

COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUES*

Brief Information

Young Socialist League of Czechoslovakia (YSL)

The YSL is a country-wide voluntary social organisation which has in its ranks 1,656,561¹ young workers and peasants (28 per cent of the membership), students (51 per cent) and intellectuals --nearly one-half of the young men and women of Czechoslovakia between the ages of 14 and 30 years. The YSL operates under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz).

The first young communist organisation in Czechoslovakia--the Young Communist League (YCL)--was founded in 1921, and was actively involved from the outset in the struggle for the socio-political rights of the young generation, for the emancipation of the working people from oppression by capital, and for socialism. The YCL attached primary importance to the establishment of a united youth front which was especially necessary in view of the mounting threat posed by Hitler fascism. A nation-wide Czechoslovak Youth Committee was set up in 1938 on the YCL's initiative. In 1938, it was banned by Czechoslovakia's bourgeois government, but continued its struggle in the underground. Under the fascist occupation, YCL members were in the front ranks of the resistance fighters and took part in the Slovak National Uprising in 1944 and in the people's uprising in the Czech lands in May 1945.

* For beginning see WMR, Nos. 4 and 6, 1984.

¹ On January 1, 1984.

Following Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army, two national youth bodies were set up: the Czech Youth League and the Slovak Youth League. They played an important role in establishing the people's democratic system. In that period, the young people's unity was strengthened as it came increasingly under the political influence of the CPCz. The process of the youth movement's consolidation culminated after the victory of the working class over reaction in February 1948 in the establishment of a nation-wide mass organisation, the Czechoslovak Youth League, based on Leninist programme and organisational principles. The CYL held its constituent congress in April 1949.

The new organisation was actively involved in tackling the key tasks of socialist construction in the country. Tens of thousands of young enthusiasts went to work in the crucial sectors of the national economy. Major projects, among them hydro-installations, factories and plants were erected in a very short time with active participation by young men and women.

But the League's development was not without its difficulties. Inconsistency with respect to the fundamental principles of socialism led to the activation of right-opportunist and anti-socialist forces, especially in 1968 and 1969, when the unity of the organisation was disrupted. But on the strength of its long-standing progressive traditions and with the party's help, the youth movement managed to surmount the crisis, and in 1970 set up the Young Socialist League (YSL), which became the CPCz's aide in educating young men and women in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and in involving them in active participation in the country's social life.

The YSL has won a high authority. It guides the Young Pioneer Organisation (over 1,5 million members) and the Czechoslovak Student Centre, working for the satisfaction of the young people's interests and playing an important part in the moulding of ^{their} socialist consciousness. The YSL is ^{a part} of Czechoslovakia's National Front. Young people make up one-third of the country's body of deputies and a quarter of all the elected people's judges. They are represented both on the local national committees and in the Federal Assembly. YSL members take part in drawing up and realising electoral programmes, in managing the affairs of production and the neighbourhoods, and in the work of the state apparatus.

The YSL mobilises young people for the attainment of the economic goals set by the CPCz's 16th Congress and organises a movement for economies in energy, and raw and other materials, for a rational expenditure of financial funds, and for higher labour productivity. Rural young people have initiated a campaign for a return of unused lands to agriculture and for the preservation of the country's forests. YSL members are engaged in urban and village development and work to organise cultural and athletic activities. The country now has 10,000 youth groups in amateur art activities.

The YSL fully endorses the CPCz's foreign policy which is aimed at the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, security, cooperation and disarmament. The League actively campaigns for peace, in support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and against the imperialist policy of diktat.

The YSL has extensive international ties and has a considerable role to play in the activity of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The Czechoslovak Student Centre has the functions of chairman within the International Union of Students. The YSL cooperates with 450 organisations in socialist, industrialised capitalist and developing countries.

The YSL is organised on the territorial-production principle, consisting of 2 republican, 12 regional, 127 district and several tens of thousands of primary organisations. Its supreme body is a congress which is convened once in five years. In between the congresses, its activity is directed by the Central Committee, its Presidium and its Secretariat.

The periodical organ of the YSL CC is the newspaper Mlada Fronta, and that of the Slovak YSL CC, the newspaper Smena. In Czechoslovakia there are 24 children's and youth periodicals with a printing of over 2.1 million copies.

Young Communist League of Great Britain (YCL)

The YCL, founded in 1921, brings together workers, school students and unemployed youth between the ages of 13 and 26 years.

The sovereign body of the League is a bi-annual congress, and the latest, 34th, congress was held in 1983. In between congresses, its sovereign body is the General Council. Its official organ is the journal Challenge.

In accordance with its Constitution, the aims of the YCL are to win young people for the ideas of socialism and communism and to unite them in the struggle for a democratic and socialist

Britain. The YCL campaigns for equality for all, regardless of race, sex and religious creed, and for peace and friendship among young people of all countries.

The guidance of the CP Great Britain takes the form of a shared commitment to the party programme "The British Road to Socialism" and frequent consultations between the respective leadership and contact between the branches on the guidelines of their activity.

YCL branches are set up by young people living in the various localities, employed at the various work places, or studying at schools and colleges. Their members arrange lectures, talks, discussions and meetings, and organise the distribution of Marxist literature, issue leaflets, booklets, etc.

The YCL cooperates with other organisations in the country, like the Young Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the youth organisation of the Cooperative Party, the National League of Young Liberals and various student and religious associations. At its latest congress, the YCL set the goal of building up the branches through which to promote the unity of all the left-wing forces in the youth movement. The Congress also emphasised the need to intensify the struggle for improving the young people's economic condition and against the growing unemployment, which has hit young people hardest of all. The YCL opposes any cut for social needs, and backs the right of young people to receive an education and higher training standards, and for better opportunities for cultural and athletic pursuits. It has

condemned the policy of British imperialism in Northern Ireland, and the Tory government's racist laws against the black population, and has supported the right of the peoples of Scotland and Wales to self-determination.

The YCL takes a firm anti-war stand, and campaigns against the basing of US nuclear weapons on the territory of Great Britain, for the country's withdrawal from NATO and a reduction in military spending, shares the idea of turning Europe into a nuclear-free zone, and supports the policy of peaceful coexistence.

The YCL organises rallies and demonstrations within the framework of the mass campaigns in defence of peace and against unemployment. The Young Communists of Great Britain are involved in protest actions against the racist regime in South Africa and the interventionist policies of the United States.

The YCL also takes an active part in the international measures sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Connolly² Youth Movement of Ireland (CYM)

The CYM is a Marxist-Leninist organisation of young people working under the leadership of the Communist Party of Ireland and pursuing the objective of building a socialist society.

Its membership consists of workers (80 per cent), agricultural workers (4 per cent), and intellectuals and students (16 per cent) between the ages of 14 and 28. It is the only national youth orga-

² James Connolly (1868-1916), revolutionary, proponent of Marxism, fighter for Ireland's independence, and one of the founders of the Irish Socialist Republican Party. He was one of the top leaders of the 1916 Irish uprising against British imperialism. He was executed by the British on May 12, 1916.--Ed.

nisation that recruits members from both the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland.

Its organisational structure is that of democratic centralism. Its primary organisations are set up territorially and function at large industrial centres and rural communities throughout Ireland. Its highest organ is its congress, which is convened once every three years. The latest, 6th, congress was held in January 1984. In the interim between congresses its work is directed by the National Executive Committee, elected by the congress. Its printed organ is the monthly magazine Forward.

In the present shape the Connolly Youth Movement has been in existence since 1970, when a merger took place between the Communist Youth League of Northern Ireland (founded in 1948) and the Connolly Youth Movement of the Irish Republic (founded in 1966). The CYM's forms of activity embrace all the major issues which affect the young people in both parts of Ireland. It campaigns against youth unemployment and has been actively involved in opposing the denial of civil rights in Northern Ireland. For example, the CYM has an ongoing campaign against the continued harassment of young people by the British army.

In the present tense international situation the CYM attaches crucial significance to vigorous actions in defence of peace. It sees the struggle to preserve the nation's neutrality and create nuclear-free zones in Europe as components of its campaign for nuclear disarmament. Its members organise demonstrations of solidarity with the peoples of Latin America and actions of protest against the racist policy of apartheid in South Africa.

CYM candidates stand for election. A CYM member is an elected representative on the city and county councils of Sligo, on the West coast of Ireland.

The CYM is represented in the National Youth Council of Ireland, an umbrella organisation of youth groups throughout the country.

The CYM has broad international links and is active in the work of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Senegal's Alboury Ndiaye Union of Democratic Youth
(SANUDY)

The SANUDY is an independent organisation of young Communists in Senegal, which was founded in 1979, and which is named after a hero of the Senegalese liberation movement. It is affiliated with the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour (SPIL) and works under its guidance.

The Union brings together young working people from town and country and unemployed youth between the ages of 15 and 35 years. It has a Young Pioneer section carrying on active work among boys and girls between the ages of 8 and 15 years. Democratic centralism is the governing principle of its organisational structure, with the primary organisations, known as circles, being set up in the neighbourhoods, at the enterprises and offices, and in the villages, and operating throughout the territory of the country. The congress is its supreme organ. In between the congresses the work of the Union is directed by a National Council, a National

Bureau, and a Standing Executive Secretariat. The central periodical is the newspaper Voix de la jeunesse (Voice of Youth).

