups, and carry out anti-espionage work. The Shanghai Boy Scouts played a prominent part in the defence of their city. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. organize popular education travelling groups, relief works of all sorts, war service groups that distribute food at the front to the troops and wounded, popular classes in defence from gas and air raid attacks. The student organisations carry on work of popular education, of relief for refugees, of aid to the wounded, as well as organising the people for defence in the rear. Their organisations are developing rapidly. At the *2nd National Conference of the Chinese Student Union for National Salvation*, held in Hankow last March, 600,000 students from schools and universities all over China were represented. The young workers have given a great example of heroism behind the lines, where they organised shock groups on the railways to regain the lines destroyed by bombshell, and the young employees of the civil aviation companies have also done heroic work to maintain communications which are so precious for national defence.

In the *Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region*, former Soviet Region of China, about a million people live under a democratic administration with universal suffrage, and full freedom of speech, assembly and press. In the *Border Region*, which gives an example of democracy and of mobilisation for resistance to Japanese imperialism to the provinces of China, more than 90 per cent. of the people are organised in vast voluntary mass organisations of peasants, workers, merchants, intellectuals, etc. In the last annual report of the Border Region Government, written by *Lin Chu-Han*, its President, he writes: "Most political, military and social work in the Border Region is undertaken by the younger generation. In fact, nothing can succeed very far without the courage, ability, enthusiasm and energy of youth." In the Border Region education is extended to a very large percentage of the population and is rapidly spreading under the efforts of the Bureau of Education. The curriculum of the schools, of the universities like the Anti-Japanese University (Kang-de), the North Shansi Academy (*Shenpei*), the *Lu Hsun Arts School*, aims to increase the military and political knowledge of the students so that they can play an effective role in national defence. Tens of thousands of young men and women have left these schools and universities to take important posts in military, political and social life. With the aid of the Border Region Government the "*Youth North-West National Salvation Association*" has been organised with tens of thousands of members, where the youth receive political and military training, and through which they carry on work of social service and relief and education.

The Youth North-West National Salvation Association has its own University—the "Youth Training Institute," where, with a young worker as "Rector" of the University, with teachers, mostly youths who have had experience in military, political and National salvation work, about 2,000 young peasants, workers and students from all parts of the country have come to prepare themselves for work in the army or social or political organisation.

On July 12 at *Yen-an*, capital of the Border Region, a visiting delegation posed the following question to *Mao-Tse-Tung*, the Communist leader—"What do you think is the main duty of the Chinese students and youth during the war of resistance?"—He answered:

"Chinese students and youth have their general duty and their special duty. As Chinese citizens, they must do what the whole people must do, that is to say, they must develop the war of resistance, maintain the united front, sustain the rear, overthrow Japanese imperialism and build a new republic on the principles of liberty and equality. All this is the duty of all the Chinese people irrespective of age and profession. On the other hand the special duty of Chinese students and youth as such is to struggle for their own rights, for the opportunity of learning, for educational reform. While pursuing their studies they should have the right to

participate in work of national salvation, to organise student and patriotic associations, to vote, and to be elected above the age of 18, to obtain free education."

By developing the unity in their own ranks, by their work of popular education throughout the country and for the extension of education to the nation as a whole, by their heroic work at the front and behind the lines for national defence against the Japanese invasion, the Chinese youth have gone far along the road indicated by *Mao-Tse-Tung*, and have shown that they consider the struggle for national independence against the Japanese imperialist invasion as the main task facing them at this hour.

Youth in the United States

By C. ROSS

YOUTH has as much incentive to-day as ever for socially constructive things. Youth wants to marry, to raise families, to own land, to study, learn, invent, create, write, act, sing, and hitch their wagons to every star in our national firmament—and these things, on a limited scale, are being made possible, exactly through the *New Deal* and through the extension of the *New Deal* which all progressives demand.

Such an extension of the *New Deal* programme was suggested in the *American Youth Act*, introduced in Congress by Farmer-Labour Senator Lundeen. That Act, sponsored by the American Youth Congress, and supported by millions of youth, by the *C.I.O.* and thousands of rank-and-file *A.F. of L.* members, asks that every unemployed and needy young person, worker, farmer or student, between the ages of 16 and 30 be guaranteed a public works job or a chance to go to school. It provided for the establishment of a permanent National Youth Administration and the appropriation of \$500,000,000 to put the programme into effect. Adequate wages at trade union levels would be guaranteed, discrimination because of race, colour, religion or any other reason would not be permitted, and young people through their organisations would share in the administration of the Act.

This Act deserves the support of every American. It is legislation such as outlined in the principles of the *American Youth Act* that a progressive Congress would pass.

On the other hand, a Congress of reactionary enemies of the *New Deal* would destroy every step forward that has been made.

They are already aiming at scuttling the Wagner National Labour Relations Act, the new charter of labour rights. For the young people who forge steel in the mills of Pittsburgh, assemble autos in Detroit, slaughter hogs in Chicago, and sail the seven seas in ships that leave from San Francisco, New Orleans, or Baltimore—for these millions, the Wagner Act has guaranteed the right to organise and bargain collectively for the improvement of economic conditions. In the last three years, labour has stormed the strongholds of the *open shop*. Through the united action of *A.F. of L.* and *C.I.O.* unions, labour has secured the right to collective bargaining and the enactment of minimum wage and maximum hour standards in industry.

Reactionaries of both parties are attacking these extensions of labour's rights, under the guise of amending the Wagner Act. The reactionaries are even aiming at the overthrow of the National Administration and the will of the majority of the people in order to gain political power for themselves.

This struggle for political power, this attack upon democratic government is the programme of Big Business, it is a programme moving towards fascism. Secretary of Interior *Harold Ickes* sized up this struggle properly as the conflict of plutocracy against democracy, in simple language—of democracy against fascism.

Fascism, which is the rule of Big Business by force and violence, is threatening America. But the important thing to see is that American fascism seeks a disguise. That disguise, without which American fascism would be easily recognised, and scotched, is the disguise of democracy; it is the patriotism that is the last resort of a scoundrel.

The reactionaries keep shouting that Roosevelt is the dictator, while it is they alone who are preparing for dictatorship. The American people remember only too well their misery under the "Old Deal" and the Republicans. They aren't fooled by the cry of "New Deal dictatorship." The reactionaries keep accusing labour of violence, but it is they alone who have private storm-troops, armed guards, arsenals of tear gas bombs, spies and vigilantes, as the LaFollette Committee revealed. They keep

shouting that democracy is endangered, but it is they who are planning the death-knell of democracy.

In their work the reactionaries use the Trotskyites and Lovestonites, agents of fascism, who use "super-revolutionary" phrases to attack the *New Deal*, thus aiding reaction and promoting confusion, division and disruption among the people.

We have been touching only on domestic issues. Fascism is an international menace.

Let it be clear that in the modern world there is nothing like isolation. Distance shrinks daily. Hughes flies a plane around the world in less than four days, and Corrigan pilots a rickety crate across the Atlantic in less time than Lindbergh. The whole world is interrelated by international trade, by a network of cables, short wave communications, by a criss-cross of national, business, and cultural interests in which there can be no neutrality. War anywhere can lead to war everywhere.

What can keep America out of war at this tense moment when war is raging in Spain and China and threatens Central Europe? Obviously, it is only the co-operation of the American people and their Government, with the democratic peoples of the world, that can keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world.

President Roosevelt gave the outlines of such a co-operative policy when he declared on October 5, 1937, that the treaty-breakers and war-makers must be quarantined. The American people favour such co-operation for peace, and the reactionaries and their agents, the followers of Trotsky and of Jay Lovestone, gnash their teeth every time the President or the Secretary of State restate their stand.

The issue to-day is whether the United States shall permit Hitler, Mussolini with the help of Chamberlain to drag the world into war; or whether the United States in co-operation with the democracies of the world will act to stop the war-makers before it is too late. Peace can be restored and maintained by effective action.

We stand for several simple things. For the kind of programme worked out by delegates of fifty-four countries at the *Second World Youth Congress* held at Vassar in August. We want the Government, in line with Roosevelt's statements, to help end the war in Spain by opening our markets to normal trade with the Republican Government of Spain, permitting them to buy the materials needed to drive out the German and Italian fascist invaders. Instead of denying the means of self-defence to the people of Spain, American markets should be closed to Germany and Italy so that they cannot buy bombs and munitions for murdering innocent men, women and children.

It is an American programme. To keep out of war, America must act to quarantine the war-makers, support the "Good Neighbour" policy in the Western Hemisphere, back up the people's boycott of Japanese goods by withholding shipment of war materials to Japan.

This programme will not lead to war because the fascists are only strong when the democracies are disunited. The fascist war machines could be crippled if they were cut off from war supplies and faced the united stand of France, England, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Clearly, young people cannot solve these problems alone, but youth can give its active co-operation.

Young people in the factories and shops are joining the trade unions, and new young leaders are arising from the ranks of labour. College students are pioneering, through such organisations as the American Student Union, to win their classmates to make the *campus* a fortress of democracy. Farm youth desire to express new progressive sentiments through their organisations. Protestant youth are joining hands in a movement of "Christian Youth Building a New World." Negro youth are building their own united movements and the great Southern Negro Youth Congress. Youth of every faith, creed, colour and political opinion have united in the great *American Youth Congress* around common ideals and principles that permit maximum unity around a minimum programme.

Young people who are politically alert are joining and building progressive political organisations in all parts of the country, such as Labour's Non-Partisan League, the American Labour Party, the Minnesota Farmer-Labour movement, the Washington Commonwealth Federation and New Deal Young Democratic Clubs.

These are signs of the times. Young America is waking up, and taking its place in the great battle for progress.

Victory is certain if the people and their various organisations, the common people—the workers, farmers, students, little business men, Negro and white—unite in a common *democratic front for jobs, security, democracy and peace* and to defeat the candidates of reaction.

There are plenty of enemies among the reactionaries who attempt to impair the unity of the people. There is the Dies Committee, for instance, investigating "un-American" activities, attempting to defeat the New Deal programme by labelling it "Red."

What is behind this Red charge? Who are the Reds, anyway?

We, the Communists in this country, declare that we support the progressive policies of the President, of the C.I.O., of the American Youth Congress, as do all loyal American citizens. But the fact that we support these policies does not make the policies Communistic, or their proponents Communists.

That would be like saying that because Communists like good weather, all those who also like good weather are Communists.

The Red baiters, such as the Dies Committee, hardly hurt us by their attacks. Red-baiting is not really aimed at us at all. It is aimed at the New Deal and the President himself, at the trade unions, at the united youth movement.

Our slogan is: "Defend democracy by practising democracy—be an active citizen and a registered voter." We think that young people must take politics seriously, and plunge right into politics, the kind that will make America a better place to live in.

The old frontiers of the West are closed forever. The days of the pioneers remain only in song and legend.

But the spirit of the pioneers is not dead. It marches forward on new social frontiers in the pioneering for human progress.

WE SHALL NEVER FORGET!

(Letter from the United Young Socialists of Spain to the gallant volunteers of the glorious International Brigades.)

AT the moment when you are about to lay down the arms with which for two years you have defended in the front lines our liberty and independence, accept, heroic soldiers of the International Brigades, in the name of all people and all the social classes of our fatherland which is at war, the collective expression of our affection for you. The young united Socialists, who have fought for so many months shoulder to shoulder with you at the front, want to be the first to express this affection.

You came to Spain filled with enthusiasm for the cause of liberty and justice and eager to contribute with the generous sacrifice of your lives to the free future of our people and the happiness of its youth. You have been the real volunteers, our friends of all nations and from all countries. United with the people you have taken a rifle and fought at the side of our military units.

The best heroes of the world fight against fascism lie buried in Spain; they died fighting against Italian and German invasion. Hans Beimler, Nino Nanetti, and so many others already occupy in place on the roll of honour of our best friends who have fallen in battle. In remembering their heroism and yours, their example and yours, we greet you at this hour of your departure.

The Spanish youth will never forget you. We shall drive the foreign invader from our country. The Republic will triumph over fascism. The Youth of Spain will enjoy a future of well-being, work and culture. And in the hours of peace and victory we shall remember as an example and inspiration your noble and disinterested assistance.

