

"The Communist International is being threatened with the danger of dilution with fluctuating and half and half groups which have as yet not abandoned the ideology of the Second International."

These two quotations show very clearly and definitely, why on the one hand the U. C. P. fights against unity with the Communist Party of America, and on the other hand, why they do not want to leave the Communist International.

The leaders of the U. C. P. on the question of the necessity of armed insurrection for the purpose of the overthrow of the bourgeois state, take the position of typical opportunists and centrists, for in their lip-service acceptance of this method of struggle you can notice a decided hesitation in propagating this tactic to the masses. In their attitude towards mass action, and still more so in their attitude towards the trade union movement, the leaders of the U. C. P. suffer from the infantile sickness of the "leftism". It is therefore difficult for the leaders of the U. C. P. to unite with the Communist Party of America, which cleansed itself from both and which defends without reservation the principles and tactics of the Communist International. The seeming intricacy of the unity question becomes very simple and easy to understand when we take into consideration that the membership of the Communist Party is nearly twice as large as that of the U. C. P. and that the leaders of the U. C. P. who are consummate politicians, know full well that due to this circumstance their anarcho-opportunist influence will be wiped out in a united communist party. This is the reason why these centrist leaders of the U. C. P. try to postpone unity indefinitely, and try to squirm

out of the conditions of the International on unity.

Although the leaders of the U. C. P. find themselves in disagreement with the principle and tactics of the Communist International they do not want to be expelled from that body, for they understand very well that expulsion from the C. I. will end the careers of the centrist leaders of the U. C. P. The rank and file of the U. C. P. are for the most part sincere and honest although misled, and would not follow their centrist leaders the moment they were thoroughly exposed.

The leaders of the U. C. P. are caught between two fires: they do not want to unite with us, but the rank and file of their party demand unity according to the terms of the Communist International. Therefore these U. C. P. leaders change their attitude from day to day—one day they sign a certain document in which they declare their willingness to submit to all the decisions of the Executive Committee of the C. I.—that is, they agree to call a joint unity convention on the basis of proportional representation according to the actual dues paying membership as appearing upon the official books of both parties for the months of July, August, September, and October; the next day they break their pledged word on some flimsy pretext or other, such as "the Communist Party has manipulated its figures" or "has given a false account of the number of its members" or that "All of the members of the Communist Party are not really organized in underground groups", etc. etc.

We appeal to the rank and file of the U. C. P. to force their leaders to submit to the decisions of the Executive Committee of the C. I. The Communist Party of Ameri-

ca has complied with all of the six conditions for unity and stands ready at any time to call its delegates to a JOINT UNITY CONVENTION.

The insolence of the leaders of the U. C. P. knows no bounds. They are absolutely desperate. Their last proposition to hold a unity convention on the basis of equal representation is in direct defiance of the Communist International and will not hold water.

The leaders of the U. C. P. have the unmitigated insolence to demand that the Communist Party of America, recognized by the Communist International as the most consistent party in its conception of communist principles and tactics and having almost twice as many members as the U. C. P., should on some mysterious grounds give up its position which it has maintained in spite of the attempts of these same U. C. P. leaders to split and destroy us,—and voluntarily weaken its position and influence in the communist movement in America, simply because a few charlatans and politicians at the head of the U. C. P. demand it.

We are certain that when the true communists in the ranks of the U. C. P. come to understand the unity question in all its phases, they will compel their leaders to obey the mandate of the Communist International and call their delegates to a joint convention and thereby put an end to the disgraceful situation in the Communist movement in America, so that we may take our rightful place in the world movement and march on to victory side by side with our comrades in the Communist International.

Long live the Communist Party of America.

Long live the Communist International.

The International of the Communist Youth.

THE BERLIN CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL OF YOUTH.

I. The First International congress of Unions of Socialist Youth took place in 1907 in Stuttgart. It was called in the epoch of peaceful development of capitalism. But even for this epoch it managed to work out a revolutionary programme for the international movement of the proletarian youth: The struggle against militarism, and the participation of the youth in the political life of the working class. Such were the foundations of the young people's movement. In its first period from 1886 (foundation of the first Young Guard organization in Ghent) up to 1907. The Stuttgart congress was summoned when the organizations were still very weak. (The strongest of them counted: Belgium in 1909—about 8,000 members in 123 organizations; and Sweden in April, 1907—about 17,000). The Anarchist and Syndicalist influence against which revolutionary Socialist elements had to carry on a desperate struggle was still very strong in them. But their organizations were revolutionary, they educated and prepared not middle-class officials of Party and professional bureaucracy, but revolutionary Socialist burning with enthusiasm.

Alas! The declarations of the Stuttgart Congress were not carried out. From 1907 on, first in Germany and then in the majority of European countries, Social Democratic parties and Trade Unions, who had no relations to the organization of the Unions of Youth, and in many cases (Austria, Switzerland) had persecuted them—suddenly developed a strong affection towards "unexperienced youth" and resolved to direct it on the right road. At first Schultz, and after him other apostles of opportunism, frightened by the revolutionary spirit of the independent organization—proclaimed a liberal "pedagogical" principle: "The Youth must not mix in politics". Then, in the interests of Social Democracy, Anarchism was discovered among the Youth and as a result of theoretical transformation of the youthful proletarians into helpless children—sprang the idea of dissolving the Independent Unions of Youth and setting Committees of Youth, composed of representatives of parties and Trade Unions.