The Union's aim is to involve young Senegalese in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism, and for the people's democratic freedoms, and social, political and cultural rights. It works to educate Senegalese young men and women in a spirit of international solidarity, campaigns for peace and friendship among nations, and explains the achievements of the socialist countries and the progressive states of Africa and other continents. It campaigns against unemployment and in support of the fighting African peoples. It has declared 1984 a year of struggle by young people for peace and against unemployment.

The SANUDY is not the only youth union in Senegal, but it is certainly its most influential and militant union. One of the aims of its work is to unite the young people of Senegal. It has proposed the convocation of the General States of Youth, a nationwide meeting of various bodies on ensuring the rights of the country's rising generation. A draft Charter, the meeting's working document, written by the SANUDY, has already been approved by a number of student and youth organisations.

The Union works hard to strengthen and extend relations of friendship and cooperation between Senegalese young men and women and the progressive youth of the world, maintains close contacts with young communist leagues in the socialist countries and makes arrangements for study trips to these countries. The SANUDY is actively involved in the activity of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

SOVIET YOUTH: COMMITMENT TO SOCIALIST IDEALS

Victor MishinFirst Secretary, Central Committee,
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The dialectics of social progress is such that the more difficult and large-scale the goals, the more important it is for the popular masses to be active in their attainment. There is no denying that the human factor is playing an increasingly important role in the building of a new life. Hence the need to step up political education of working people, especially youth. "In a certain sense," Lenin emphasised, "it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society."¹

The Communists see youth political education and party guidance of the youth movement as a foremost condition and guarantee of generational continuity of the revolutionary spirit in socialist society. This point is made in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Party Guidance of the YCL and Enhancing Its Role in the Communist Education of Youth" (July 1984) and in several other recently adopted major party documents.

The party provides the Leninist Youth League, the biggest and most authoritative youth organisation of the USSR, with a truly scientific basis of work and charts the YCL's political course and major directions of its activities. The party helps the YCL to identify priority tasks and to find the most effective forms and methods of their implementation. At the same time, the Communists invariably take care to promote independent action by the YCL, a

¹ V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 253.

vigorous attitude and creative initiative on the part of its members. "For unless they have complete independence," Lenin remarked, "the youth will be unable either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism forward."²

Thanks to the concern shown by the party and the government, young Soviet citizens fully enjoy the great diversity of socio-economic, political and personal rights proclaimed in the Constitution; they are assured broad access to spiritual and intellectual values, to science, culture and education. The YCL has the right to propose legislation, a right it exercises vigorously. Significantly, over the past five years alone government bodies have acted on more than 200 various proposals submitted by the YCL.

Under socialism, society does not bar young people from politics but, instead, does its utmost to ensure their active participation in the country's life. For the first time, from an oppressed mass deprived of many rights, young people are becoming full-fledged participants in the decision-making process on all issues concerning the social fabric. Competent youth involvement in government and in the management of work collectives is growing. People of the YCL age group make up almost one-third of the membership of the Soviets of People's Deputies in the USSR.

The YCL currently comprises 42 million young men and women, the finest representatives of our country's every national and ethnic group. Some 50 per cent of the YCL organisations' numerical

² Ibid., Vol. 23, p. 164.

strength are concentrated in the sphere of material production. In broader terms, 58 per cent of all YCL members are employed in the national economy. Young workers are the soul and heart of the YCL, its pride and glory.

Young people make an impressive contribution to the creation of spaceships and powerful modern turbines, of precision equipment and consumer goods. They grow grain, mine coal and break open countless treasure chests of mineral wealth. A glance at the map of the USSR is all it takes to notice the numerous new cities, built in places which only recently were barren steppe or rolling taiga. Today, factories rise there, huge steel, chemical and engineering projects are being built and housing developments spring up.

The biggest construction projects of the eleventh five-year period have been sponsored by the YCL. The League is instrumental in the implementation of the Energy and Food Programmes, the construction of important natural gas pipelines, the building of the unique Baikal-Amur Railroad and the transformation of Russia's non-black soil belt.

Work is the basis of Soviet society. Our young people are well aware that everyone's earnings depend on how much one has produced and that to live better, you have to work better. Assisted by expert instructors and advisers, young people work hard to improve their skills, master the secrets of different occupations and trades and uphold the fine traditions of the working class and collective farmers.

Socialist emulation has become an effective form of education by and for work. Virtually all young working people, entire YCL/youth work collectives take part in it today. Striving to increase labour productivity, frugally use raw materials, fuel and energy resources, produce high-quality goods and uphold the good name of their factories, young people make it a practice to evaluate their work from positions of high civic virtue and Soviet patriotism.

The April 1985 Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was a major event in the life of the Communist Party and the entire Soviet people. The meeting reiterated the continuity of the strategic course elaborated at the 26th Party Congress and at subsequent Central Committee plenary meetings and decided on the convocation of the 27th regular congress of the CPSU in February 1986.

On the initiative of the best YCL organisations, best young workers and students, a broad campaign has been launched in which the participants are vying for the right to sign the report of the Leninist YCL to the forthcoming party congress. Millions of young men and women are taking part in this patriotic movement.

Major efforts are under way in the Soviet Union to modernise the scientific and technological aspects of production so as to attain the world's highest level of labour productivity. Social relations are being perfected, and far-reaching changes are occurring in the sphere of work and in material and spiritual living conditions. Youth involvement in all these efforts is vigorous and dedicated.

Soviet youth has always responded enthusiastically to all that is new and progressive; it has always headed for where its enterprising initiative is welcome. Today, a sphere of this kind is, specifically, YCL participation in large-scale economic experiments designed to enhance the economic independence of enterprises and amalgamations and their responsibility for the end result of their work. The experiment means additional incentives for greater labour productivity and a higher shift coefficient of the equipment, for output over and above the planned quota and for better products. The experiment makes it possible to tackle a broad range of social issues more effectively, including questions directly connected with the organisation of young people's work, living conditions, rest and recreation.

Protection of youth rights and interests is a major social function of the YCL. The League's voice rings loud and clear at planning briefings, at standing production conferences and in trade union committees when the subject concerns bonuses for good work, modern housing for newlyweds, hostel facilities or day care centres.

Involved in the efforts to perfect the economic mechanism, YCL organisations show concern not only for the present but also for the future state of the Soviet economy. The forthcoming twelfth five-year period is to launch far-reaching, radical changes in production and become a turning point in the intensification of all branches of the national economy. The efforts of YCL committees to involve young people in work to accelerate scientific and technological progress assume particular importance.

Acting jointly with interested organisations, the YCL Central Committee has mapped out specific steps to further promote creative work by young people in the field of science and technology. Efforts are under way to provide this movement with a better organisational and legal basis and to enhance its role as a tool of political education. Serious steps are being taken to set up a single, highly efficient nation-wide system of such creative work.

Against the background of rapid advances in science and technology, YCL committees are tackling a dual task. It is important to ensure vigorous involvement of young men and women in improving economic efficiency and developing industrial robots, microchips, flexible automated production lines, waste-free technologies and the like. At the same time, youth should be morally prepared to handle sophisticated modern equipment, and young people should be moulded into real masters of tomorrow, capable of adding their own accomplishments to the store of experience accumulated by the older generations.

The ranks of the YCL include almost eight million school pupils, 2.5 million young people studying in the vocational training system, 2.7 million boys and girls at specialised secondary schools and nearly three million students. Attention should be accorded each category, each age and social group; and a special approach should be applied to each.

The foremost job of pupils and students is, of course, to study. But studies are not the only thing that shapes the image of Soviet secondary and higher education. It is equally important how active pupils and students are in tackling the common tasks facing our

people. While still at school or in college, our youth strives to contribute tangibly to our country's prosperity. The YCL bolsters and develops this attitude to life by specific efforts in the field of organisation and political education.

On YCL members initiative, production teams of pupils have been set up, and productive training has been organised for senior grade pupils in the summer. YCL organisations invariably take care to strengthen the material infrastructure of interschool training and production centres and do much to publicise industrial trades and occupations among young people.

The integrated programme designed to prepare worthy new members who will join the working class and cooperative farmers, the programme approved at the 19th YCL Congress in 1982, is being implemented successfully. The programme pools the efforts of various government bodies and civic organisations and ensures consistency and continuity of political education.

Instilling a correct attitude to socially useful work is a central objective of the reform of general education and vocational training now under way in the USSR. YCL and Young Pioneers organisations are to become reliable assistants of the collectives of educators in improving the quality of education, developing a conscious sense of self-discipline and responsible conduct among young people, helping them to organise their productive work and recreation well, and promoting their self-reliance.

The CPSU emphasises that the alliance of the YCL and the school education system is now more important than ever. The practice of YCL organisations acting as sponsors of general education and vocational training schools is gaining ground. In their spare time, young workers, technicians and engineers help schools to repair and equip classrooms and workshops; they direct the work of technical societies and athletic clubs and teach schoolchildren to operate computers.

Soviet students have never kept exclusively to the academic world. Their contribution to the acceleration of scientific and technological progress and to the intensification of national economic development is increasing. In college and university, the YCL is constantly searching for new, promising ways to further young people's creative efforts. Study/research/production centres and research laboratories have been established under the aegis of many colleges on YCL initiative.

Guided by party organisations, the YCL works to ensure a situation in which each student would be educated not simply as a person possessing a certain body of knowledge but above all as a member of socialist society, as a person vigorously participating in communist construction, a person committed to distinct ideological and moral values and interests, a person of high culture in work and conduct. During the summer "work term" hundreds of thousands of students assume full control of construction sites. One can encounter young men and women dressed in overalls with the insignia of the All-Union Student Work Force at all major construct-

ion projects, at many transport, commercial and service agencies and establishments. They contribute considerably to national economic development and conduct large-scale political and cultural education in remote areas. Notably, the number of YCL student task forces working without remuneration, that is, contributing their earnings to the Peace Fund and to other noble causes, has grown in recent years.