Dear comrades, you may depart with a feeling of content: you were exemplary chiefs, self-sacrificing officers, firm and capable commissars, heroic soldiers. You have fulfilled completely your duty as anti-fascists. Two years ago, during the difficult days of November in Madrid, you were the first to arrive. You helped to defend the capital of our Republic. The enthusiastic banners of the youth which at this moment greet you, are raised aloft to-day as joyous and optimistic as ever to say to you: International comrades: Long live the Spanish Republic! Long live anti-fascist solidarity, death to fascism! Salud.

(Signed) Santiago Carillo.

International Solidarity With Republican Spain

Young International Volunteers' Heroic Example

By Jean Hemmen

ONE day soon the history of the International Brigades will be written, recalling memories of the University City, of Casa del Campo, of Jarama, of Guadalajara, of Belchite, Teruel, Aragon and the Ebro; and those who in the early days took up their rifles to defend a menaced peace and civilisation, will describe—so that it may be written down in school text-books for generations of the future—that epic struggle in which for two years they were engaged.

In this chronicle the youth will play an appreciable and chosen part.

The youth of the world will then better understand what sources of energy, what invincible strength, are stored in the enthusiastic heart of the youth of the masses, to whom fascism offers as an ideal only the forced labour camp, and whom some would have believed that such servitude is preferable to a struggle for life and happiness.

The young people of the International Brigade came from 53 different countries. Alongside of the young Frenchmen—who were the most numerous—there were youths from Great Britain, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the United States, Holland and other democratic countries. But there were also young men from Germany, Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and other countries, either fascist or dictatorially governed.

This streaming of thousands of young fighters to Spain is explained by the almost instinctive impulse animating youth to place itself in the service of noble causes; it may be attributed also to the fast growing realisation among young people that fascism can bring only ruin and despair, and that it must be fought every inch of the way in order to prevent its conquering the world.

But who were these young volunteers, and whence came they? There was *Louis Perrault*, a young worker of Paris, killed at the age of 28 while engaged on an important mission; *Arthur*, a young metal worker from the Ruhr, who was killed when fighting with the Thaelmann Battalion; *Camén*, a young leader of the Italian youth, who was killed during an engagement of the 13th Brigade, of which he had just been made political commissar; *Fritz*, a Berlin youngster, who won promotion to captain; *Marcel Pimpaud*, a young Paris barber, who, after being twice wounded, returned to the front almost before his injuries had healed, against the orders of the base commander; *Spartacco* who, thanks to his quiet courage, was made chief of operations to Commander Sagnier of the 14th Brigade; *Pierre Georges*, who left for Spain when only sixteen-and-a-half years old, and who returned at 18, badly wounded, but proudly wearing his lieutenant's stripes; *Granet*, another Paris boy, aged 16, who, when refused on account of his youth, conspired with a friend to make it appear that he was older.

Progressive youth the world over salutes them with respect; but this is no purely formal gesture. It is a greeting to these young fighters from a youth which desires a clear and happy future and which realises that its destiny is intimately linked with that of young Spain.

That is why this greeting from the progressive youth of the world finds expression in collections on the streets for the Republic's victory, why it is expressed in all forms of self-denial willingly undertaken in order that the children of Spain may have food, and in the moral and material aid to the new soldiers of Spain who for over two years have nobly held the lines against the fascist invaders.

Their welcome is expressed in the thousands of pounds which have been collected, penny by penny; and it is this welcome which must be continued.

In these activities, the young veterans of the International Brigade will be serving in the front ranks, as always. In fact, they do not consider that they have been demobilised. They have

merely changed sectors; formerly they fought, rifle in hand—now they have returned to their own countries, armed with arguments.

Who is better fitted than a volunteer to convince the masses of the youth as to the real situation in Spain? And who could better convince them of the advisability of following the example of the youth of Spain, and achieving unity? And who could better drive home the necessity of rendering ever greater help to a Spain which has been invaded by fascism?

On leaving Spain, the volunteers took an oath that they would devote all their time to the defence of the Spanish people from whom they parted with such regret, although understanding the political and tactical reasons for this parting.

In the fulfilment of this pledge, each young volunteer will have at his side the progressive youth of the world; he will have the help of young Communists, Socialists, Democrats and Christians who, in a number of countries, have already managed to unite to render this aid.

In Great Britain, in America, in France and other countries, the young volunteer will find self-denial committees which have already collected considerable sums and which intend to continue their activities until the victory of the Spanish Republic.

To all those who claim that the youth of our day is heartless and is inspired by no ideal, the young people of the International Brigade, and with them those who for the past two years have been devotedly working to collect money and goods for Spanish aid, have given, are giving, and will give more forcefully than ever, a most effective reply.

Spain Milk Day

By Danielle Casanova

ON October 23 last, the *Union of Young Girls of France* organised its second "National Milk Day" on behalf of the Spanish children.

A collection of 1,100,000 francs testifies eloquently to the enthusiasm of the French youth and to the renewed spirit of solidarity of our people with Republican Spain.

Analysis of the collection showed that *Paris* and district donated 410,788 francs, 25,376 tins of milk, and 75,000 francs' worth of miscellaneous foodstuffs and clothing. The provinces donated 283,905 francs, 44,624 tins of milk, and over 25,000 francs' worth of foodstuffs and clothing.

The *Union of Young Girls of France* had already had occasion for pride at the time of the last Spain Milk Day, on November 13, 1937, when they raised a total of 600,000 francs. By almost doubling this figure, our *Union* this year takes its place in the front rank of those organisations which are active on behalf of Republican Spain.

We owe these successes first, to the simplicity of our slogans and to the political explanation of them which we made within the organisation. This made it possible for us to mobilise every one of our members in order to aid in our task. Further, to the wide assistance which our efforts received from those outside our organisation, and to the broad movement of unity which developed around our initiative.

"Milk for the Spanish Little Ones!" This was our slogan. All propaganda carried on by us in preparation for Spain Milk Day dealt essentially with the tragic situation of children in Republican Spain.

"Over 400,000 babies have been born during the war of mothers too weak to nourish them."

"Children, 12 years old, under-nourished, under-sized, looking hardly any older than eight."

"Over 10,000—either at play or at school—have been murdered by the bombs of the Savoia, Caproni or Junker planes, and another 15,000 wounded."

"The tragic, wretched exodus of families, flying before the foreign invasion."

"The tragedy of Madrid, isolated, scarred, but ever valiant, and, this winter of 1938, suffering hunger and cold."

These sad reminders, these touching pictures, were evoked everywhere by these young girls of France, with the tender emotion of mothers of the future. Their voices at times were lost in sobs. We told the young people, the workers, the mothers, that we knew they would not remain unaffected by this pathetic appeal from the little ones of Spain.

Thus did we find the way to the heart of our people. And on October 23, everywhere—in the towns and the villages, in the working-class streets and in the quarters of the petty bourgeoisie,—everywhere they sought out our collectors, each with his or her contribution.

But our appeal came on the morrow of the anxious days of September. It was publicly issued at a meeting of the leaders of our "Firesides" (branches) of the Paris district during the days which brought us the news of the shameful capitulation of Munich. And in this meeting, at which 350 young girls had assembled to discuss problems of peace, the unanimous decision was taken to make the Spain Milk Day a day of real triumph for all the forces in France working for peace.

The most active section of French girlhood is conscious of the poignant reality of the hour. It knows that over Republican Spain there now looms the danger of a new "Munich." It fears that the people of Republican Spain—whom international fascism cannot conquer by force of arms—may be strangled by the concession of belligerent rights to Franco. Since those dark days of September, our young girls understand better what mortal peril would threaten France and her democratic institutions if Republican Spain were to fall.

This is why their moving appeal for milk for the Spanish children reached the hearts of French parents, who are reflecting with anguish upon the destiny which may be in store for their own little ones.

Both during the period of preparation, and on the day itself, October 23 never lost its essential character of an event under the aegis of The Young Girls of France.

In our opinion, the results would not have been so satisfactory if we had not kept in mind the sentiment which animates all young workers who are attracted to our movement: *Attachment to their own organisation. The youth likes to see its actions crowned, and The Young Girls of France find worthy recompense for their efforts in a success which is entirely due to their own organisation.* We must always know how to avoid letting our organisations lose their original character on the occasion of realising a wider unity. To have the young people work anonymously, so to speak, is to deprive ourselves deliberately of so much which their capacity for enthusiasm might bring us.

While succeeding in avoiding this pitfall, we were also determined to make of our Spain Milk Day a day of united action of all the forces in France for democracy and peace. In this we were aided by the simple, human content of our slogans. But we did not want to begin by asking for help, by making our own activities dependent upon the granting of such aid, or upon any other matter outside our own organisation.

The *Union of Young Girls of France*, with its 20,000 members, the *Federation of Communist Youth*—the essential force within the progressive movement of French youth—possess great possibilities of action on their own account, which they must be able to utilise in the interests of the general movement for unity of the youth. Under such conditions, our efforts will awaken among the masses of the youth that profound response which is the assurance of success.

We said to each of our branches: "Help yourselves first. Start by acting, yourselves, and the others will follow."

And this was what actually happened. Thus our Spain Milk Day was a genuine day of unity. We received the support of well-known people, such as Mme. Suzanne Lacorre, a former Socialist cabinet member; Mme. Joliot Curie, Socialist and famous scientist, Nobel prize-winner; M. Gabriel Cudenet, of the Camille Pelletan Radicals; Professor Paul Langevin; and others. Numerous artists—some of them world-famous—responded to our appeal. The Trade Unions supported us. From the Communist Party we received more than an expression of support—they gave their sustained, practical assistance. Newspapers, militants and members of elected bodies were generous in their aid, and our comrades of

the groups of the Young Communist League rallied to us with enthusiasm. In our collecting posts—one of which was under the care of Mme. Rivollet, wife of a former Radical minister, and now chief of a big ex-servicemen's organisation—girls and housewives came to help us as they came out from Mass in the churches nearby.

Our campaign for the Spanish children is still going on. For example, we have our "Godmothers of Spanish Children," who adopt little "godchildren" in the day-nurseries, refugee homes, and so on, for each of whom they guarantee a regular monthly payment of 30 francs. We are now sending to Spain materials for the installation of a restaurant for a children's home, whose subsistence we shall guarantee by regular monthly donations.

"Milk for the Children of Spain!" This cry, on October 23, profoundly touched the generous heart of the French people.

No, the real France is not a land of dishonour, cowardice and betrayal! Our real France is actuated by the love of liberty and peace, by sentiments of fraternity towards all peoples. And the Trade Union of Young Girls of France is a faithful reflection of this real France.

Students' Campaign for Aid to Republican Spain

THE beginning of the academic year, in 1938, in a number of universities, was the signal for considerable activity in aid of Republican Spain. Last August, at the Second World Congress of Youth, in New York, the representatives of the students' organisations of Great Britain, the United States, Mexico, France, Belgium and Holland decided to inaugurate an *international students' campaign* for aid to the Spanish children. This campaign is being conducted on the basis of competition between all European countries, on the one hand, and the American countries, on the other, as well as on direct competition between European and American universities.

In the *United States* it is primarily the American Student Union which is playing an active part in this campaign, in which it should be mentioned, it has the support of various Christian student organisations. New York University is competing with the University of Paris, Harvard with Cambridge, and so on. In November alone, 3,000 dollars were collected at Harvard.

In some of the *British* universities, the campaign has assumed genuinely mass form. Both *Oxford* and *Cambridge* have pledged themselves to collect £1,000 before the end of December. It is not only the Socialist and democratic students' organisations which are taking part in this campaign, but also the Christian students' movement, the National Students' Union. The *University Forward*, the Socialist students' paper, published a special number devoted to Spain, and the *Student Forum*, with a circulation of 35,000, gives a great deal of space to the campaign.

In *France*, the Students' Union for Aid to Spanish Children, formed last April and under the patronage of about one hundred of the most representative professors of French universities, is taking part in the international contest and has pledged itself to collect 50,000 francs before Christmas. It organised special cinema shows, the distribution of collecting-boxes, and so on.