The German Social Democracy acted in touching accord with clause 17 of the Imperial Code, forbidding political organizations of the Youth, and with the German police that enforced it by aid of bayonets, prisons and whips. The new committees undertook with great efficiency to throw political ideas out of the heads of the young people, and transformed the German Youth movement into an educational-sportive union with a slight Socialist color. Only a few organizations of proletarian youth succeeded in maintaining their independence and political activity. And for that reason the second congress of the International of Youth, summoned in 1910 in Copenhagen, passed unnoticed. It confirmed the Stuttgart principles of Liebknecht concerning antimilitarism, and the thesis of Roland-Holst on Socialist education. But instead of struggling for the in-

dependence of the organizations of Youth against the opportunist Social Democracy—upon the report of Dannenberg, secretary of the International Youth, a resolution was carried out of "combined work of the Socialist Unions of Youth with Socialist Parties and Trade Unions".

2. The next international conference of the Socialist Unions of Youth, took place in 1912, immediately after the Congress of the Second International. The only question there debated was the question of the attitude of the organizations of Youth in the event of the great war. The conference went no further than to join the declarations of the congress of grown up Socialists.

Then the Great War broke out, and shattered the plans of convoking a congress of the International of Youth in August 1914, simultaneously with the congress of the Second International. The International secretary, Dannenberg, then in Vienna, did nothing to re-establish international relations of the organizations of Youth. On the initiative of Swiss, Italian and Swedish comrades then met (unknown to Dannenberg) at the Berne conference of the unions of Youth. Neutral countries were chiefly represented there, and the leading part was played by Scandinavia and Switzerland. The Central Committees of French and Austrian organizations refused to send their delegates. Germany was represented solely by three Southern towns who had separated themselves from their central committees. The Berne Conference of the International of the Youth had, undoubtedly, a revolutionary importance. In surroundings of the betrayal of the working class by the international Social Democracy, suddenly rang out in Europe the voice of the proletarian youth against imperialist slaughter and social patriotism.

The conference called organizations of all countries to active political warfare. It proclaimed the complete independence of the Youth movement. It established an "International Day of the Youth"—a day of struggle against militarism, against Socialist betrayal, for Communism and class war. It elected as International Secretary comrade Munzenberg.

But as the Berne conference coincided with the period of Zimmerwald, when the differences of opinion between the Zimmerwald Right and Left were not yet clear—declarations were not meant for a Communist revolution and for a further delimitation in the labor movement. And it committed a great mistake—adopting the Kautsky motto of general "disarmament" in the question of struggle against war as revolutionary and realizable in capitalist society.

From then on meetings of the Bureau of the International of the Youth took place annually, and as the war developed and the workers of the whole world became more and more revolutionized, it placed itself more and more on a purely Communist basis, as did the quart-

erly review *The International of Youth*, published by Munzenberg.

3. In 1919 began the childbirth pangs of the Berlin Congress. It was called for the Summer by the Zurich secretariat of the International Youth, at Basel, and by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Union of Youth at Moscow. Then upon the agreement of both organizations with the Hungarian comrades, the Congress was transferred to Budapest. But the critical position of the Hungarian Soviet Republic persuaded the bureau to select Vienna as the place for the Congress, where it was to convene August the 25th.

Various circumstances, however, prevented this plan from succeeding. At the appointed time only the representatives of Russia, Poland, Austria, Italy, Germany and Hungary arrived in Vienna. At a conference of these delegates a temporary committee of five members was elected, and charged to prepare and summon in the near future a congress in Germany. This committee, consisting of representatives of different countries, succeeded, after unthinkable difficulties, in summoning representatives from 14 organizations of Youth of different countries to Berlin, where from the 26th to the 25th of November the congress of the International of Youth took place.

The Berlin congress of the International of Youth was the largest of all the international congresses of Youth, by the number of organized Young proletarians, represented at it. No eminent leaders of Socialism took part in it. The delegates were mostly young workers, unknown in wide international circles. But behind it—unlike the Stuttgart congress—stood large organizations of proletarian Youth, who had gone through a hard school of revolutionary struggle. Therefore the declarations of the Berlin congress will have tremendous effect on the Youth movement of the whole world.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL OF YOUTH

The unheard of development of capitalist accumulation and production has brought capitalism to a new stage in its development—to the phase of Imperialism, which is characterized by the formation of trusts and cartels, and by the rule of financial capital. The colonial policy, caused by the necessity of finding new markets for trade and of procuring raw materials, the competition of the national capitalist cliques lead with iron necessity, to imperialist wars. The war of 1914-1918, whose consequences cannot be liquidated by the resources of capitalist society, has disturbed and destroyed most of the capitalist countries. The terrifying calamities of war, famine, financial and commercial bankruptcy and the destruction of human lives, have brought humanity to a crisis, from which there is only one way out—World Social Revolution. The material conditions necessary for this are ripe; the class contradictions have become extremely acute. The victory of the Revolution depends entirely on the will and energy of the international proletariat. The