As the CPSU plays the leading role in perfecting developed socialism, the YCL is further enhancing its political consolidation on the basis of loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The YCL is assuming an increasingly important role in the ideological and political affairs of Soviet society; relationships existing within the League itself are growing more mature and diversified, and its ranks are swelling.

The enemies of socialism refuse to accept this. Having launched a "crusade" against our social system, imperialism and its ideological services try to erode the moral and political unity of Soviet society. Their main stake is on discrediting the leading role of the CPSU; they attempt to drive a wedge to isolate the party from government bodies and mass organisations of working people.

The imperialist propaganda machine tries to falsify the principles and methods used by the party to direct the youth movement, to present this guidance as "diktat" ^{and} / "coercion" running counter to the will and interests of the youth masses.

The aim is to encourage young people to abandon their class position and the struggle for the victory of the new, communist system.

This shall never come to pass. The YCL and all Soviet youth are selflessly dedicated to the cause of our Leninist party, to the ideals of socialism. It is not blind fanatical faith (and our ideological opponents often do try to picture Soviet YCL members as fanatics) but firm conviction and confidence in the victory of the ideals of social justice the Communists uphold that form the unshakable foundation of this commitment and dedication.

Socialist reality itself, with its innate principles of humanism, genuine freedom, equality and brotherhood of working people, is a powerful factor helping young people to attain ideological and political maturity. But it would be an unforgivable mistake to believe that socialist views and convictions come into existence automatically. Here, constant and purposeful political education and broad involvement of young men and women in social efforts are in order.

The present generation of Soviet youth has never encountered the class enemy face to face. It is only from books, films and veterans' eyewitness accounts that this generation learns about the difficulties our country had to overcome to lay the foundations of socialism and to bring about its complete and definitive victory in the USSR.

This fact and the mounting massive pressure exerted by the class enemy, by hostile foreign propaganda make it incumbent

on YCL organisations to continuously improve the system of reinforcing the class commitment of young men and women, to maintain a high level of political vigilance and to combat, in a militant spirit, any manifestations of ideology or morals alien to socialist society.

A great deal is being done to acquaint youth with Marxist-Leninist theory. The knowledge gained in study is discussed in specific detail in the YCL political education schools and workshops attended by over ten million people. Veteran Communists with a higher education and a rich store of experience make up the overwhelming majority of those conducting these studies.

The strength of Marxist-Leninist youth education is in its close links to life. The YCL well remembers Lenin's behest--to learn communism not only from books and pamphlets but also to check one's knowledge against practice, to forge knowledge into conviction.

Lenin taught us that "there can be no political education except through political struggle and political action".³ The YCL attaches great importance to the process in which young people accumulate their own political experience. Young men and women acquire it through involvement in the affairs of their collectives and in the work of Soviets, trade unions and other civic organisations.

³ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 282.

The mass information and propaganda media assist in making Soviet youth spiritually and intellectually richer and in comprehensively explaining the policy of the CPSU. The YCL operates three publishing houses of its own. Over the past four years, they have produced almost 180 million copies of books and pamphlets. As many as 248 YCL and Young Pioneers' newspapers and periodicals are published in the USSR, their circulation exceeding 80 million. Youth desks have been set up on television and radio. The YCL makes vigorous use of all this to publicise the achievements and advantages of existing socialism and to expose imperialist ideological subversion and the much-vaunted pseudo-values of the capitalist world.

Patriotic and internationalist education of youth is among the YCL's foremost tasks. Young people profoundly grasp the indelible bonds existing between them and the history of their country; this understanding comes to them at history lessons at school and in trips tracing the revolutionary path of the Soviet people and their exploits in war and peace. YCL members meet with veterans of past battles, heroes of the frontline and the war effort, record their recollections, collect and cherish relics of the people's war epic, and show care and concern to veterans and the families of fallen heroes.

The entire history of the YCL is permeated with the principles of proletarian internationalism at work. The YCL is active in upholding CPSU foreign policy; it expands its international activities, aiming to step up its efforts to publicise communist

ideas and the record of building developed socialism and helping to strengthen the unity of the democratic and progressive youth movement and promote cooperation among young people of different political and ideological views for peace and friendship among nations.

Today we maintain contacts with almost 2,000 national and international youth and student organisations. The YCL is active in the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. It sponsors and organises major international political initiatives that create a tangible basis for expanding the scope of joint action by democratic youth in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for freedom and national independence, for the rights of the younger generation.

Firm bonds of friendship and brotherhood link us and the youth leagues of the socialist community countries. The long-term bilateral cooperation programmes drawn up and signed in recent years make it possible to develop and apply particularly effective forms of youth involvement in socialist economic development, to jointly stage large-scale action. Joint work at CMEA projects enhances the finest qualities of members of socialist society, strengthens the ideological convictions of young men and women and moulds them into patriots and internationalists.

In capitalist countries, our closest friends are Marxist-Leninist youth leagues. Our contacts with them are developing on the basis of a common ideology, common positions on key

problems of today's world, and joint struggle against imperialism and reaction, for peace, democracy and social progress. Our partners in international dialogues include Socialists and Social Democrats, Radicals and Christian Democrats, as well as members of the youth peace movement.

Soviet youth extends fraternal assistance to the young men and women of Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Democratic Yemen and other socialist-oriented countries and invariably supports the progressive and democratic forces of Latin America. YCL delegates are very active in actions of solidarity with the people and youth of the Arab countries, Namibia and South Africa.

The world-wide movement of youth festivals is playing an increasingly important role in mobilising the masses of young people to the struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress.

The Leninist YCL and all Soviet youth were among the founders of the movement and have been vigorously involved in all previous festivals. The YCL initiative on holding the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow this summer is an effective contribution to the movement's development. Today, we can state with satisfaction that our initiative was welcomed and supported by many youth and student organisations of different political affiliations.

In many countries, the joint national preparatory committees comprise young Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats,

Liberals, Radicals, young members of the peace movement, of trade unions, of the "Greens" parties and other political forces. In some cases, conservative youth associations also took part in the preparatory efforts.

Reactionary forces tried to hamper preparations for the festival. They attempted to wreck this celebration of the world's youth by staging "alternative" youth projects. These attempts were a resounding failure.

Once again, as 28 years ago, Moscow will host a universal forum of young people of different political views and philosophies, but united by the ideas of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship.

The festival is being held in the year that marks the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism, in the country which made the decisive contribution to this victory. And so we regard this youth forum as a powerful anti-war, anti-imperialist demonstration of the commitment of the world's younger generation to do everything possible to defend peace and life on Earth.

The Moscow festival is being held in 1985, designated by the United Nations as the International Youth Year to attract the attention of progressive public opinion to the issues involved in the struggle of the younger generation for its legitimate political and socio-economic rights. There is no doubt that the festival will help in the implementation of the lofty motto of the Youth Year--"Participation, Development, Peace".

Aware of their great responsibility for the development of the festival movement, the YCL and all Soviet youth are doing everything to make the Moscow forum a success. Our country's young men and women are preparing actively for the festival and looking forward to meeting their foreign guests. This is best seen in the accomplishments they achieve to honour the great event in the lives of the world's young people. One can cite the great popularity won by Anatoly Alexandrov, a worker of the Moscow-based Likhachev Auto Works, who fulfilled 40 extra shift quotas to commemorate the 40th anniversary of Victory Day and contributed the money earned to the festival fund. There are numerous similar examples that highlight the high level of patriotic and internationalist consciousness of Soviet youth.

Our young men and women will be glad to acquaint their foreign guests with the achievements of our country, tell them about their work, studies and civic activities, and show them our historic sites and other places of interest.

Participants and guests of the festival will have the broadest possible opportunities for meeting Soviet people, Soviet young men and women. This will convince them that we do not want the horrors of the last war to recur, that all our plans and energy are aimed at peaceful constructive work, at the development of the national economy and culture, that the Soviet Union wants to live in peace and friendship with all nations.

Preparing to welcome young people from all continents, Soviet youth fully supports what Comrade Mikhail Gorbachov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said at the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory the Soviet people won in the Great Patriotic War: "We call on the most diverse social and political forces for earnest cooperation--for cooperation based on goodwill in the name of peace."⁴

The Moscow festival will no doubt be a new contribution of the world's younger generation to the struggle against the nuclear threat and against the imperialist forays to undermine freedom and national independence. It will promote understanding and cooperation among youth and student organisations of different political affiliations for peace and social progress.

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Pravda, May 9, 1985

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. DISCUSSION

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Records of an International Symposium

Jointly with the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the WMR Commission for Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements sponsored an international symposium in Prague on the theme "Working Youth and Students Against the Threat of Nuclear War". Reports were presented by Vera Achenbach, Board Secretariat member of the German Communist Party, Giorgos Michaelides, Executive Committee member of the Pan-Cyprian Federation of Students and Young Scientists, and Francisco Filipe, National Leadership member of the Portuguese Communist Youth.