In *Belgium*, Brussels University, which last year collected 100,000 francs, is once again taking part in the international contest, with the support of a number of professors and of all the student organisations. And we must by no means overlook the development of the campaign in the universities of Liege, Ghent and Antwerp.

In *Holland*, it is chiefly the Socialist students who are organising the campaign for aid to Spain. The Dutch universities are competing with those of California.

This international contest, which began on October 15, will terminate at the end of December, and will achieve its object, namely: the collection of one million francs (£5,550).

In other lands the students' campaign for aid to Spain is also developing. In *Oslo*, for example, both professors and

students are collecting for an ambulance. In *Belgrade*, the students are collecting in order to send milk to the Spanish children. In *Argentina*, the students took active part in the Youth Days of Sacrifice on November 5, 6 and 7. In *India*, the student organisations have also initiated a campaign for aid to Republican Spain.

With regard to the political campaign for aid to Spain, we have space only for the following examples. The protest of all the student organisations of Brussels against the sending of a commercial representative to Franco Spain. Above all, there was the important campaign carried on in Great Britain against the granting of belligerent rights to Franco. The Cambridge Union, for example, adopted a resolution, by 245 votes to 44, declaring that the progress of humanity depended upon the victory of the Spanish government.

DECLARATION OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST STUDENTS' ALLIANCE

THE International Alliance of Socialist Students comprises all the Socialist and Communist student organisations. Its General Council held an important meeting in *Paris* on October 30, 1938, which was attended by representatives of the organisations in France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Italy, India and the United States. The Young Communist International was represented by *Raymond Guyot* and *Jean Ferri*, the Young Socialist International by *Erich Ollenhauer* and *E. Peck*.

After a thorough discussion on the international situation, a declaration was adopted unanimously, apart from certain reservations made by the delegate of the Socialist students of France. The following are the most essential passages of this declaration:

"A firm policy of resistance to the Nazi demands would have compelled the fascists to beat a retreat; the surrender of Czechoslovakia has not brought peace. It is Hitler whom Chamberlain saved by his visit to Berchtesgaden and not peace. With Mussolini unable to mobilise the Italian army and the Czech government remaining firm, Hitler was on the verge of a defeat. Chamberlain and Daladier have saved him and assured to him control of Central Europe and the Balkans, opening the way for him to Rumanian oil and Hungarian grain, and supplying him with the material resources necessary for a war against the democracies.

The consequences of Munich are becoming clearer every day. Chamberlain and Mussolini are going to carry out the terms of their Mediterranean agreement in order to strangle Republican Spain; Japan has extended her invasion to the South of China; Hitler openly proclaims his intention to interfere in the internal affairs of France and Great Britain, and has already put forward his colonial demands. In France the reactionaries are redoubling their attacks against the working class. In Great Britain, Chamberlain is about to impose upon the British people compulsory military service and accelerate the rearmament programme which is to serve his reactionary plans. Peace has not been saved at Munich; the aggressive powers have been strengthened; peace is endangered more than ever . . .

One of the main reasons of the Munich betrayal lies in the division of the working class forces, the impossibility of rallying all the popular forces for a firm policy which alone will save peace and Czechoslovak democracy. In order to save peace and democracy, and frustrate the policy of concessions towards the fascist powers, the working class must close its ranks and rally round it the great mass of the people.

We are convinced of the urgent necessity to convene an *international conference* of all organisations of the workers and democratic forces in order to launch a united campaign for saving Republican Spain; we call upon the Young Socialist International and the Young Communist International to unite their forces in order to place themselves at the head of a world campaign of Youth for the defence of Spanish democracy . . .

In the Country of Socialism

The Young Builders of Socialism

WITH pride and joy all Soviet youth recently celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the Young Communist League of the U.S.S.R.

The Y.C.L. of the U.S.S.R., which embraces millions of young people of both sexes whom it is training in the spirit of Leninism, is not an ordinary youth organisation in which youth can find no realisation of its ideals, such as exists in many countries. No, this organisation forms part of the ardent life of the Soviet Union; and has brought millions of Soviet young people into the struggle for the greatness and strength of the land of the Soviets.

The desire of youth for activity and the joy of creation finds practical realisation in work for the good of the whole Soviet people. Nowadays the country possesses innumerable monuments to their activities—products of the joyous creativeness of Soviet youth. These are buildings constructed by the hands of young people, frequently under very difficult circumstances. It was the youth which helped the country to assume its Socialist industrial aspect. The young builders of the country of Socialism are entitled to look proudly upon the result of their labours. They form an heroic paean to labour; and the whole Soviet people may to-day admire the buildings made entirely or in part by youth.

In the *Far East*, on the banks of the Amur river, there has arisen a town which is named *Komsomolsk* after its builders. Its story forms part of the history of the Y.C.L. of the U.S.S.R. From Leningrad, Moscow, Belo-Russia and the Ukraine, from town and countryside, they came to the Far East. The Y.C.L. of the U.S.S.R. had mobilised its members for the building of a town.

The virgin forest had to be cleared, the swamps drained, to make room for the building of the town. During the frightful cold of winter, these brave Socialist pioneers lived in hutments, tents, barracks, hastily constructed. Day and night enormous bonfires blazed, to protect the people to some extent against the cold. The River Amur was covered with thick ice and the transport of timber for building was thus interrupted. So then the young Communists, with axes, saws and dynamite, cut a free passage in the ice of the river, 10 miles in length. The supply of timber was resumed, it came down this channel to the workshops. One day, when a new crew came to take over, they noted with terror that the feet of the workers they had come to relieve were frozen fast to the ice of the river's surface. However, the supply of wood was not arrested.

The day when the new electric power-station began to feed the future city with power and the electric light was first switched on, was a real gala occasion for these young pioneer builders. The area, which but recently had been a wilderness, was rapidly covered with big undertakings—shipyards, foundries, canning plants. Then appeared modern apartment houses, day-nurseries, sports grounds, theatres and cinemas. A railway line was constructed—the builders of the town had arrived by water. The youth of the Soviet Union had willingly and joyously accepted several months of privation and sacrifice in order to be able to offer the Soviet Union this magnificent town in the Far East. To-day *Komsomolsk* has 100,000 inhabitants.

The brave builders were followed by enthusiastic Soviet girls. The young Communist girl, *Khetagurova*—she was 17 when she arrived in the Far East to take part in the building work; later the townspeople of *Komsomolsk* elected her a deputy of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Union—now the wife of a commander of the Red Army, and decorated with the Order of Lenin for her work among Red Army commanders' wives—issued an appeal to young girls, in the course of which she said:

"... and, dear friends, in the name of all the population of the Far East, I invite you to come to us. I do not call upon you to renounce life. That which awaits you here is difficult, but attractive and interesting. You must know that we only call to the Far East people who are courageous, determined and without fear of hardship. We know that our young men and women are full of energy to undertake everything which

is heroic, in spite of all difficulties and deprivations. All that is difficult but useful to our native land is honourable."

Khetagurova's appeal found a response among young girls which exceeded all expectations. Within less than one year, 1,000 organisations of the Y.C.L. received applications from over 60,000 girls, asking that they be sent to the Far East.

A special commission is sitting in *Khabarovsk* to receive girls. Between one and two hundred are arriving daily, and each receives work according to her speciality or vocation.

Among the new arrivals are over 300 girl technicians, 150 doctors and nurses, 400 teachers, and thousands of workers and employees of various trades. Some girls, who are turners, working in the shops of the Far Eastern Railroad, have exceeded their norm by four times.

What inspired these young Soviet girls to leave for the Far East? It was not lack of work in their native towns. On the contrary, they have given up interesting and well-paid work at home. Yet more: many of them have left behind their parents, families, friends. All of these girls could have worked or studied at home in their native towns. But they preferred to commence a new life, not an easy one and in a new and still sparsely populated region.

These girls are leaving for the Far East because, as *Khetagurova* said, "all that is difficult but useful to our native land is honourable." They come to the Far East because they are attracted by the heroic work of construction and by the struggle against difficulties. They all desire to work wherever they will be of greatest use to their country.

"I am full of life and always prepared to endure any hardships for the sake of our vast country, conquered by our fathers and our brothers," wrote the building technician *Batrishina* from *Kazan*.

Such are the aspirations of these girls who leave for the Far East. Such are the plans of the Soviet youth which is transforming the Far East of the Soviet Union into an invincible bastion of the defences of the flourishing Socialist frontier region.

A place of honour was given the Leninist Young Communists wherever the great new industrial giants arose. The great tractor plant in *Stalingrad* was built by young people. Seven thousand of them took part in the vast building job. They had not only to combat cold, rain and storm but most of them also had to acquire technical knowledge during the actual process of working. Nevertheless, the task set by the Government—the supply by the plant of tractors to the country—was fulfilled.

At the time of the construction of the plants at *Magnitogorsk*, *Stalinsk* (ironworks), *Bobriki* (chemical combine), and *Cheliabinsk* (tractor plant), at the time of the building of *Azovstal*, of the *Kaganovich* Ballbearings Plant in Moscow, the youth was in the front ranks, in numbers, labour and enthusiasm.

Twenty thousand Young Communists went to the Far North to help exploit the forest wealth. Another 6,000 left for different parts of the country to construct telegraph and telephone lines. Some 30,000 willingly abandoned their work or studies to leave for the mines of the Donetz Basin, in order to remedy deficiencies in the coal mining there. The Moscow underground railway, the finest in the world, was built with the aid of 10,000 Young Communists. The building of the Metro was, at the same time, a magnificent school for instruction in various forms of skilled labour. After the building of the underground, the Moscow Young Communist League was awarded the Order of Lenin.

Just as the products of Socialist construction are young, so also are those who are to-day working at their machines in its factories and plants. There are 7,000,000 workers under 23 working in Socialist enterprises, constituting one-third of the total number of employed.

The mastery of technique was another enthusiastic achievement of youth. The mastery of technique, by which, as *Stalin* pointed out, the working class of the Soviet Union may have its own technical intelligentsia. This to-day is the incontestable right of the Soviet youth of which it does not fail to take advantage. No other country offers anything approaching such fine opportunities for youth to study and to master technique. Neither capitalist exploiters nor unemployment exist in the Soviet Union, and there is nothing there to hinder the development of a young capable generation of workers and intellectuals.

The technical training schools have up till now turned out

1,500,000 skilled workers. During the past six years, the higher technical institutions have graduated 280,000 young technicians. During the school year, 1936-1937, 711,000 persons were attending the technical schools. The vast majority of the students receive a stipend from the State.

While working in production, the youth also studies much. For instance, at the Stalin automobile works in Moscow alone 18,000 persons—being 49 per cent. of the total employed—attend evening courses of some sort. Six hundred of this plant's workers are studying foreign languages at a special school attached to the concern.

The *Stakhanovites*—those masters of labour now known throughout the world—such as Stakhanov, Krivonoss, Vinogradova and others—came out of the ranks of the youth. They are representative of Soviet youth. The Stakhanovite movement is a comparatively new feature in Soviet life; quite recently its third anniversary was celebrated. It is a manifestation of that vital spirit with which the whole creative work of Socialism is permeated. From its half-dozen primary initiators, the Stakhanovite movement has grown until it now embraces an army of 5,000,000 Stakhanovites. To be a Stakhanovite also means to have a better life: to be better dressed than before, to enjoy more variety of food, to have more pleasure; such are the material fruits which every Stakhanovite may gather.

The young Communists have given to the country a whole army of workers with high technical qualifications, and also many young engineers. A new, young generation is growing up which has learned to handle engines, and master all the mysteries of technique. On the construction of the *Moscow-Volga Canal* alone, there worked 3,500 young engineers, brought up in the Communist youth movement. The vast Stalin plant, in Moscow, numbers 33 per cent. of young people among its engineers, the Cheliabinsk tractor plant, 24 per cent. The entire construction of the second section of the *Moscow Metro* was directed by young engineers and architects.

But all this would be impossible under capitalist conditions. The Soviet youth does not know capitalist exploitation nor the closing down of factories, nor the forms of forced labour that exist under fascism. The Soviet power freed labour from the shackles of capitalist exploitation, and made of it an affair of honour and glory.