Attending the seminar were: Donald Ramotar, CC Executive Committee member, People's Progressive Party of Guyana; Roland Bauer, CC member, Socialist Unity Party of Germany; Georg Kwiatowski, representative of the German Communist Party on the WMR Editorial Council; Randolfo Banegas, CC member, Communist Party of Honduras; Stratis Korakas, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Greece; Henning Bentzen, CC alternate member, Communist Party of Denmark; Kadhim Habib, CC member, Iraqi Communist Party; Niall Farrell, representative of the Communist Party of Ireland on the WMR Editorial Council; William Stewart, CC Executive Committee member, Communist Party of Canada; Felix Dikson, CC member, People's Party of Panama; Sémou Pathé Gueye, Political Bureau member and CC Secretary, Senegal Party of Independence and Labour; John Pittman, CC Political Bureau member, Communist Party of the USA; Pavel Auersperg, CC member, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Raja Collure, CC Political Bureau alternate member, Communist Party of

Sri Lanka; Vusizwe Seme, representative of the South African Communist Party on the WMR Editorial Council; Elean Thomas, CC Political Bureau alternate member, Workers' Party of Jamaica; Walid Masri, President, World Federation of Democratic Youth; Miroslav Štepan, President, International Union of Students; Sergei Chelnokov, Vice-President, International Union of Students; Auni Abu Ghosh, Director, International Student Research Centre; Jorge Prigoshin, CC Executive Committee member, Communist Youth Federation of Argentina; Nikolay Arabadziev, CC member, Dimitrov Young Communist League (People's Republic of Bulgaria); Vilmos Cserveny, CC Secretary, Young Communist League of Hungary; Hans Kluthe, head of the preparations for the Twelfth World Youth and Students Festival in the Socialist German Working Youth (FRG); Binay Wiswam, Vice-President, All-India Youth Federation; Saleem Al-Tamimi, CC member, Yemeni Socialist Youth Union; José Castillo, Executive Committee International Commission member, Student Federation of Panama; Fayssal Al-Mekdad, Central Council member, National Union of Syrian Students; Zory Apresyan, Editor-in-Chief, Young Communist, journal of the Central Committee of the USSR Leninist Young Communist League; Viktor Kamyshanov, Presidium member, Committee of Youth Organisations of the USSR; Joseph Simms, National Committee Executive Council member, Young Communist League of the USA; Petr Krpata, representative, Student Centre of the Socialist Youth League (Czechoslovakia); Hankore Abebe, Central Committee Secretary, Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association.

The following is a summation of the views and assessments stated on the main items of the symposium agenda.

In terms of its social composition, WMR Executive Secretary Pavel Auersperg said in his opening address, the anti-war movement has never been as broad as it is today. And it is

quite natural that young people are a major component of the peace forces and playing a militant part in the struggle against the nuclear threat. It is a lesson of history that when wars break out they are the first victims. However, the character of mass destruction weapons and a specific of the nuclear catastrophe, to which imperialism's policies are pushing, are that their victims will be all generations.

The nuclear threat is global. This predetermines the internationalisation of the anti-war actions. Young people are drawn into participation in them chiefly because these are humane actions. Further, a significant factor promoting the anti-nuclear movement of young people is their social condition. The anti-war struggle of young people in socialist, developing, and industrialised capitalist countries has both common and distinctive features. However, they are uniting in their sincere desire for peace, to safeguard their own future and that of all humanity.

The United Nations Organisation defines youth as young people in the age group from 15 to 25. In 1980 these numbered 857 million and in 1985 they numbered 920 million or nearly 20 per cent of our planet's population. It is forecast that by 1991 this figure will exceed one billion.

Today the rising generation matures in a situation witnessing changes and transformations of a depth and magnitude unknown in any other epoch. Young people want, more than ever, a say in resolving humankind's problems. The immediate aim is to halt and then roll back the arms race started by imperialism. This is the aim of the Communists and all other progressive, democratic forces.

What Young People Encounter

In the reports and speeches at the seminar emphasis was placed on the importance mainly of the global factors influencing the condition of young people in the world today, on the struggles waged by them for their vital rights and interests. In different parts of our planet young people experience, to one extent or another, the effects of the arms race that is being whipped up by imperialism, of big capital's selfish use of scientific and technological breakthroughs, of the increasing pollution of the natural environment with the waste products of the enterprises operated by transnational corporations, and of the widening gap in the socio-economic development of the centres and periphery of the capitalist system. In this is expressed our epoch's basic contradiction, that between imperialism, on the one hand, and socialism and all the other forces of peace and social progress, i.e., the vast majority of humankind, on the other.

At the symposium the consensus was that precisely the policies of the imperialist circles of the NATO powers, chiefly of the USA, are a threat to all peoples. The course towards confrontation with the socialist community and the brushing aside of the peace initiatives of the USSR and its allies are leading to rising international tension and undermining universal security.

A particularly serious threat, said Walid Masri, is coming from the large-scale programmes of the USA and NATO for building up conventional and nuclear armaments, for adding new and more

destructive means of mass attack to their military arsenals. Nuclear adventurism permeates Washington's course towards the militarisation of outer space, its plans for Star Wars against socialism and peoples refusing to accept imperialist dictation.

International developments are bearing out the fact that peace is indivisible, that everything in it is interrelated. In the complex situation of our day, said Hankore Abebe, young people are constantly made aware that what occurs in any part of the world influences the situation in other regions directly or indirectly. There is no region where people feel secure. In this respect everybody is equal and affected.

It is futile to try and find a "quiet haven" out of reach of humanity's anxieties and concerns. As an example, Jorge Prigoshin cited the experience of a European who, in order to escape the threat of a nuclear war in the Old World, decided to make a home on the Malvinas. No sooner had he arrived there than an armed conflict erupted between Britain and Argentina, in the course of which it was mooted whether or not to use even nuclear weapons.

The influence of these factors is assessed differently by young people, depending on the socio-political situation in their respective countries, on the problems confronting them, and on how these problems are resolved. From this standpoint, it was stated at the seminar, the condition of the rising generation and its struggle for its interests in socialist countries differ substantially from the realities of the capitalist world.

In the socialist countries, said Zory Apresyan, Nikolay Arabadziev, Vilmos Cserveny, and others, young people have witnessed a situation of peace all their lives and have grown accustomed to the conditions of peaceful coexistence. It is a splendid thing to live in peace, to know no war. However, to prevent war it is necessary to fight for peace. In socialist societies this is the cause of the party, the government, the state, and the whole people. Everything induces each young person to be aware that much depends upon him, that his personal contribution is necessary for consolidating peace, safeguarding his homeland, and protecting the interests of socialism. In the USSR, for instance, this involves participation in manifestations and rallies, in the canvassing for signatures in protest against the nuclear threat, and the labour contribution of young people to strengthening the might of a country coming forward as a bulwark of the peace forces. Under socialism the education of young people in this spirit is a concern of the whole of society.¹

In the FRG, said Vera Achenbach, young people have likewise grown up under conditions of peace, and they too have not had to know the meaning of war. But for the country's future, for its peaceful development it is imperative to convey historical experience to young people with the example of such memorable dates as the 40th anniversary of the defeat of German fascism and the liberation of the peoples of Europe. History helps to understand what must be done today to prevent a global conflagration. Truth about the past will have a posit-

¹ This is dealt with in this issue by V. Mishin in "Soviet Youth: Commitment to Socialist Ideals" and by E. Aurich in "Where Youth Have a Big Goal" (WMR, No. 6, 1985).

ive response from many young people, for their fear of war is made all the more oppressive by the fact that the nightmarish vision of a nuclear carnage, of a Euroshima, exceeds all the horrors known to the senior generation. Yet this fear of war does not paralyse a large section of young people, who are freed from this paralysis by the struggle for peace.

With capitalism's general crisis growing deeper, said Francisco Filipe, Giorgos Michaelides, Walid Masri, and Miroslav Štepan, the working people and the rising generation are worried not only by the problem of preserving peace. They are worried by the mass unemployment, by the diminishing opportunities for getting professional training, by the steady cut-backs in public spending and by the consequent erosion of the foundations of the life of millions of citizens. Hence the growing significance of combining the struggle for peace with the struggle for social progress. All the more then is it important that in looking for an answer to burning social, economic, and political questions young people should not succumb to pessimism about the future, lose hope, or see as an outlet demagogical projects leading away from society's genuine progress.

The foreign policy of any state is the continuation of its domestic policy. Joseph Simms spoke of the atmosphere in which the rising generation is being brought up in the USA. Young Americans, he said, are victims of the biggest-ever campaign launched to call for a "crusade" against socialism, the victims of vicious propaganda that calls socialism a "focus

of evil" in the world. The present generation has to deal with a situation in which in Washington they are speaking openly of the possibility of fighting and winning a nuclear war. This generation is a witness of aggressive actions against Lebanon, Nicaragua, and Grenada, of the export of counter-revolution, and a policy of state terrorism. Moreover, this generation has suffered more than any other from the cutbacks in public spending, the rapid growth of tuition fees, the reduction of employment, the exhausting hunting for jobs, and the fear of being left without work. Precisely for these reasons an active struggle for peace presupposes vigorous opposition by youth and large section of working people to the Reagan administration's domestic and foreign policies.

The seminar addressed some other issues related to the impact of factors of external policy on the struggle of young people in developing countries. The 1980s, said José Castillo, saw a new situation develop when international tension was heightened as a result of US imperialism's aggressive actions and the escalation of its pressure on democratic and national liberation movements throughout the world. Reaction is intensifying its intrigues especially in Central America, where it is out to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution and deal summarily with the patriots of El Salvador. Today, as never before, Central America has become the target of the imperialist policy of economic blackmail and militarism pursued by Washington.

In Panama, José Castillo continued, the movement for peace is more than a struggle against the US missiles in Europe and against the nuclear arms race. By their vigorous actions for democracy, for reinforcing national independence, for an end to US imperialist ambitions in the region, and for the dismantling of the US military base on Panamanian territory, the nation's youth are contributing to the general struggle for peace.

The Middle East, said Kadhim Habib, Saleem Al-Tamimi, and Fayssal Al-Mekdad, has long been a hotbed of international tension. The settlement of the main problems worrying young people in this region is thus linked largely with the extirpation of the effects of the wars of aggression fought by Israel, with the backing of US imperialism, against neighbouring Arab states. The nuclear threat now looms over the Middle East as well: there is information that Israel now possesses weapons of mass destruction. Further, the first-strike missiles that the USA has begun deploying in Italy and the military forces that it maintains at bases in Turkey are targeted not only against the USSR but also against the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Imperialism and Zionism have turned the Middle East into a gunpowder keg that may at any moment kindle a world catastrophe. It is our task to prevent this from happening.

In African countries, Sémou Pathé Gueye and Visuzwe Seme noted, where questions of a socio-economic character, the problems of fighting famine, disease, and illiteracy, are in the

foreground, a large section of the young people is still uninvolved in the peace movement. They do not see the link between imperialist interference and the slowing rate of development, the growth of international tension, and the diminution of internal resources resulting from the rising military expenditures and the diminishing foreign economic aid. Young people are most active where a direct, including armed, struggle has to be waged against the aggressive designs of imperialism, racism, and their puppets. The involvement of large segments of African youth in the general peace movement in the world is one of the priority tasks of the progressive forces in Africa.

Emphatic Resistance to Militarism

The establishment of lasting peace in the world is inseparable from resistance to militarism, to the ideology and policy of the most bellicose imperialist circles. Speakers at the symposium noted that a hallmark of modern imperialism is its adventurism on the world scene, and the intensification of political reaction in the zone under capitalist rule. All this runs counter to the vital interests and aspirations of young people. The course towards confrontation with socialism and with the forces of national liberation, towards the fanning of tension is jeopardising the future of young people. The purpose of the political and intellectual pressure being brought to bear against the protests of the masses is to preserve the practices that young people disagree with and would like to change.

When the First World War was still raging, Lenin wrote that the "imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults".²

Militarisation of social life is leading to a moral degradation of young people. Attempts are being made to accustom them to violence, hostility for socialism and the peoples of developing countries, admiration of the military, and a readiness to fight for money wherever they are ordered. The other side of the coin is that a section of young people has lost faith in the morrow, is apathetic, and seeks to escape reality. As a result, there has been a rapid rise of the crime rate and of drug addiction.

Vera Achenbach, Francisco Felipe, and others pointed out that this tendency towards the militarisation of youth is more pronounced today than ever before. Young people are becoming the first victims of militarist policy. They experience all the hardships caused by the rapidly growing military budgets to the detriment of social security, public education, and economic development.

The constant shortage of funds is aggravating the crisis of the education system. In the USA, said Giorgos Michaelides, 157 institutions of higher learning and 3456 secondary schools were closed in only the past ten years. Britain is short of a thousand schools and nearly 45,000 teachers--for this the government has no money. On the other hand, the cost of access

² V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 23, p. 82.

to knowledge, to training, especially higher education, is growing steadily. In France, for instance, seven out of every ten students have to look for a job during the holidays to pay for their education. A result of the imperialist intervention in and occupation of the northern part of Cyprus is that together with their parents tens of thousands of schoolchildren have had to abandon their homes and become refugees in their own country.

Militarism is responsible for the mass and constant unemployment that has now hit huge numbers of young people, said Walid Masri and Joseph / ^{Simms.} The facts indicate that if the money now being allocated for the armaments industry were to be channelled into civilian production, there would be considerably more jobs.

There is a direct link between imperialism's militarist policy and the condition of young people in developing countries. In these countries military expenditures have been growing steadily: since the early 1970s they have risen by approximately 150 per cent and in 1983 amounted to 113 billion dollars. The faster armies are increased the more non-productively are labour resources expended said Saleem Al-Tamimi, José Castillo, and Binay Wiswam. This concerns young people, above all, because they are diverted from civilian production to form the backbone of armed forces.

These are often imposed losses. Randolfo Banegas, Donald Ramotar, Jorge Prigoshin, and others drew attention to the fact that the US militarists are fighting an undeclared war

against Nicaragua. Nicaraguan young people have to drop their studies or work and take up arms in order to repulse imperialist aggression. Many young Nicaraguans have laid down their lives in defence of the Sandinist revolution. Had it not been for the massive supplies of sophisticated US armaments and ammunition to the reactionary regime in El Salvador, the people of that country would have deposed the dictatorship long ago. In Ethiopia, Hankore Abebe, Sémou Pathé Gueye, and Vusizwe Seme pointed out, young people would have been significantly less affected by difficulties and hardships had the people's revolutionary government not had to expend effort and resources to resist imperialist subversion and aggression by its reactionary accomplices.

Imperialism's militarist policy diversely affects young people in the capitalist world, it was noted at the symposium. But a common distinctive feature is that the radical deterioration of the conditions of life has been recently affecting over larger numbers of young people.³

In characterising the attitude of young people to the political realities of capitalist society, speakers accentuated

³ This is borne out by UN statistics. Two billion people are not ensured with purified drinking water and, for that reason, are prone to infectious diseases; 1,500 million people have no access to medical attention; one billion people are living in abject poverty; 800 million adults are illiterate; 250 million children have no opportunity to go to school; 600 million people are fully or partially unemployed; 450 million people suffer from chronic undernourishment. A large proportion of each of these statistics concerns young people in developing countries.--Ed.

the growing militancy of their anti-militarist actions. Vera Achenbach spoke of the work conducted by the trade unions and factory peace initiative groups in the FRG. Such groups are now functioning at many large industrial facilities and they involve blue- and white-collar workers, including young people, of course. In their protests against the arms race, members of such groups proceed from their social status and their conditions of work. At the country's docks, for example, there are groups advocating what they call alternative production, in other words, civilian production. In these groups many people learn for the first time that due to cooperation with the Soviet Union and as a result of detente large steel mills, for example, ^{Hoesch} / and Mannesmann, have been able to preserve thousands of jobs. Knowledge of this sort is highly significant to a working person.

Miroslav Štepan and Giorgos Michaelides spoke of the anti-militarist feeling spreading among students. A factor fostering this feeling is that military preparations are prejudicing the vital interests of students. The escalation of militarism is linked directly to the assault on democracy, culture and basic humanitarian ideals and values and threatens to wipe out the hopes for life entertained by the present generation of students. This has to be acknowledged even by those elements in the student movement of Western Europe that have traditionally supported the centrist and in some cases right-wing parties.

The problem of the responsibility of students for preventing a nuclear catastrophe has a clear-cut ethical, emotional aspect and, at the same time, it is not locked up in morality. It has a direct outlet to politics, said Sergei Chelnokov. In a certain sense a parallel can be drawn between this problem and the war in Vietnam that was a sort of catalyst of the student protest movement, chiefly in the USA but also in many other capitalist countries.

Many forms in which students join the anti-war struggle are emerging today in Britain, the FRG, Holland, France, Denmark, Austria, Finland, the USA, and Canada. Associations, coalitions, and campaigns with exclusively anti-war aims are appearing. Among these are, for example, the American associations of campuses for nuclear disarmament and the standing committee against nuclear war set up recently by the International Federation of Medical Students Associations. As a whole, this is leading to changes in the attitudes of national unions of students, in which left-wing forces are growing increasingly more active and there is mounting militancy, a readiness for political actions.

For young people, said Henning Bentzen, it is important to see the concrete results of their struggle. Under the influence of the powerful peace movement embracing large sections of the population, Denmark has virtually dissociated itself from the NATO decision to deploy new US intermediate-range missiles⁴ in Western Europe (Belgium, Britain, Italy, Holland,

⁴ This was done after the Folketing passed the relevant resolutions. These go so far as to deny Danish allocations for NATO for the deployment of these missiles.--Ed.

and the FRG). This shows how much of a role can be played by so-called small nations, particularly the small nations in NATO, if they act in favour of easing the international situation. This success of the Danish peace forces owes much to the contribution made by the many youth and students organisations.

In Greece and Argentina, said Stratis Korakas and Jorge Prigoshin, youth organisations made active use of the screening of the film "The Day After". Tables bearing anti-nuclear statements were placed at the entrances of the cinemas showing this film. Young militants circulated leaflets explaining the anti-war significance of the film and calling upon people to fight against war before it starts. A large number of signatures was collected within a short space of time.

Walid Masri, Francisco Felipe, Vilmos Cserveny, Binay Wiswam, and others spoke of the WFDY's major role in the anti-war movement today. This year, the World Federation of Democratic Youth--vanguard of progressive young people--is marking its 40th anniversary. Since its first congress (London, November 1945) it has evolved into a prestigious association of democratic youth aiming to prevent young people from ever again experiencing the horrors of war. It works for peace, democracy, the independence of nations, and social progress. The Federation sponsors massive campaigns, among which are the World Youth Actions Against the Nuclear Threat, for Peace and Disarmament.

In the WFDY's activities there has lately been an expansion of its traditional political contacts with other international organisations, notably, with the International Union of Socialist Youth, in order to map out a common approach to problems attracting public attention and conduct joint actions in defence of peace.