The great scope of Socialist construction has shown the whole world the creative power of Socialism for the benefit of humanity. And this also is one of the merits of the Leninist Young Communists. The Y.C.L. organised the best of the young workers and peasants for participation in the creation of the magnificent achievements of Socialist construction. Stalin's slogan—that the triumph of Socialism in one country is possible—animated the heart of youth which rallied to the vanguard of the builders of Socialism and contributed to the victory of this slogan. Millions of young people, inspired by a high consciousness and a spirit of sacrifice, brought their contribution to the construction of Socialism.

For its achievements in the construction of Socialism and of Socialist industry, the Soviet Government decorated the organisation of the Young Communists with the Order of the Red Flag of Labour.

TO YOU, READER AND FRIEND

This is the first number of the *World Youth Review*! There are many among you who have expressed to us their desire for information about the situation and the movement of the youth throughout the whole world, they also told us that it is very difficult for them to get the material they want. It is our greatest desire to meet this demand.

By making you acquainted with the heroic struggles of the Youth of China and Spain, with the life, full of joy and happiness, of the Youth of the Soviet Union, with the moral and physical sufferings of the young people of Germany and Italy and the situation and activity of the Youth in the democratic countries, we hope to be of use and interest to you.

We shall also do our best to assist you in the study of the famous teachings which have enabled the nations and the youth of one-sixth of the globe to obtain happiness.

The Strength of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union

By Otto Maier

NO other youth in the world has passed through such magnificent development in every sphere of life during the last few years as Soviet youth. Soviet youth has gone through a great political school. Who had heard of *Alexei Stakhanov* a few years ago—but to-day millions of young people bear his name with pride. They are the bearers and pacemakers of a new Socialist attitude towards work. The Stalinist Constitution, whose second anniversary has just been celebrated, extended for the youth the achievements of the great October Revolution, and made them into laws. Soviet youth has political liberties and rights unknown in any other country in the world. All the youth took part in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., and in the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, the Autonomous Republics. For them this day was a proud event, the visible proof of complete equality of political rights. They participate actively in the political life of the country. 28.2 per cent. of all elected representatives of the people are young people. Young people are occupying positions as managers in the great Socialist factories, and there is a great army of young scientists, artists, and inventors, who are loved and respected by the whole Soviet people.

Soviet youth has taken an energetic part in the exposure and extermination of the hostile Trotskyist-Bukharinist elements, the agents of German fascism and the Japanese fascist military clique. This struggle against the enemies of the people welds the Soviet youth closer to the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Soviet youth has seized with both hands the creative and progressive life offered it. A new, Socialist, and perfectly sane morality in every question of life has developed in the Soviet youth. The whole of Soviet youth has been carried into this new life—in town and village alike.

Did the first leaders of the Komsomol live the same lives as the millions of Soviet youth to-day, filled with this same honest work for themselves and the people? No, there is a deep abyss between the "life" and "work" of such people as Kosarev and the creative lives of Soviet youth. These leaders were alien to the new life of youth. Even at the 20th anniversary of the Komsomol, the C.C. of the Party criticised the leadership. The letter of greeting sent by the C.C. of the Party, after an appreciation of the successes of the Komsomol, continued: "These successes would have been greater and more comprehensive if the C.C. of the L.Y.C.L.S.U. (Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union) had not committed of late a number of serious mistakes in the ideological training of the youth, the purging of the Komsomol from hostile elements, and the promotion of new cadres of Komsomol workers to leading work."

Yes, the political growth of Soviet youth demanded from the leaders of the Komsomol a decisive change in their work, but the opposite took place—the secretaries removed by the Seventh Plenum of the L.Y.C.L., at which the chief Komsomol leaders from the whole Soviet Union were present, rejected instead of pursuing the closest contact with the rank and file; in their personal conceit they forgot what Stalin had said:

"In order to lead correctly the experience of the leader must be supplemented by the experience of the rank and file, by the experience of the working class, by the experience of the toilers, by the experience of the so-called 'small people.'"

When however is that possible?

It is only possible if the leaders are closely connected with the masses, if they are connected with the rank and file of the party, with the working class, with the peasantry, with the working intelligentsia.

Connection with the masses, strengthening of this connection, willingness to listen to the voice of the masses—therein lies the strength and invincibility of Bolshevik leadership. It can be regarded as a rule that the Bolsheviks are invincible so long as they maintain connection with the broad masses of the people and vice versa, if the Bolsheviks sever themselves from the masses, if they lose contact with

them, if they get covered with bureaucratic rust, then they lose all their strength and become nothing."

Kossarev and the others reacted, however, to every criticism by the members of the Komsomol of their methods of leadership by a dishonest and dirty fight against these honest Komsomols, who were sincerely devoted to the Komsomol and the Party. It became Kossarev's system to select workers not from the standpoint of their efficiency, their devotion to the cause of the working class, but from the standpoint of servility to himself. Instead of a relentless struggle against all the enemies of the working class and the Soviet people, he practised a policy facilitating the activities of the enemy. This deception was discovered and stopped by the rank and file Komsomols.

There will never be any place for such practices in the Komsomol. Six millions of young builders of Socialism, organised in the L.Y.C.L., are an invincible force. The L.Y.C.L. is a school of Communism, of right, of life, for all Soviet youth. Completely voluntary membership, sincere and honest life and work, these are decisive factors of the Komsomol. The youth of the Komsomol are their own masters in the organisation. The spirit of growing inner democracy, the secret election of the leaders, the right of open criticism, all this makes the Komsomol mighty and unconquerable. It was an easy matter for the youth to get rid of these degenerate elements, for they had an invincible ally in Stalin, the best friend and helper of youth. Education by the Bolshevik Party is the best guarantee that Soviet youth will cast aside all that is worthless, as a tree shakes off rotten fruit, without ceasing for a moment the triumphant development of life.

Progressive youth all over the world looks with admiration and appreciation on the creative achievements of Soviet youth. Young aviators, artists, chess champions, musicians, inventors, set a brilliant example to-day to the whole world. They show clearly the possibilities of the development of youth in a creative socialist state of society. Once more Soviet youth, the Komsomol, has set the youth of the whole world an example by rejecting what was unworthy in youth, and has shown that there is no room in the youth movement, which is striving for happier lives, for any degenerate, double-faced, decaying element.

Fascism, this bloody and most barbarous enemy of mankind, is now endeavouring by every slanderous means to prevent the youth from putting this lesson into practice. The fascist youth leaders tremble at the thought that the youth will become aware of their own power, and sweep aside the filth with iron broom. In the fascist youth organisations, whether in Germany, Italy, Japan, or any other country, the morality and the laws of the underworld reign everywhere among the leading cliques. These "elect," who feel it their vocation to train youth, are a band of degenerate drunkards and bullies. This band of "youth leaders" sucks like a vampire the blood of German youth. But there are millions of young people in the fascist youth organisations who are indignant at this "youth training," and hate and abominate it. Under Hitler, German youth has not the right to elect its own leaders, or to check up on them, and depose them if necessary. All these gentlemen, such as Baldur von Schirach, Lauterbach, and others, have been forced upon German youth. Fascist leadership of youth means blind obedience, silence, service and submission. Anyone who ventures to raise his voice on behalf of honesty, on behalf of the youth, is answered with concentration camp, jail, and guillotine. These forces of the underworld maintain their power only by the most brutal of terrorism combined with unlimited deceitful demagogy.

It would be foolish to suppose that fascism spares the youth and its organisations from its disruptive and undermining work. Precisely the contrary is true. Fascist moles are at work in the youth movement as elsewhere. Every means are employed—films, fascist literature, and many other devices are employed to lead youth on to the disastrous path. The agents of fascism, the Trotskyists, are endeavouring to sabotage the unity of working youth, and to disrupt it where it already exists. Vigilance and relentless struggle against these machinations of fascism and its agents in the youth movement must be the work of all progressive youth organisations.

The movements of the workers and of progressive youth, in eliminating without hesitation all alien elements which have crept in disguise into their ranks, only strengthen these ranks.

From the Two Hemispheres

The World Youth Congress Movement

THE delegates of the World Youth Congress Movement, representing 40,000,000 members of affiliated organisations, meeting in Paris, on December 11, demanded that the foreign forces now fighting in Spain be withdrawn, and that the democratic countries of the world extend humanitarian aid to the Spanish people.

In response to a letter from *President Roosevelt*, in which he expressed his admiration of, and interest in, the work of the World Youth Congress Movement, the delegates asserted that not only would they work for greater mutual understanding among the young people of the world, but—in spite of the trend of events in the last few months which has rendered more difficult the realisation of their aims—they will intensify their efforts to help the victims of war and of racial and religious persecution.

The International Council, in adopting a resolution against Anti-Semitism, declared once again that the principles upon which the World Youth Congress is based permit no distinctions to be drawn on the grounds of class, race or religion, and strongly expressed its hope that the violent persecution, to which the Jews are being subjected in some countries, will cease.

The Council decided that an international conference of agricultural youth shall meet next summer, either in Poland, Sweden or France, under the auspices of the World Youth Congress.

On the question of colonies, the Council was reminded that at the Second World Youth Congress the delegates unanimously condemned the political and economic domination of one people by another as immoral in itself; and the Council rejected the idea that the colonial peoples and their territories could be used in order to satisfy the greed of the expansionist States.

In a message to the assembly, regretting the absence of the Soviet delegates, due to technical difficulties, *Mikhailov*, general secretary of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, pointed out that the Munich agreement runs directly counter to the peace declaration signed at Vassar, U.S.A., last summer, by delegates from 54 countries. The message further asserted that the Vassar pact was assured of the full support of the youth of the Soviet Union, which is proud that its government, alone among the governments of the world, was prepared to fulfil its obligations towards Czechoslovakia.

The delegates, in the name of 18 countries and 10 international organisations represented at the Council, sent a message of congratulation and support to the *Pan-American Conference*, then being held at Lima. They expressed the conviction that the Pan-American Conference and the World Youth Congress are based on the same principles, and that both are determined to work for peace and for moral and material co-operation between the nations of the world.

Second Anniversary of the United Socialist Youth of Belgium

By Pierre Bosson

IT was at Christmas, 1936, that the National Congress for the Unification of Belgian Socialist and Communist Youth Federations was held in Brussels. From the platform of this magnificent Congress, *Raymond Guyot* declared in the name of the Young Communist International:

"We, who are conscious of the fascist menace, and who know that only unity of the youth movement can bring victory, give our deep and unreserved approval to your unity and to all the steps which you have taken in order to achieve this unity. We support you unreservedly, and I would say, too, that we congratulate you on having struck the path of unity of working class youth."

Unity of the Socialist Youth and the Young Communists was achieved in Belgium after the Rexist drive in the elections and the great strike of June, 1936, as a result of which the movement developed intense activity against the fascist menace (Rexist and the National Flemish Federation). This activity was directed

against war preparations and, more especially, against prolongation of the period of compulsory military service.

There was also, as there is to-day, a campaign of solidarity with Republican Spain. This fine example of unity was not without its effect on those who preferred not to recognise the horrors of fascism and war nor the role played by some reformist leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, whose attacks and manoeuvres fortunately failed to impede the growth of the unity movement.

Attempts have been made to represent the unity of the youth movement as being directed against the Belgian Labour Party. This slander was disposed of at the Christmas Congress:

"We do not wish to separate ourselves from our fathers' Labour Party. On the contrary, we wish our elders to follow our example, so that to-morrow there will be one party, a united socialist party of the working class, which will include both Socialists and Communists."

Unfortunately, the national leadership of the Belgian Labour Party did everything in its power to break down the extensive collaboration already existing between the organisations of the two working class parties. In spite of all their efforts, however, they did not succeed in dividing the youth movement, thanks to its will to unity. What they did succeed in doing was, in October, 1937, to impose upon the united Socialist Youth a new statute, known as a protocol, valid for one year.

This protocol declared, in substance, that "membership of the Socialist Youth is incompatible with membership of any party other than the Belgian Labour Party" and that the leadership of the movement "must be entrusted exclusively to Young Socialists."

This was nothing more nor less than an attack upon the liberty of members of the youth movement to belong to the party of their choice, whether Socialist or Communist, a right which had been recognised by the Unity Congress.

The Labour Party leadership, counting on the youth movement's refusal to apply this measure, which had already been rejected by an overwhelming majority, hoped to kill the movement's united character, i.e. by the resignation of the Young Communists.

On October 13, 1937, the Central Committee of the Communist Party considered this decision and protested against such a denial of the Young Communists' elementary right to belong to their party. In a resolution, the Central Committee declared:

"It is only by defending their unity that the young Communists and Socialists can defend the youth against fascist demagoguery and Trotskyist disruption, and so conduct a successful struggle against the war-mongers, and achieve the demands of youth.

"Our Party subordinates all other considerations to the interests of unity in the fight against fascism.

"In making this aim its guiding line and in condemning the decision of the Belgian Labour Party, the Central Committee calls on all Communists in the United Socialist Youth movement to adopt the only attitude compatible with the maintenance of their united organisation, and to make a supreme sacrifice in the cause of unity by renouncing their membership of the Communist Party."

This appeal was answered. The unity of the Socialist Youth movement was kept intact.

The protocol and its application by the movement robbed the movement of some of the best of its tried leadership and created a category of "second-class" members, immensely to the disadvantage of the movement as a whole. Instead of being the cause of new vigour, the protocol was one of the main obstacles to the movement's development. A second congress of the Belgian Labour Party, without discussing this problem (entirely preoccupied as it was with the question of Spaak's wish to recognise the Burgos government) adopted the Buset report. This socialist national leadership, which is the fiercest enemy of unity among the youth, declared in the report:

"The Socialist Youth Movement may receive into its groups and committees a member coming from another party, provided that he has been affiliated to the Labour Party for at least one year, has broken all connection with

his former party and has proved his loyalty to the Labour Party."

The events of the last year have shown the loyalty of former Communists and their respect for the protocol.

To-day, they are again enabled to dedicate their militancy and qualities of leadership to the United Socialist Youth, which they want to see become broad and powerful and competent to deal with all the needs and demands of youth.

It is to be hoped that the development of the unity movement will put a rapid end to the application of the protocol's second stipulation, that every member of the United Socialist Youth may be free to belong to whichever of the two working class parties he is most in sympathy with.

There are immense tasks before the Socialist Youth, the only united organisation of the working class youth.

In order to develop into the broad youth movement which it must be, the Socialist Youth must expand its activities and forms of organisation which will make room for every young man and woman. It must do away with the remains of old rigid organisational forms which are still to be found in many spheres.

Every young worker or unemployed person, every student and young man or woman must be able to take his or her place in a movement which carries on the struggle for their rightful economic, social, political and cultural demands.

By so doing, the Socialist Youth will help to bring about the unity of the younger generation against fascism and war, for the victory of Republican Spain, democracy and liberty.

To achieve its aim, the Socialist Youth must remain the symbol of unity, by developing its movement under the banner of fraternity, a fraternity of all its members, without narrow theoretical distinction.

Progressive Tendencies in Students' Circles

By André Victor

IN the last few years profound changes have taken place in the life of our universities and in the student movement. Differing from country to country, these changes are all important indications of a progressive tendency in the student movement. Even in the last century, the students, sons of a bourgeoisie struggling against feudalism, played a progressive role: in 1830, in 1848, in Paris, Prague, Vienna, etc. . . . In our own time there are manifold reasons to explain this radicalisation of students as a mass. To mention only some of the most important: the economic situation, and above all, the prospect of unemployment or misemployment for the young intellectuals; fascism and the threat it constitutes to freedom of thought and conscience and to all those intellectual values to which students are closely attached by their training; war and its consequences for a generation which lives for the future. As a stratum peculiarly susceptible to disturbances in society as a whole, students in general translate the aspirations, anxieties and hesitations of the middle classes, the petty bourgeoisie, in the face of the present social and national conflicts.

One of the forms taken by this progressive tendency in the universities is the change in the character of student organisations.

The oldest, most highly developed form of organisation among students is that of the guild movement. Without going back to the "guilds" of the Middle Ages, it has to be admitted that in most university centres to-day mass student organisation takes the form of the guild. More, in some countries this has become the official form of organisation, supported by the university and public authorities and forming a sort of student representation to the authorities. In principle, the guild movement is open to all students without any distinction. Usually it takes the form of a national union of students, which includes the general student associations of the different universities. The essential role of the guilds is to defend student interests and develop their leisure. So the new spirit of anxiety which is growing in the student movement has found an important echo in the guilds. Formerly, the guilds were principally concerned with organising fêtes, balls, tours, and so forth, in the tradition of the student movement, and, under the pretext of being non-

political, refused to express an attitude towards any social problem; but now the situation has changed.

An example is the *National Union of Students in Great Britain*. Influenced by the growing radicalisation of the British student movement as a whole, the National Union of Students, which a few years ago was directed by Conservative elements, at its three last congresses discussed the following questions: Unemployment and Misemployment of Graduates; Health of Students; the Role of the University in connection with the Needs of Society. The last Congress, in 1938, was particularly interesting; its general resolution at the end of the proceedings, declared:

"The university's mission is to enlighten the students and to influence its members in such a way that they are capable of fulfilling a triple mission in the modern world: for the maintenance of peace; for the maintenance and development of human liberty; and for a more equitable distribution of wealth. We are convinced that these national and international problems can be resolved in great measure by the extension of free education, based on democratic principles. Students must recognise that the present economic and political situation militates against such an extension, and that it is necessary to develop constant activity and vigilance if we are to prevent the reduction of existing educational facilities and the abandonment of democratic principles."

The practical application of such a decision is still far from being realised. On the other hand, the activities of the N.U.S. include a series of very important progressive steps: participation in the youth peace movement; collaboration in the *Student Forum*, chief student organ in Britain, which has a circulation of 35,000, and is edited in a progressive spirit; participation in the campaign on behalf of the children in Spain, which has brought in, in two months, about £3,000; participation in the campaign for Austrian and Czechoslovak refugees; protest action against the anti-semitic persecutions in Germany; the publication of a progressive paper, *New University*, etc. . . . Given the important role played by Great Britain in the International Student Confederation (an international guild organisation), the evolution now taking place on a national scale cannot fail to have international repercussions.

A similar tendency can be observed in the guild movement of other countries, particularly in Belgium, Norway, and the United States. It was due to the fact that such a development had already made itself felt in *Spain* that in July, 1936, the great majority of Spanish students and their official organisations remained loyal to the Republican Government.

In the *fascist* countries the guild movement of the students is under the control of the State machine, all other organisations having been forbidden. In countries like Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, where the mass of students and their organisations are progressive, the authorities have used every means in the attempt to dissolve these organisations, or at least to diminish their influence.

Signs of a similar development are to be found in the students' *religious movement*, which comprises tens of thousands of students all over the world. Among the most important of these bodies are the Christians and the Catholics.

The Federation of Christian Students Association is divided into two important currents. First, there is a mass movement, such as that in the United States, England, India, China, etc., and which, owing to the fact that it includes an important number of students, gives a fairly accurate picture of trends among the mass of students, and which is therefore directed towards closer contact with social realities and the social responsibilities of young intellectuals. Secondly, there is the "continental" movement represented by France, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries, where the Christian associations are of small importance, being little more than theological discussion circles. We may take as representative the movement in the United States, which has about 100,000 members. The Christian student movement in the United States has taken a very clear line on the responsibilities of students in the struggle for social justice. In September, 1935, its National Council declared: "that we are faced by a continual economic crisis which brings with it misery and personal degradation for millions of our fellow men,"

and that "the prophetic mission of this generation of Christian youth is to obtain and to assure a more just social order, in which all men will have the economic possibility of real fraternity." This social order must "give everyone, without distinction of race, the opportunity to take part in and share all aspects of life." The movement has, on several occasions, taken a very strong stand against racial persecutions. While recognising that profound differences exist between Christians and Communists, the Christian student movement had declared that collaboration between the two organisations is possible on certain concrete questions. While profound differences exist with regard to the question of collective security, there is agreement between them in regard to aid for the victims of war. The meeting of the Council, which was held recently, declared: "the strongest condemnation of the aggressor, together with the realisation of the need to fulfil our own moral duty, is necessary if world peace is to be preserved."

Among the most advanced sections of the Christian Student Movement we find condemnation of capitalism, fascism, aggression, and the possibility of coming to an understanding with the Communists.

Next summer there will be held in Amsterdam an International Congress of Young Christians, which will decide on all these problems.

As regards the Catholic Students Movement, the situation has not developed very much. The important forces of this movement are for the most part in Europe, although fascism delivered it serious blows in Germany, Austria, and even threatens its positions in Italy. That which is emerging from the development of the Catholic Students Movement of the last few years can be summed up as, firstly, a greater social responsibility of the young intellectuals, and secondly, a sharp opposition to totalitarianism. Unfortunately attempts are being made in Catholic student circles to put fascism and Communism on the same plane and to orientate the Catholics in the direction of a third path. It is for this reason that at the International Congress of the Catholic Students held in 1938, where for the first time the Catholic students of Germany and Austria were not present, the main theme of the discussions was the danger of Communism at the universities. One must recognise that up to now very little has been done among university students in order to explain to the Catholics the real position of Communism as regards the defence of individual, personal freedom, freedom of conscience, the question of Spain, etc.

However, if we take the example of France, where the Federation of Catholic men and women students numbers 20,000 members, we can record a number of facts indicating a desire to resist the Hitler menace. The French Federation of Catholic Students published a statement against the Anschluss of Austria. Recently, after Munich, a message of the Association of French Catholic Youth declared it to be the mission of France to "safeguard throughout the world the liberty, dignity, justice, loyalty which impart to human life its meaning and greatness." The most important problem is that of the possibility and necessity of collaboration with the Communists in face of the dangers threatening France. Although there are not yet very many cases of this collaboration, it should be emphasised that this problem of the "outstretched hand" is being seriously discussed in French Catholic student circles and that the first Conference of the Catholic Students at Paris was devoted to this subject.

Here we have only briefly indicated some aspects of the development of progressive tendencies among the two traditional movements of students, the guild and confessional movements, a development which has greatly changed the spirit prevailing in the universities during the last few years. In addition, mention should be made of the great awakening observable in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: in India, China, in the Arab countries, Latin America.

It is necessary to emphasise the important role the organisations of the Communist students are playing in this progressive movement by establishing unity with the Socialist students on a national and international scale, and by the transformation of the small discussion groups into real mass organisations which they are to bring about in a number of important countries, as a result of which they are coming to the forefront of the whole of student life.

Fascism and Youth

Tremor Under the Mass Basis of Fascism

By J. Ferri

DURING its sixteen years of tyranny over the Italian people, fascism has shown itself consistently concerned with bringing the younger generation under the sway of its ideas, to control them by means of totalitarian systems of organisation, and so to make its mass basis in Italian youth.

In these sixteen years, a whole generation has been "acclimatised to fascism." For this generation, which grew up completely out of touch with great social struggles, isolated from the youth movement of other countries, it was not easy to escape from the continual supervision of the hierarchies nor to revolt against dogma and find their own methods of struggle.

Nevertheless, the masses of Italian youth, confronted with brusque changes of fascist policy, have shown certain symptoms which cause the authorities serious concern.

The fact is that it is not only fascist propaganda which influences their outlook. They are influenced also by the realities of everyday life, harsh realities which have never been in tune with the leaders' resounding speeches. The contradiction between fascist demagoguery and a life of poverty, wretchedness and despair, which is the lot of Italian youth, is the cause of that "lack of discipline" which finds expression from time to time even within the mass organisations of the regime. It must be emphasised that as yet this contradiction does not, for the most part, lead the youth into open struggle against the regime; but it is driving them into struggle, which is promising.

The fascists declare that they want "social justice"; they declare that the time has come to "reduce disparities" and to "found the era of labour." Convinced by these declarations, the youth takes part in trade union meetings to demand protection against the despotism of the employing class and to obtain an improvement in their wretched standard of life.