Miroslav Štepan, Giorgos Michaelides, Sergei Chelnokov, and José Castillo spoke of the role played by the International Union of Students in rallying students to the peace struggle. By decision of its latest congress, the IUS has started a world-wide campaign under the slogan "Students for Peace, Against Nuclear War". It was asked whether this work was not being impeded by the fact that some student organisations of the largest capitalist countries are not affiliated to the IUS. In reply, Miroslav Štepan said that in fact they are quite actively cooperating with the IUS, discussing the documents submitted to them, and exchanging delegations with the IUS. For instance, there was a positive response from the United States National Student Association, which has nearly four million members, to an Open Letter to US Students, urging joint action in the struggle to remove the nuclear threat.

In their analysis of the present situation Hans Kluthe, Elean Thomas, Nikolay Arabadziev, Victor Kamyschanov, and others showed that in the prevailing conditions, following the commencement of Euromissile deployment, for young people opposed to war paramount importance is being acquired by the task of drawing up a new long-term action programme. This could

be helped to a large extent by the Twelfth World Youth and Student Festival, whose slogan "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship" makes sense to millions of young people, especially as the festival is being held in the year that witnessed the 40th anniversary of the great victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism. Democratic young people revere the memory of those who gave their lives in the world war so that peace could reign on our planet.

Expressing the concern of the world community of nations for the planet's future, the UN has proclaimed 1985 as International Youth Year. Giorgos Michaelides, Zory Apresyan, and others assessed this act as timely and significant. The IYY motto--"Participation, Development and Peace"--mirrors the objective need to enhance the role played by young people in the struggle for peace, to reinforce friendship and cooperation among nations.

Counter-Offensive by Reaction

Much attention was devoted at the symposium to various aspects of the current ideological struggle to win young people.

In order to subordinate young people to their influence, speakers noted, the reactionary forces have organised an unprecedented anti-communist, anti-Soviet propaganda campaign. The orchestrators of this campaign are the most aggressive imperialist circles in the USA. This is seen vividly in the main issue of our day, that of war and peace. The innumerable peace initiatives of the USSR and the other socialist community countries, initiatives that open the road to ending the arms

race and improving the international situation, are ignored or misrepresented. The militarist preparations of the USA and NATO and the man-hating Star Wars plans are dished up as a counterbalance to the "Soviet military threat". The monopoly press tags the label of a "Moscow conspiracy" and "intrigues of Communist agents" to the spreading resistance of the peoples to the imperialist policy of dictation. Participants in the anti-war movement, which is gaining momentum on all continents, are maligned as "puppets manipulated from without".

When lies of this sort pour out day after day from television screens, radio receivers, newspapers, and journals, young people in the capitalist world sometimes find it hard to understand what is happening. Access to truthful information is blocked by subtle anti-communist propaganda. Little wonder that a section of young people is influenced by the stereotypes planted by this propaganda.

It is all the more important, speakers at the symposium pointed out, to give accurate and compelling answers to the political and ideological questions being asked by young people. The main question today is: Who is threatening peace?

We try to conduct this work forcefully, said Stratis Korakas, whether the issue is missiles, human rights, or any other question. In talks with young people the simple argument that for citizens of socialist countries life is as dear as it is to us, Greeks, paved the way to understanding. We explain that the Soviet Union has made a non-first use of nuclear weapons commitment, that it has pledged not to use such weapons

against countries that do not possess such weapons, do not manufacture them, and do not have foreign nuclear-armed military bases on their territory. No capitalist power has as yet followed this example. Judging from our experience, broad explanatory work yields results, moulding and developing people's thinking.

Speakers drew attention to changes in the strategy of imperialist reaction, which is trying to restrict youth participation in the peace movement. Formerly, the main aim was to justify war and the preparations for it. Now, in parallel, they are seeking to reorient the peace movement, to set it new targets, or replace this allegedly obsolete movement with a new one. The significance of this "correction" is to place anti-war actions outside active politics, to confine them to a simple condemnation of the "superpowers". In other words, it is suggested that young people should drop the question of "Who is threatening peace", and this means trying to erode their pressure on imperialism as being alone responsible for international tension. To rebuff efforts of this sort requires extending the participation of all contingents of young people in the peace movement.

In the thinking of young people in the FRG, said Vera Achenbach, there are elements we should carefully analyse. Say, young people do not agree with the purely mercantile norms of the bourgeois way of life and seek other values and moral criteria. Conservative forces are making every effort to use these aspirations and declare, for instance, that it is a good thing that in the FRG young people want to introduce

something new into society's development and, without taking their cue from the state, do not ask it for funds for the realisation of their ideas. The only reason this is being said is that the right-wing elements are engaged in redistributing state funds, giving priority to the requirements of the Bundeswehr and NATO to the detriment of socio-economic requirements.

Relative to values and morals, Vera Achenbach went on to say, we cannot leave the battlefield to the conservatives, Greens or the alternativists. It is our mission as Communists to develop the peace movement, the social protest of the people and, at the same time, propagate our great ideals, explain them, and fight alongside young people for a better future. It is very important that every young person should have the opportunity to take part in the struggle, even if this is only a small initiative. Let me illustrate. The largest strike of apprentices in the history of the FRG took place last year. For the first time ever an action week was conducted jointly with school pupils, students, and young workers. On the basis of what has been achieved, we feel that it is now vital to step up our work at universities and other educational institutions and also at industrial facilities so that instead of being reduced to passiveness young people's non-acceptance of their condition should evolve into protest actions, big and small.

In Portugal, said Francisco Felipe, right-wingers said that indeed young people had their own difficulties but these

would disappear in the immediate future. At the same time, they encouraged consumer feeling among young people, giving them empty hopes for a better future. We countered this with vigorous explanatory work. The result? The understanding that the ideological campaign of the right-wingers has failed is being increasingly demonstrated in the activities of the democratic movement of young Portuguese. Young people are getting more organised and more of them are taking part in the actions for a new, democratic policy, and this applies also to those who formerly maintained an individualistic stand and held aloof from the struggle. This has enabled the youth movement to organise massive actions on a national scale against unemployment and in defence of peace.

Communists Are with Young People; Young People Are
with the Communists

All classes and all political parties, it was stated at the symposium, are seeking to win the support of young people. The Communists see their task in helping young people to acquire a class consciousness, an active stand in life, a broad view of developments in the world, and profound democratic convictions.

In thinking of the role played by working youth and students in political life, the Communists see them as a powerful force in the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war and believe in their potentialities, which they have now demon-

strated on many occasions. These potentialities are far from having been exhausted. The anti-war movement is open and accessible to everybody. It unites young people of different views. But like any other social movement, it has to have clear aims and a clear understanding of how to achieve these aims. It is thus especially important for the Communists to develop the class consciousness of young people in the question of war and peace, to help them to acquire a scientific, dialectical approach to present-day political problems. In the anti-war movement the ultimate aim of the ideological work of the Communists is to give precisely such an education to young peace fighters.

Motivated by a pressing need to live in peace, steadily growing numbers of young people in capitalist countries are identifying themselves with the peace forces. But the main social force is the working class, the working masses. There have been cases when non-proletarian strata, notably students, have played the role of catalyst of the anti-war protest in this or that country. However, experience compellingly demonstrates that the further growth of the movement depends on the support it gets from the working class, from young working people.

Unity of the peace fighters with the working class, it was stressed at the symposium, is an imperative of the day. The certain weakness of the anti-war movement, despite all its successes, has been due to the inadequacy of such unity.

The German Communist Party, said Vera Achenbach, interacts with young people, using the great ideals of the working class

and the historical experience of the struggle against fascism, and exposing neonazism, revanchism, and the government's discriminatory policy towards immigrant workers. The Communists have made it a firm principle that the cardinal aim of their work with young people is to help the Marxist associations (the Socialist German Young Workers and the Marxist Spartacus Union of Students) and the Socialist Organisation of Young Pioneers. GCP members are working in these organisations. Without this the party would not have been successful among young people. The influx of new members comes from youth unions in the first place. A task confronting the Communists is to win the maximum prestige in their ranks. A glance at the leadership of these organisations shows that here there is no problem: young Communists are their motor, their motive force.

The Communist Party of the USA said Joseph Simms, regards its youth organisation as a dependable political helper. A party conference on youth problems held last year noted the militant participation of the Young Communist League of the USA in the election campaign. Without the assistance of the League, which is the party's task force, the Communists would have been unable to get their candidates registered in a number of states. The conference charted ways and means of reinforcing the youth organisation and expanding its press. The League's second convention is planned for next year, and the Communist Party is helping in the preparations for it.

Stratis Korakas described how the Greek Communists are educating young people on the heroic traditions of the national and international working class movement. As a result, young workers and students act more and more often jointly for peace and for their rights. Young people are active in the movement to dismantle US and NATO military bases in Greece. This movement is headed by a committee formed of representatives of large sections of society. Further, the Communists and young people have collected hundreds of thousands of signatures against the deployment of new US missiles in Western Europe. At first this was not a particularly large movement, but today most of the workers and peasants, and every member of the Communist Youth of Greece know how much of a threat Pershing II and cruise missiles are.

Henning Bentzen spoke of the involvement of young Danes in the peace movement. The tireless, day-to-day work of the Communists in this direction is yielding results. The innumerable discussions of questions related to disarmament are helping to draw more young people into the movement for the withdrawal of US missiles from Europe and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. In Denmark this movement embraces many strata of the population. The World Peace Council has supported the initiative of the Danish public calling for a World Peace Congress in Copenhagen in 1986. The nation's Communists and young people will take an active part in the preparations for this congress.