At a meeting of the metal workers' union, 200 apprentices, with striking energy and unity, presented a series of economic demands and forced the fascist union official to intervene with the industrialists in order to obtain these demands. These young workers were not rebels against whom the union leadership could call for police intervention and possibly, afterwards, for the special tribunal; they were young fascists who were using the very means offered to them by the demagoguery of the regime, in order to defend their legitimate interests. Episodes of this kind have taken place in many parts of Italy, especially in the industrial centres.

But it sometimes happens also that the youth are not content with the legal opportunities offered them by the fascist union. When legal protest action has shown itself ineffective against the employers, they do not hesitate to insist on the right to strike, as the only effective weapon against capitalist domination. This right has been upheld at several fascist trade union meetings, with such energy that the union leaders have been unable to resist the pressure and have resorted to threats in the Press against all those who wish to "return to the methods of the class war." At the order of Starace, general secretary of the fascist party and head of all youth organisations, the youth Press has been compelled to intervene against these "excesses," declaring that the fascist youth has no need of methods of struggle, which might "disturb the life of the nation."

The struggles developed by the apprentices inside their union organisations, by provoking threats and repression from the Government, have to a certain extent favoured the transition of important strata of young workers over to opposition. A series of very grave measures has been taken against a number of young "avantgardisti" who were degraded because they were held to be the leaders of anti-fascist demonstrations. Some of them have been arrested and brought before the special court.

The fascist regime cannot claim to have succeeded in the totalitarian education of youth in the social sphere. Nor can it claim to be satisfied with the results of all its efforts to make youth war-minded.

It was not ideological arguments in favour of the "anti-Communist crusade" against Republican Spain which induced

many young men to join in this brigandage. The early so-called volunteers were deceived—young men who had asked to be sent to work in Abyssinia were sent to an "unknown destination," i.e., to Spain—or were driven by their terrible conditions, such as the (quite literal) lack of bread. And it is well known that those who went subsequently belonged to the regular army and were sent to Spain by military orders.

The attitude of important strata of Italian youth towards the Anschluss of Austria by Germany and the Czechoslovakian crisis has shown how precariously unsafe is the basis of the fascist regime among the youth.

There were many open demonstrations by the youth against the policy of the Rome-Berlin axis, especially while the Nazi troops were occupying Austria.

At X, secondary school pupils demonstrated their dislike for the Government's foreign policy by going to school for several days wearing a red tie, and by encouraging the most honest and progressive of their teachers to comment freely upon the Anschluss, i.e., to condemn Italy's vassalage to Nazi Germany.

In the same district young recruits demonstrated in their barracks, shouting "Down with Hitler!" and singing Risorgimento songs.* These demonstrations influenced even the young officers, who encouraged the soldiers by speaking more or less openly against Hitler.

In almost all Italian universities there have been demonstrations against the axis policy and against Mussolini's "capitulation" to Hitler's coup against Austria. At the University of Rome the students prevented Virginio Gayda, the official publicist of Italian foreign policy, from giving a series of lectures intended to justify Mussolini's volte-face on the Austrian question; they confronted him with the articles he himself had written in the *Giornale d'Italia*, and which only a few days earlier had proclaimed the necessity of Austrian independence.

In several towns anti-Nazi demonstrations have been organised by the youth. On the occasion of Hitler's visit to Italy, the Government and the O.V.R.A. proved how seriously they are worried by the youth, by excluding the Rome University fascist group from the official demonstrations.

Finally, at the height of the Czechoslovakian crisis, while Mussolini was trying to galvanise public opinion into support for his war-mongering, the youth were in the forefront of all the demonstrations in which the Italian people shouted "Long Live Peace!"

This shows that the political manoeuvres of fascism do not only estrange the youth, but often arouse in them resistance, more or less considerable, to the official attitude of the Government and the fascist party. This is comprehensible when one remembers that youth, even youth educated by fascism, is never so far corrupted as to accept and comply with all the ignoble devices to which Mussolini has resort in order to maintain the domination of the big capitalists over the Italian people. Another proof of this statement is provided by the attitude of the youth towards the bestial anti-Semitic campaign conducted in the Italian Press during the last few months, at Hitler's orders. Right from the beginning of this campaign, the youth showed their profound disgust at the theory of racialism by publishing several polemic articles in some of the youth papers. When, consequently, their Press was severely censored in this respect, the youth responded by showing the utmost indifference to the outbursts of hatred made by the fascist leaders against the Jews, and did not fail to demonstrate their solidarity with Jews who suffered under the Government's measures of racial persecution. Now, therefore, the Italian Press, and particularly the youth Press, which is under the control of Starace, is conducting a campaign against "pro-Jewish elements" and those whose "personal relations with Jews are of a doubtful nature" and who often have "the courage to express their sympathy" for the victims of this persecution.

The widening schisms among the Italian youth, which fascism considers its surest foundation, are, it is clear, more numerous and, at certain periods in the country's political life, much deeper, than a superficial observer might think.

To-day the superficial observer might be impressed by demonstrations of the new, anti-French irredentism which is

* Period of struggles for the national unity and independence of Italy.

spreading through Italy, and might conclude that even if Italian youth is opposed to the Berlin-Rome axis and its results (Austria, Czechoslovakia), it is still the most valuable weapon in the hands of fascism, in its claims for Corsica and Tunis. But even in this case, it is unwise to judge by appearances. The chauvinist agitation which fascism has spread throughout Italy recently may, it is true, bring out on the streets some tens of thousands of young men (who, it must not be forgotten, receive an imperative order to do so from their organisation) and make them shout outside of the French Embassy. But if one were to question those same young men who, at Rome or Turin, shouted "We want Tunis and Corsica," in order to see how much depth there was to their aggressiveness, one would find that they were far from disposed to engage in another war, after the terrible disillusion of the Abyssinian conquest. These young men shout, it is true, but they have also something to remember: the experience of the sacrifices under which the Italian people bled and is still bleeding: the Abyssinian war and the invasion of Spain. They hope that their shouting and their demonstrations will not bring new mourning, new martyrs and still greater misery to the people of Italy.

Militant Young Catholics in Austria

By Karl Kneidinger

FOR months Goebbels' propaganda machine has been endeavouring to persuade the world that the Austrian people are in favour of National Socialism. Baldur von Schirach, the Reich Youth Leader, proclaims again and again that "the Austrian youth in particular stand determinedly 100 per cent. behind the Leader."

The events of the last few weeks and months give a very different picture however. Not only is there intensified activity among the young anti-fascists—Young Communists and Young Socialists—in the works and factories, in the labour service, in the barracks, etc., but the Young Catholics are showing their dissatisfaction and indignation against the Nazi system, so foreign to the nature of their people.

It was obvious from the beginning that in Austria the Catholic question would play a leading part. Nevertheless it has been amazing to see the rapidity with which Catholic youth has assembled its ranks and prepared for the conflict. When Austria was occupied by the Reich German troops, some confusion arose at first in the Catholic camp and among the young Austrian Catholics.

Cardinal Innitzer was chiefly to blame for this. It will be remembered that he joined the bishops of Austria in issuing a declaration recommending the Catholics to "come to an understanding" and "reconciliation" with the Nazis, and closing with "Heil Hitler" in place of the customary pastoral "God bless you."

His attitude met with very little approval among Catholic youth. The number of Catholic youth leaders attempting to excuse Innitzer's action has decreased steadily. The almost unanimous condemnation of Innitzer's policy by Catholic youth—a policy graphically described as "offering your throat to be cut"—arises from the following important reasons:—

In the period between Schuschnigg's journey to Berchtesgaden and Hitler's coup de force against Austria, there was a rapprochement between Catholic and Communist youth, and after the annexation this bore fruit. There were numerous comradesly discussions between Young Catholics and Young Communists on the joint struggle, and the joint measures which it demands. Very often the Young Catholics put questions to the Young Communists, questions new to the latter, and requiring thought.

A Y.C.L. official of Austria relates, for instance, that he became acquainted with a Young Catholic at a continuation school. One day the Catholic asked him, "Hitler wants to abolish religious instruction from the schools. What do you Communists say to that?" Our young friend replied that, of course, the Young Communists would be on the side of the Young Catholics against such a measure, for every blow against the Catholics is a blow against the anti-fascists, since it weakens the common front of the Austrians against Hitler's foreign rule.

This answer was the right one. It turned out that the Young Catholic was the leader of several illegal groups of Catholic

youth. The result was firm collaboration with the Y.C.L. in this locality in a very short time.

Other instances, however, show that not all Young Communists and Socialists understand why and how they should co-operate with the Catholics. In one district the Y.C.L. and the Revolutionary Socialist Youth of Austria decided to amalgamate under the name of "United Socialist Youth of Austria," in emulation of the United Socialist Youth of Spain. So far so good.

These young people knew that there were large illegal Young Catholic groups in the district, but they did not concern themselves about them. The Young Catholics took the initiative and succeeded in establishing contact with the comrades. They suggested a discussion on joint work. The discussion was organised, but the representative of the United Socialist Youth group—a young man who had just joined the group—proved his lack of understanding of the situation by calling upon the Young Catholics to co-operate by joining the United Socialist Youth! It need not be said that the Catholics refused, saying that they were prepared to join the common struggle for democracy, but not for Socialism.

As time passed, the opponents of Hitler have, of course, realised more and more that only the united struggle can lead to success, to victory. The Catholics were brought to this realisation very quickly, as in Austria the Nazis turned on the Catholics at once with an utterly alien brutality. The Young Catholics suffered most, for practically overnight they were robbed of all their organisations, Youth Homes, periodicals, etc. This increased the indignation and hatred of the Catholics, who were aided by many anti-fascists.

The great demonstration of Catholic youth took place in Stephans Square in Vienna. It is a noteworthy fact that these demonstrations were held at the very hour when the German troops were marching into the Sudeten areas, and the Nazi press was jubilant.

The Young Catholics responded as one man to the call of their leader to attend the Young Catholic Congress, although they had no organisations.

Let us glance at the report of an eye-witness, which gives an idea of the struggle of the Young Catholics of Austria for their faith:—

"At eight o'clock in the evening Cardinal Innitzer and the pastor of the cathedral, Torr, entered the venerable Cathedral of St. Stephan. It was an inspiring moment when the pastors and congregations, swelled by an enormous crowd, chiefly young people, strained forward to hear the words of the prelate. A solemn strain was played on the organ. Six banners were carried by three girls and three boys.

"Perfect stillness reigned as the cardinal began to speak. He said: 'We face hard times. Everything has been taken from us, even our youth organisations, but I am glad that in spite of these tragic circumstances there are still many young people who do not fall a prey to hypocritical phrases.'

"The young people were greatly impressed by these words, and the response came in chorus: 'Bishop, we follow you!' It will be remembered that just at this time the Nazi war cry was: 'Leader, we follow you!'

The surprising feature of these demonstrations was the large number of young people taking part, according to reliable estimates at least 3,000. This fact cannot be too highly appreciated in view of the conditions of fascist rule, with their Gestapo terrorism and brutal persecution of persons of convictions different from their own.

It is especially interesting that many young people were present in army uniforms, and even in Hitler Youth and League of German Girls uniforms. Many had to undergo examination by Gestapo officials, who noted not a few names. One soldier, whose name was taken down by a Gestapo man, told him with a contemptuous look that he was a Catholic and would remain one whatever the Gestapo did.

The effect of these demonstrations on the Nazis is well known. The whole Nazi clique, from Goebbels to Himmler, raged and foamed. This had to happen in their "emancipated" Austria! They tried and tested Storm Troops and Black Guards appeared on the scene. An infamous slander drive was staged with the intention of inciting against the Catholics those sections of the working class which have always been Socialist and Communist. Processions marched through the streets, carrying

banners with the inscription: "Innitzer to the gallows," and even with pictures of a priest hanging on gallows. Or pictures depicting priests and Jews embracing one another, with the caption:

"Priest and Jew come hand in hand
As warmongers in our land."

Churches were stormed, the Young Catholics who opposed the raiders were beaten up, and a priest was even thrown out of a church window into the street. He died a few days later.

But the whole drive aroused nothing but disgust and repugnance in the Austrian people. No doubt there are still some people, even among the workers, who say the "priests deserve all they get," but the experience gained day by day causes such opinions to disappear rapidly.

There are striking examples of this in the factories. The workers are called upon to take part in the Nazi demonstrations against the Catholics, even forced to do so, but the fiasco has been general. In some places the workers employed by some undertaking, perhaps 400, would manage to drop out on the way, so that 6 or at most 10 would arrive at the place of meeting.

A call to attend an anti-clerical demonstration was issued to a factory employing many women. Some of them actually intended to go. But a young anti-fascist got up and said: "Nearly all of you are Catholics. These demonstrations are against the Roman Catholic church, and therefore against you. Do you want to demonstrate against yourselves? Look here! I am not a member of any church, but still I am not going, because I believe in religious liberty, and surely you should too." No one went from this factory to the anti-Catholic demonstration.

Although the Nazis have succeeded in inciting some groups of Hitler Youth against Catholic Youth, still even among National Socialist youth there are forces which are not in the least agreed with the drive. The following took place at a course of training for young National Socialists—nearly all of whom worked illegally in Schuschnigg's time.

The lecturer was speaking on "The Church and National Socialism." The discussion showed that many were in opposition to the speaker. The resolution finally passed stated:—

1. That any pressure on religious liberty, as exercised by the Storm Troops and Black Guards, is to be condemned.
2. That the Catholic religion must have full freedom.
3. That the struggle against the church by National Socialism in the Reich is to be condemned.

It should be remembered that these were young Nazis.

The Nazi campaign for the withdrawal of school children from religious instruction, too, finds the Catholics and Communists in one front. Both the Young Catholics and the Young Communists of Austria have appealed to the parents to continue sending the children to religious instruction.

A letter from a Vienna Catholic, published in the *Deutsche Weg* (Catholic weekly abroad) shows that in the schools too there is considerable resistance. In one school in the Fifth District in Vienna only two girls out of 40 have been withdrawn from religious instruction, despite the enormous propaganda and pressure.

All these examples encourage the Austrian Young Communists to continue on their path of understanding with the Young Catholics. It need not be said that the co-operation between Young Catholics and Young Communists must not involve any abandonment of principles, and just as the Y.C.L. cannot demand that the Young Catholics act like Young Communists, neither can the Catholics demand the reverse from the Communists.

But there is a programme upon which both can agree; this can be formulated approximately as follows:—

(a) Joint struggle for religious liberty against the suppression of the Young Catholic organisations; against all persecution of human beings because of their religious convictions, their philosophy, and therewith their views of life.

(b) Joint struggle against any worsening of the economic position of Austrian youth; popularisation of the social programme of the former Catholic youth organisation "Young Front" for mobilising youth for their economic rights.

(c) Joint struggle against the methods of compulsion and the war education in the Hitler Youth and the other Nazi youth organisations.

When forming this common front of the Young Catholics with the Young Communists and Socialists, immediate steps should be taken to win over oppositional Nazi youth, so that a front of all Austrian youth may be built up for the emancipation of our Austrian homeland from foreign rule.

Learn and Comprehend

An Introduction to the Study of Marx's Capital

By J. Alpari

I—THE NECESSARY PRELIMINARY KNOWLEDGE FOR A PROPER UNDERSTANDING OF "CAPITAL"

REPEATED attempts have been made at a popularisation of *Capital*. The best known of them are G. Deville's and K. Kautsky's, the first in French and the second in German. Kautsky's work, owing to its numerous translations, has been more widely read in almost the whole world than *Capital*.

Deville and Kautsky are still to-day recommended as introductions to *Capital*. We definitely warn readers against them. They do not give a correct presentation of Marx's teachings, and in fact even distort them; they can therefore only create confusion. Whilst *Lenin*, in his brief sketch of the teachings of Marx written for the *Granat Encyclopaedia*, gives the main ideas of all three volumes of *Capital* in about ten pages, in the works of Kautsky and Deville, comprising 250 to 350 pages we do not find even the fundamental ideas of the first volume correctly presented. In a letter written to Kautsky just at the time when he was working on his popularisation of Marx, Engels states:

"You will certainly avoid Deville's errors. The chief thing is that he presents Marxist theses as absolute, which with Marx are true only under certain conditions, which Deville omits to mention, and therefore they appear false."

This letter is dated February 5, 1884. Seven months later, on September 20, Engels had to point out to Kautsky that he had not grasped the Marxist theory of value. In spite of the occasional help of Engels, Kautsky's popularisation is not better than Deville's. In a certain respect it is even worse. He often quotes Marx immediately following his own vulgarisations, thereby causing complete confusion. Victor Adler, the well known and brilliant leader of the Austrian Social Democracy before the war, used to say, he knew one good explanation of Kautsky's book—the first volume of *Capital*.

It is worth while dealing briefly with the chief faults of these well known popularisations. The exposure of these faults will provide valuable sign posts to a correct understanding of *Capital*.

The chief errors are of a dual kind. Deville and Kautsky became infatuated with the Marxist formula: 20 yards of linen = one coat, or = 10 lbs. of tea, or = 40 lbs. of coffee. Commodity — Money — Commodity, C.—M.—C. etc. Metamorphosis of Commodities — Circulation of Money, etc. They regarded it as their sole task to explain these formula. They thereby fell into the error which Marx so strongly condemned in the vulgar economists, namely, they confined themselves to giving a plausible explanation of, so to say, crudest phenomena. Just as these vulgar economists wrote text books of "political economy" for commercial high schools and universities, in which the most commonly observed phenomena of business life were made understandable for the bourgeoisie, so in the same way Kautsky and Deville proceeded when writing their books which were destined for consumption by the proletariat. Marx had a great respect for the classical economists who, contrary to the vulgar economists, dealt with the active and energetic life of men; but already in his first economic work, in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, written in the year 1847, he pointed out that they only explained to us how production takes place under the given relations.

"Economists explain how production takes place in the above-mentioned relations, but what they do not explain is how these relations themselves are produced, that is the historical movement which gave them birth."

The precursor of *Capital* was the *Critique of Political Economy*, which appeared in the year 1859. In a letter to Lassalle, Marx said that here there is given for the first time a really scientific presentation of social relations. In his review of Marx's *Critique of Political Economy*, Engels stated that Marxist economics deals not with things but with relations to

tween persons, and, in the last resort, between classes; these relations are, however, always *attached to things* and *appear as things*. And Marx himself declared in the preface to the first edition of *Capital*:

"It is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society."

Deville and Kautsky, however, see only the commodity market and the labour market; they see only formula and schemes which they painfully endeavour to explain.

Their second chief fault lies in the fact that they were completely blind as regards dialectics, i.e., "the science of the general laws of motion,—of the exterior world and also human thought." (Engels.)

Formerly the two small brochures by Marx, *Wage Labour and Capital*, and *Value, Price and Profit*, were usually recommended as a first introduction to *Capital*. They must, in fact, be thoroughly assimilated by every student before he proceeds to the study of *Capital*. But it is equally important that he become previously acquainted with some fundamental ideas of dialectics, namely of dialectical materialism, as Marxist dialectics is rightly called. For *Capital* is one of the most tremendous works of applied dialectics. "If Marx left behind no *Logic* (Hegel's chief work), he has nevertheless left behind the logic of *Capital*. In *Capital* dialectical materialism is applied to a discipline (branch of study), wrote Lenin, in his article "Dialectics (Logic) of Hegel" (Berne, 1915).

The main endeavours of Deville and Kautsky were, however, consciously directed to "purging" *Capital* of dialectics, which they considered to be a hindrance to an understanding of it.

Knowledge of dialectics is precisely the key to an understanding of *Capital*.

Dialectical materialism is set forth most profoundly in Engels' *Anti-Duehring* and *Nature and Dialectics*, as well as in Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, and his *Philosophical Notes*. But the study of these works requires almost as much mental effort as the study of *Capital*. We cannot simply say to him who wishes to study *Capital*: Before you venture to study Marx's chief work, you must first master these scientific works.

Fortunately that is not necessary. There are already available some works which convey the fundamental concepts of dialectics in a relatively easily understood manner. Thus we find in the recently published *History of the Bolshevik Party* an excellent introduction to dialectical materialism. But there are also in the works of Marx and Engels certain passages which present no particular difficulties to the unschooled reader and serve as an introduction to dialectical materialism. Here we should mention first the postscript to the second edition of *Capital*. Marx himself emphasises that it is an explanation of his dialectical method, which was employed in the presentation of *Capital*. Engels gives us a relatively easily understood exposition of the fundamental ideas of dialectics in the second chapter of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, and in the fourth chapter of his work: *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy*.

For a correct understanding of *Capital* a training in dialectics is indispensable. As we wish to give an introduction to its study we cannot but for our part also make at least a few brief remarks on dialectics, namely, one of its *essential features*, which plays a prominent role in the first chapter of *Capital*—the identity of opposites.

What is called sound common sense knows only Either—Or. If I ask myself, is vinegar sour? I can certainly answer: Yes, it is sour. To be sour is the most characteristic property of vinegar. Or let us put another question to which we expect a negative reply. Is drinking water sour? I can answer straight away: No, it is not sour. This way of thinking is called in the school philosophy *logical* thinking, and it is usually explained by the words of the Bible: But let your communication be: Yea, yea; Nay nay, for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil!

In ordinary everyday life one can get along with such methods of reasoning. Profound thinking, however, immediately shows that they are altogether inadequate. Vinegar is only acid when applied to the tongue; applied to iron it has a dissolving effect. As regards drinking water, there are also mineral waters; there are many localities which obtain their

drinking water solely from mineral springs. On the basis of the so-called logical method of thinking I must declare: He who is called Peter or Paul remains Peter or Paul his whole life. Is that correct? One would of course, promptly answer: Yes. Nevertheless, at bottom, this answer is not correct.

"Peter and Paul," we read in *Dietzgen's Positive Outcome of Philosophy*, "who remain the same men their whole lives, are in reality changed people every hour and every day, and like these two, so all things in the world are not constant, but quite variable quantities. Mathematical points, straight lines and round circles are only ideals. In actual fact every point is extended, every straight line, when seen through a magnifying glass, is connected with endless bends, and the roundest circles, as the mathematicians assure us consist in reality of an endless number of straight lines.

"Dialectics, in its very first paragraph, teaches how the same things have the contradictory nature of being one and yet manifold; how all things, processes and happenings are, without exception, not things but resemble colours of that silk which, although it remains itself one of the same, nevertheless shimmers very diversely in the most varied shadings."

As the characterisation of dialectics there is used, in direct contradiction to the biblical words, the oft-quoted words: Yes, no, no, yes!

That which to-day is *yes* (a ruling class in a society split up into classes), will to-morrow be *no* (i.e., will be overthrown); that which to-day is *no* (the oppressed class), will to-morrow be *yes* (i.e., will be victorious).

So-called common sense views all happenings as they appear at the moment; it grasps only a certain side, and regards this one-sided appearance as something permanent. In reality, all happenings in nature, in society and also in mental life, exhibit various sides and are in constant motion.

Dialectics is the science of the general laws of this motion.

In the preface to the second edition of *Capital*, Marx says: "The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner." Although Marx did not simply take over the Hegelian dialectics, as the dialectical method of Marx not only differs from Hegel's but is its direct opposite, nevertheless in *Capital*, on the theory of value and in various passages, Marx makes use of Hegelian modes of expression. We can, therefore, in expounding dialectics in connection with *Capital* cite examples from Hegel and in part also use his forms of expression.

The Hegelian "sacred formula" (Weihungsformel) is given by Marx in *The Poverty of Philosophy*, as follows: Affirmation, negation, negation of the negation. Or expressed in other words—every dialectical movement comprises three stages: Position, opposition and composition. Hegel himself gives an illuminating example illustrating this general summary in the preface to his *Phenomenology of Mind*. He says here:

"The bud disappears when the blossom breaks through, and we might say that the former is refuted by the latter; in the same way when the fruit comes, the blossom may be explained to be a false form of the plant's existence, for the fruit appears as its true nature in place of the blossom. These stages are not merely differentiated; they supplant one another as being incompatible with one another. But the ceaseless activity of their own inherent nature makes them at the same time moments of an organic unity, where they not only do not contradict one another, but where one is as necessary as the other; and this equal necessity of all moments constitutes from the outset the life of the whole."