Vusizwe Seme gave examples to illustrate how the South African Communist Party and young people work together in the complex situation prevailing in a racist state. Young people need their heroes, and in South Africa one of these is Solomon Mahlangu.⁵ The Communist Party draws public attention to his selfless devotion to the people, and thousands of young men have taken his place in the ranks of fighters. The Communists have to keep explaining the distinction between "anti-white" and anti-racist actions. This work is bearing tangible fruit: more and more young whites/^{are}refusing to serve in the racist army, which is fighting an unjust war against Africans, and growing numbers of conscious revolutionaries are being recruited into the party.

When working with young people, said Sémon Pathé Gueye, it is necessary to get the correct bearings. In fighting unemployment, for the democratisation of education, and larger allocations for the people's enlightenment, the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour sees this as a condition for enhancing the political consciousness of young people. In the course of the struggle young people begin to understand the link between the difficulties facing the country and the arms race,

⁵ Solomon Mahlangu (1959-1979), hero and patriot of South Africa. Despite pleas for clemency to the South African government from the UN Security Council and the governments of many countries around the world he was executed in a Pretoria jail for participation in the national liberation struggle. In his last letter to his mother before he was executed, the youth wrote: "My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle." A college in Tanzania has been named after him.--Ed.

the interest that the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism have in inflaming international tension. The Alboury Ndiaye⁶ Democratic Youth Union has become an active helper of the party.

The history of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana and that of its youth section, the Progressive Youth Organisation, are closely linked, said Donald Ramotar. The PYO was founded soon after the appearance of the party, at the height of the anti-colonial struggle, and indeed made an important contribution to the winning of independence for Guyana. With the constant guidance of the party, Guyanese youth have stepped up the fight for democracy, social progress, and world peace. Peace cycle races are regularly organised as an interesting form of propagating anti-war ideas and focusing attention on burning issues of the day.

The upbringing of young people in a spirit of internationalist solidarity, it was declared at the symposium, is a major means of promoting their political activity. In this area there are many effective forms of organisation. One of

⁶ Alboury Ndiaye, a national hero of Senegal who lived in the latter half of the nineteenth century. He was a fighter against colonialism and a champion of the unity and independence of the African peoples. He fought invaders on the territory of Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, and Niger, and was killed in one of the battles. Ignored by bourgeois historiography, he was restored in the memory of the people by the Senegal Party of Independence and Labour, which gave his name to its youth organisation.--Ed.

them is the sending of youth teams to assist Nicaragua. Last year 120 young Communists went to Nicaragua from Argentina alone. Many volunteers from the GDR, Greece, the USA, the FRG, Austria, Holland, Finland, and other countries went to Managua to help bring in the harvest and build various civilian projects. Niall Farrell spoke of the support of the Communist Party of Ireland for the initiative of Irish Young Communists to start a fund collection drive for building new schools in Nicaragua.

The affairs and concerns of young people are dear to the Communists, who see them as an ally not only in the struggle against the threat of a nuclear war but also for remaking the world in the name of humanity's bright ideals.

x x x

Summing up the discussion, Roland Bauer, chairman of the WMR Commission for Problems of Peace and Democratic Movements, noted that there had been a useful exchange of views on a wide range of questions related to the overall theme of the symposium. A particularly substantive analysis was made of the problem of the active involvement of the planet's young people in the anti-war movement, which has become a major factor of international life. For young people throughout the world to fight for peace means to secure an end to the arms race, consolidate detente, assert in practice the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems and, in the final analysis, eliminate war from the life of society for the sake of humankind's social progress. This aim is seen clearly by democratic young people and by progressive students.

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COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUES

Brief Information*

Progressive Youth Society (PYS) of Turkey

The Society was founded in 1976. It groups young workers, peasants and students of secondary and vocational schools, and universities. Its motto is "The path of the working class is the path of youth".

The Society draws young men and women into the struggle against imperialism, reaction and fascism, takes a stand against repression and persecution, in defence of the rights of the country's youth, and for a democratic educational system. It demands the abolition of US military bases, opposes the NATO policy of aggression and seeks unity of action by all progressive youth associations in this struggle.

Prior to the declaration of a state of emergency late in 1978, when the Society was barred from operating in legal conditions, it was 50,000 strong; it had organisations in nearly all the districts of the country and enjoyed high prestige among youth. Its activity was backed by Ilerici Yurtsever Genclik (Progressive Patriotic Youth), a fortnightly published in 30,000 copies. The authorities repeatedly confiscated the journal but its influence went on growing.

The military coup on September 12, 1980 and the ensuing repression weakened the youth movement for a time. Hundreds of Society members were arrested and tortured, and some of them

* Continued from WMR Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 1984; 2, 6, 1985.

were killed. The managing editor of Ilerici Yurtsever Genclik, Erhan Tuskan, is still in prison. Many leaders of the Society had to emigrate. But even telling losses failed to stop the struggle of progressive youth.

Today progressive youth are particularly strong in educational institutions. They organise protest actions against the government's pro-imperialist policy, launch campaigns of solidarity with political prisoners, demanding a general amnesty, fight against reactionary practices in the universities, for the restoration of democracy and for the people's happy future, strive for the repeal of the ban on the Society's activity, and join in actions against the US military bases on Turkish soil.

About two years ago, the Society started a national periodical, Ileri (Forward), which now has a large readership in spite of repression. The organisation clandestinely circulates Ileri as well as leaflets and posters expressing the demands of young workers, peasants, students and servicemen.

Being an affiliate of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, the Progressive Youth Society of Turkey participates in campaigns of solidarity with the peoples resisting repressive regimes and imperialist aggression.

Communist Youth Federation of Sri Lanka (CYFSL)

It was founded in 1949 and groups young people from the age of 18 years upwards: industrial and agricultural workers, peasants, fishermen, small-scale producers, university and secondary school students, intellectuals.

The CYFSL is operating under the ideological and political guidance of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka, on the basis of the party's strategy and tactics.

Throughout its history, the Federation has drawn progressive, democratic and patriotic youth into the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction, in defence of their right to work and civil freedoms, and for the possibility of living and developing their abilities in a climate of peace.

Communist youth have been doing much to consolidate the political and economic independence of Sri Lanka, strengthen national unity and improve living standards. They have led many demonstrations and organised publicity campaigns to demand land reform and a democratic education system. They have protested against attempts by international and home reaction to involve Sri Lanka in imperialism's strategic plans endangering peace and stability in the region and the independence and sovereignty of Sri Lanka.

As a result of the regime's anti-popular, pro-imperialist social and economic policies, young Sri Lankans are faced with growing unemployment, a rising cost of living, runaway inflation and cuts in spending on social benefits. The Federation sees one of its immediate tasks in fighting for the restora-

tion and extension of rights which young people have been robbed of. It resists government plans for a reduction in expenditures on education and has launched a mass movement under the slogan "Provide employment to all youth irrespective of political affiliations" into which it has brought young men and women of different nationalities and religions.

The Federation is cooperating with other left-wing and radical organisations, such as the youth leagues of the Sri Lanka Socialist Party and the Sri Lanka People's Party or the National Union of Students. Together with these organisations the Federation is now making preparations for a nation-wide campaign in defence of the rights of youth. The campaign may take the form of rallies, demonstrations, long marches, seminars and conferences.

The Federation considers peace a prerequisite for the social progress of nations. Therefore it actively opposes imperialism's war preparations and condemns the deployment of new NATO missiles in Europe and US plans for the militarisation of space. It demands the dismantling of foreign military bases, primarily on Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean and emphatically condemns attempts by world imperialism, which is led by the USA, to destabilise the situation in countries which have opted for non-capitalist development.

The CYFSL is playing an active role in the international democratic youth movement. It joins in campaigns of solidarity with peoples and youth fighting for democracy and social progress, against fascist and other dictatorial regimes. The Federa-

ration organises, among other things, actions in support of the youth of Latin America, South Africa, Palestine and Lebanon. The Federation maintains ties with the progressive youth organisations of other countries. It has established particularly close relations with the All-India Youth Federation and the youth leagues of the socialist world and is affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The CYFSL follows the principles of democratic centralism. Its basic organisations are youth leagues formed in factories, higher educational institutions, towns and villages. The highest authority of the Federation is its Congress, held once in three years (the latest Congress--the Ninth--met in February 1983). In between congresses, the Federation's work is guided by the Central Committee and its Secretariat.

The CYFSL publishes Tharuna Lanka (Young Lanka), a monthly in Sinhalese, and an Information Bulletin, also a monthly, in English.

Communist Youth of Ecuador

Founded in 1948, this is one of the most influential youth organisations in Ecuador. Its predecessor was the Socialist Youth of Ecuador, set up in 1926 on the initiative of the Ecuadoran Socialist Party.^x

^x The ESP, founded in 1926, was renamed the Communist Party of Ecuador in 1931.

The CYE is a reserve and assistant of the Communist Party of Ecuador. It works under the party's guidance, closely cooperating with it at all levels and implementing its policy among young people.

The communist youth organisation has extensive experience of work in the complex political situation prevailing in Ecuador. In the 1960s, during the revolutionary upswing in the country, it played a major part in radicalising and uniting young people and drawing them into the popular movement against bourgeois power. Following the 1963 fascist coup the CYE was in the forefront of the fight against the military fascist dictatorship, which was deposed in 1966.