Life appears in manifold forms. In particular the form of development is not exactly the same in nature as in society, but development is everywhere a dialectical one, and for every development the brief Marxist definition of dialectics (in the *Poverty of Philosophy*) applies:

"That which constitutes the dialectical movement is the co-existence of two opposing sides, their conflict and their merging into a new category."

We believe that with this we have given an explanation of the identity of opposites.

We find in the works of Lenin a number of excellent formulations of the identity of opposites. Let us take, for example, the following from his article *On the Question of Dialectics*:

"Identity of opposites (or perhaps more correctly said, their unity) means recognition (discovery) of the contradicting, mutually excluding, opposed tendencies in all phenomena and processes of nature (including mind and also society). The condition for understanding all the world processes in their self-movement, in their spontaneous development, in their real life, is knowledge of them as unity of opposites. Development is 'conflict' of opposites."

As in everything that Lenin taught, he did not content himself here with simply repeating a thought that was originated by others, but he at the same time enriched it. He speaks not only of the dialectical movement, but of self-movement, of spontaneous development. Lenin elucidated this idea in great detail. For those who do not adopt the standpoint of dialectical materialism, wrote Lenin in the same article:

"The self-movement, its driving force, the source, its motive remains in obscurity (or this force is transferred outside—God, subject, etc.). The dialectical materialists concentrate their attention on recognition of the source of this movement. That is precisely the conflict of the mutually excluding opposites."

Thus the driving force of the movement is not some god or a mystic power, but that which is contained in the things, in the processes themselves: the clash of the inner contradictions—struggle.

In the same article Lenin explains the differences in the conception of development. To the non-dialectician, development appears as diminution or increase, as repetition. For the dialectical materialist it is "development as unity of opposites (splitting of the uniform into mutually excluding opposites and their mutual relations)."

A grasp of the foregoing is of enormous importance for a correct understanding of *Capital*. For where the classical economists observed only differences, there Marx showed sharply contradicting opposites; where they saw differences existing along side one another, Marx pointed to their close connection, the unity of opposites.

The classical economists know only one system of production, which has existed from all time. For them the primitive fisherman or the primitive hunter is a producer of commodities, and each of them, when he has collected a store for the winter, is a capitalist also. In the best case they recognise only differences of degree. Their conception of development corresponds completely with the conception characterised by Lenin as being that of the non-dialectician. They recognise increases or diminutions, a more or a less, but always only within the same system. Marx, on the other hand, sharply distinguishes between the various economic systems. He shows where gradual movement passes into something new, into the opposite. Quantity is transformed into quality.

This brings us to a new essential feature of dialectics. But this dialectical law plays a big rôle only in the later chapters of *Capital* (in the definition of capital, production of relative surplus value, to operation, division of labour and manufacture, machinery and big industry). Therefore it is not necessary for us to deal with it here. Our chief aim here is to give a brief explanation of dialectical development, that is to say of the identity of opposites which, of the dialectical essential features, plays, so to speak, the main rôle in the first chapters of *Capital*. The reader will find practical examples in the second and third articles, where we will show the dialectical contradiction in the commodity form, in value form, in the circulation of commodities, and finally, in the whole development of capitalist society.

In his preface to Marx's *Letters to Kugelmann*, Lenin recommends the letter dated July 11, 1868, as being of outstanding interest from the point of view of a fuller and more profound elucidation of Marxism and the study of *Capital*. He says:

"It is to be hoped that everyone who begins to study Marx and to read his *Capital* will read and re-read this letter when studying the first and more difficult chapters of *Capital*."

That the letter should be read and re-read does not merely mean that it is very important, but also that it requires a special study. In fact, it was far from Marx's intention to indite this letter as a sort of popularisation of *Capital*. He addressed the letter to Kugelmann, who fully understood *Capital*, and was himself engaged in the fight against the clique of professors who attempted by all means to discredit the teachings of Marx. It was intended in the best case as an aid in the literary fight. We publish below those parts of the letter of Marx which are most important for us. In order to facilitate an understanding of this letter we will precede it by the following remarks.

The untrained reader usually raises objections to Marx's law of value, which objections, as Lenin said, are for that reason most persistently supported by the mediocre representatives of "professorial," bourgeois science. There is a whole series of phenomena which apparently contradict the Marxist theory of value. But we see the same thing in every science. Appearances are deceptive. 2,500 years ago the wise men of Babylon assumed that the earth had four corners; up to the time of Copernicus and long afterwards it was thought that the sun revolved round the earth. In support of this conception it was argued that it was evident from plain common sense. As is known, science has completely upset all these crude theories. Marx points out in his letter that it is precisely the task of economic science to discover beyond appearances the inner connection. It is indeed no great discovery when the vulgar economist proudly claims that in appearance things look different. "In fact, he is boasting that he holds fast to the appearance, and takes it for the last word. Why, then, any science at all?"

The chief content of the letter consists in the refutation of the objection to the theory of value. In order to make this more easily understood it is necessary to go somewhat farther afield.

Marx distinguishes two chief forms of social production of commodities. The first form is the *directly associated* labour, the conscious coming together in a working community in order to produce goods for consumption, which are then distributed among the members of the community. The second form is the associated production of the producers of commodities, in which it is not determined beforehand what each must produce, where the products come by way of exchange into the possession of the individual members of society. For production of commodities is also a social production.

"In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; relations of production . . ." we read in the famous introduction to the "*Critique of Political Economy*."

At the time when Marx wrote *Capital* there still existed production communities with *directly associated labour*, such as the Communist communities in India and the Servian Zadrougas. In the latter there were several generations of one and the same family united, and producing corn, cattle, yarn, linen, clothing, etc., for their own use; but they also tanned hides, erected huts, etc. The conscious division of labour among the members of the family is here the starting point for the production of goods; the labour performed provides the possibility and gives the right to enjoy the products.

In commodity production there is no division of labour beforehand. And yet it must take place here in a certain proportion; and in addition there must be here also a proportion between the work performed and the products which the individual members of society receive by way of exchange.

Right back in early time men had ideas on this subject, and they developed more or less correct views, as Marx says in his letter to Kugelmann: "the concept of the value relation has always been the same, whether more or less clear, hedged with illusions or scientifically precise."

Let us take as an example the following passage from *Albertus Magnus* (1193-1280), the great moralist writer of the middle ages:

"The existence of the community is based on exchange in just proportions. A community can exist only when the requirements of the citizens are satisfied. This, however, is impossible without an exchange of one object for another in just relation. For nobody can satisfy all his requirements himself. If he possesses grain he needs shoes, a dwelling, a bed; and if he produces a thing himself he cannot possess complete skill to produce another thing. There-

fore each one needs the other, and it is upon such an exchange that the well-being of civil society is based.

"The mason must obtain from the shoemaker the product of his labour, and pay him for it what is due according to just recompense. For only then will agreement regarding labour and cost prevail. . . . If, however, such exchange is not carried on in this manner, this failure to observe proportional justice leads to the dissolution of the community . . ."

The correct explanation of the inner connections was first provided by Marx: it is revealed in *Capital*, where it is expounded in detail. We find a brief allusion to it in the letter from Marx to Kugelmann. In order to understand it better one should read beforehand the following passage from *Joseph Dietzgen's review of Capital*:

"All economic relations are to be understood only on condition that we see in bourgeois society a kind of producers' co-operative. Because this society is only a historical growth and not consciously constituted, purpose does not prevail in it but blind necessity. What is to be produced, how much and in what manner, is left to the arbitrary will of the individual, which is indirectly regulated by society through the medium of the movement of the market. The producer has the freedom to do what he likes, that is to say, society does not prescribe to him but teaches afterwards by means of rewards and kicks."

After all this, the letter of Marx to Kugelmann will no longer present any difficulties. It reads:

"As for the *Zentralblatt*, the man is making the greatest possible concession in admitting that, if one means anything at all by value, the conclusions I draw must be accepted. The unfortunate fellow does not see that, even if there were no chapter on 'value' in my book, the analysis of the real relationships which I give would contain the proof and demonstration of the real value relation. The nonsense about the necessity of proving the concept of value arises from complete ignorance both of the subject dealt with and of the method of science. Every child knows that a country which ceases to work, I will not say for a year, but for a few weeks, would die. Every child knows, too, that the mass of products corresponding to the different needs require different and quantitatively determined masses of the total labour of society. That this necessity of distributing social labour in definite proportions cannot be done away with by the *particular form* of social production, but can only change the *form it assumes*, is self-evident. No natural laws can be done away with. What can change, in changing historical circumstances, is the *form* in which these laws operate. And the form in which this proportional division of labour operates in a state of society where the interconnection of social labour is manifested in the *private exchange* of the individual products of labour, is precisely the *exchange value* of these products.

"The science consists precisely in working out *how* the law of value operates. So that if one wanted at the very beginning to 'explain' all the phenomena which apparently contradict that law, one would have to give the science *before* the science. It is precisely Ricardo's mistake that in his first chapter on value he takes as given all possible categories, which have still to be developed, in order to prove their conformity with the law of value.

"On the other hand, as you correctly assumed, *the history of the theory* certainly shows that the concept of the value relation has *always been the same*, whether more or less clear, hedged with illusions or scientifically precise. Since the thought process itself grows out of the conditions, is itself a *natural process*, thinking that really comprehends must always be the same and can only vary gradually according to maturity of development, including that of the organ by which the thinking is done. Everything else is drivel.

The vulgar economist has not the faintest idea that the actual everyday exchange relations need not be directly identical with the magnitudes of value. The point of bourgeois society consists precisely in this, that *a priori* there is no conscious social regulation of production. The reasonable and the necessary in nature asserts itself only as a blindly working average. And then the vulgar economist thinks he has made a great discovery, when, as against the disclosures of the inner connection, he proudly claims that in appearance things look different. In fact, he is boasting that he holds fast to the appearance, and takes it for the last word. Why, then, any science at all?

"But the matter has also another background. When the inner connection is grasped, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of existing conditions breaks down before their practical collapse. Here, therefore, it is in the interest of the ruling classes to perpetuate this unthinking confusion. And for what other purpose are the sycophantic babblers paid, who have no other scientific trump to play, save that in political economy one should not think at all.

"But, *satis supraque* (enough and more than enough). In any case it shows what these priests of the bourgeoisie have come to, when workers and even manufacturers and merchants understand my book and find their way about in it, while these 'scribes' (!) complain that I make excessive demands on their understanding.

Yours K. M."

Apropos, I have received an article from Dietzgen about my book; I am sending it to Liebknecht."

One can understand very well why Lenin recommended that this letter should be read and re-read. It contains in a condensed form, in about 80 lines, the greatest ideas: a characterisation of the methods of science, a summary of the essential points of the theory of value, a strictly materialistic substantiation of scientific cognition, and finally, a thorough settlement of accounts with the professorial spokesmen of the bourgeoisie, who seek to conceal the theoretical bankruptcy of capitalism with a declaration of bankruptcy of their own science. For our immediate purposes we must note the following: Whatever form social production assumes, whether it constitutes an immediate socialised production or a commodity production where the division of labour takes place without having been previously determined, it is always necessary that the division of labour shall assume definite proportions. The definite *form* of production changes only the form this division of labour assumes. The proportional part of social labour which is used in the various products, appears in commodity production as exchange value.

We shall see this elaborated in *Capital*.

Let us briefly sum up what we have already said:

Capital is not a text book on the phenomena and concepts which we meet in business life, not a so-called book on national economy, but a work in which the law of movement of capitalist productive relations, of the economic structure of capitalist society is revealed, in which this tremendous historical process is shown in its rise, development and decline. Before we proceed to the study of *Capital* it is necessary to acquire a certain preliminary knowledge. We have enumerated above the works suitable for this purpose. One should take particular note of what Lenin said regarding the law of the identity of opposites.

After all this we can approach the study of *Capital*. The book begins with the sentence:

"The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as 'an immense accumulation of commodities,' its *unit* being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity."

(A second article follows)

Karl Marx: *Letters to Kugelmann*, pages 73/75.