In the 1970s young Communists successfully repulsed Maoist and fascist-type paramilitary gangs active in Ecuadoran campuses. This won them considerable prestige among students in secondary schools and higher institutions, who today comprise 70 per cent of the CYE membership.

In the 1980s, under bourgeois democracy, the CYE has been concentrating on uniting patriotic and progressive young people to fight for their rights. The Third CYE Congress, held in 1982, charted the strategic line towards unity of action and advanced a relevant political platform. Its chief demands are that young people should have the right to work, education, and vocational training, and access to culture, art, and sports.

In keeping with this strategy, the CYE has made a major contribution to the formation of the Youth Sector of the Broad Left Front and to the founding of the Anti-Oligarchy Political

Youth Front, which unites ^{members} / of diverse social forces under a patriotic, anti-imperialist programme. To help educate children in a revolutionary spirit, the CYE has taken the Eloy Alfaro Red Young Pioneers organisation under its patronage.

The CYE sees a constant aim in mobilising young people for active participation in the people's struggle for democracy, national independence, peace, and social progress. During the 1984 election campaign two youth teams went on an agitation hike. They crossed the country from south to north, hiking 1,800 kilometres, and on the way they posted placards, distributed election leaflets, and conducted rallies. During the campaign the CYE brought 10,000 new members into the Broad Left Front, and nominated its ^{own} / candidates for election to parliament and other bodies.

Communist youth are operating in close contact with working class organisations, drawing young working people into trade unions. It cooperates with the Youth Department of the Confederation of Working People of Ecuador.

Ideological training gets much attention in the CYE. There is a permanent National School for Young Communists, which regularly holds political study days. The CYE educates its members in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and works for peace, against imperialism, in support of embattled peoples. It has extensive contacts with progressive youth leagues in other countries and cooperates actively with young people in socialist countries. It is a member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The Communist Youth of Ecuador is organised along the lines of democratic centralism. It has organisations in 14 of the nation's 20 provinces. Its highest organ is its Congress. In the interim between congresses its work is guided by the Central Committee, the Executive Committee, and the Secretariat.

Its printed organ is the weekly Juventud Rebelde (Rebel Youth).

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VEKELİ
TÜSTAV

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SURVEYS, INFORMATION AND MAIL

YOUTH IN TODAY'S WORLD: EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, SURVIVAL

The United Nations General Assembly has designated 1985 as the International Youth Year (IYY). Its motto is "Participation, Development, Peace". The Programme drawn up for the Year by the United Nations contains initiatives and recommendations to governments designed to assist the broadest possible participation by young people in political, economic, social and cultural affairs. The Programme proceeds from the need to ensure a kind of social development which would attach fuller attention to the interests and requirements of the younger generation. Here, the imperative condition is the strengthening of peace and removal of the war threat.

The aim of the IYY is to draw public attention to the situation, problems and difficulties of youth, whether those connected with the generally low level of economic development, the way it is in many Third World countries, or with the ills of the social system, like those obtaining in industrialised capitalist countries. It is also designed to uphold the vital rights of the younger generation wherever they remain, to varying degrees, a dead letter, or where they are violated or suppressed.

Youth faces a diversity of problems; foremost among them, however, are education and realisation of the right to work. This is what largely shapes the attitude of young people to the world around them and their social conduct. The survey we offer concerning the conditions in which youth enters responsible, adult life is based on information provided by the United Nations, other international governmental and non-governmental organisations and the press of different countries.

UN experts usually classify people 15 to 25 years old as youth.¹ At the beginning of the current decade the number of these people approached 860 million (some 20 per cent of the world's population), having increased by about 345 million people over the past quarter of the 20th century. Over three-quarters of young people live in developing countries. By the beginning of the 1990s the number of people in this age group will reach the one billion mark.

In a way, young people are the world's near future. In ten to twenty years, today's boys and girls will represent the group with the greatest potential for efficiency, the group which will shape the population "image" of any country. What will they be like when they reach adulthood? The answer depends to a great extent on the kind of education they receive; this, in turn, will depend on the nature, purposes and opportunities of a given social system.

¹ Naturally, this is, in a way, an arbitrary division. For example, in many Third World countries migrants 11 to 14 years old who flock to the cities from rural areas in search of work to support them can no longer, in many respects, be classed as children. On the other hand, it is difficult to consider as no longer "young" in socio-economic terms those persons aged 30 to 35 who have received a higher education but who still depend on their parents because of unemployment. As a result, the span of the transition from childhood to adulthood described as "youth" differs from society to society and even within a given society, depending on the social background and sex of the individual. Nevertheless, one can, in all probability, say that in all countries youth is the period in which people prepare for independent, adult participation in the nation's life.

Rights and Realities

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights² proclaims the universal right to education (Article 26), noting that at the elementary level-- at the elementary and basic levels, it must be free, and compulsory. Vocational training is also to be accessible to all (depending on individual aptitudes). Unfortunately however, these universal principles are far from universally applied. Let us not dwell here on the situation in developing countries where many problems and bottlenecks in the systems of education are rooted, first, in huge socio-economic difficulties and second, as UNESCO justly points out, in the "continuing influence ... of the systems inherited from the colonial period".³ Let us turn to economically developed countries of two worlds, socialist and capitalist.⁴

In socialist society, the right to education is fully guaranteed by the material, economic and political conditions necessary for it. Universal secondary education; absence of any discrimination in admittance to secondary specialised and higher education establishments; ample opportunities for studying at them by correspondence; free education at all levels and, moreover, scholarship payments to an overwhelming majority of competent students; free textbooks and manuals; reduced fares on all types of public transport; availability of hostel accommodations for out-of-town students at a token price--all this is taken for granted under socialism.

² Adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948.

³ Doc. 22 C/4, September 29, 1983, p. 3

⁴ Only some of the facts can be fitted into a brief survey.

The right to education is also recorded in the constitutions of many capitalist countries. However, due to economic, administrative, legal, socio-psychological and other factors, far from everyone can exercise this right, and if so, to differing degrees.

The much-vaunted bourgeois "equality of opportunity" is especially illusory in higher education. First, there is the impressive price of tuition. In the United States, the average fee in many colleges and universities is some 8,000 to 9,000 dollars a year, and this is by no means the limit. For example, annual tuition at Princeton is over 10,000 dollars. Besides, higher education fees are growing steadily. According to official estimates, the price of higher education has risen by at least eight percent in academic 1984/1985. In Great Britain, the Tory government plans to raise annual university tuition fees to 12,000 pounds.

A similar trend is in evidence in several other capitalist countries. This explains why, as a rule, the share of children of working families in the overall number of students falls far short of the proportion of working people relative to the total population figure. For example, in the FRG children of workers and peasants make up no more than 15 per cent of all those admitted to higher education institutions (compare that to 60 per cent in the GDR). In France, where workers comprise more than 40 per cent of the employable population, the share of their children who entered higher education institutions in 1984 barely exceeded 12 per cent of all those who became students that year. The percentage of students from working families is even smaller in Sweden, Italy and Japan.

"Elite" educational establishments are a salient feature in the systems of education of many capitalist countries. The National Administrative School (ENA) in France, "public" (in actual fact, privately owned) schools and some colleges in Great Britain, and private universities in the United States are virtually closed to children of lower- and sometimes even middle-income families. As a source of personnel to be employed mostly in the upper echelons of government and economic management, these establishments are an important tool of preserving the domination of the bourgeoisie.

One should note that in many capitalist countries too, students do receive scholarship payments; these may be government and other scholarships (paid by the educational establishment itself, by some academic foundations, major companies, charity societies and the like). However, first, far from all students receive them (for example, only 25 per cent in Switzerland, 17.5 in France, 14 in Austria, 13 in the United States, 10 in Belgium and Norway, etc.). Second, scholarships are often paid as partially or even fully reimbursable loans.

This situation is typical of the United States where the student must ^{reimburse} / the debt he incurred receiving scholarship payments within ten years after graduation. The FRG offers another example. A federal law on support for education was in force there since 1971, stipulating that some 25 per cent of all students were to be granted scholarships. Upon graduation, the former student was to repay about 22 per cent of the total to the government over a definite period. Herr Kohl's government decided

that the students had it too good. It introduced a new rule in academic 1983/1984; now the entire sum must be repayed. Obviously, such arrangements make higher education inaccessible to many young people.

Social discrimination is combined with ethnic and racial discrimination. The United States is a classic case in this respect: there, over 70 per cent of children attend segregated schools while, according to UCLA (University of California, Los Angeles) figures, Blacks account for only seven to eight per cent of the college and university students--one-third of the ratio of Blacks to the country's population.

A situation like that is simply unthinkable in socialist countries where complete equality of all citizens in this sphere and in all others is constitutionally guaranteed. The multinational Soviet Union presents a particularly graphic example. People of over 100 national and ethnic groups study at its higher education establishments. In the number of students per 10,000 of the population the USSR's Union Republics which used to be backward outlying areas in tsarist Russia are now considerably ahead of many developed capitalist countries. For example, this figure is 137 in Tajikistan, 155 in Kirghizia and 169 in Uzbekistan, against 122 in Italy, 106 in the FRG and 98 in Great Britain.

These are only some of the facts reflecting the essential differences in education under socialism and under capitalism.

Summing up objective data, one has every reason to speak of an education crisis in many bourgeois "democracies" which

results not only in widespread illiteracy⁵ but also in grave moral trauma for many young people. This crisis is an aspect of the general crisis of capitalism, and education problems are compounded in those countries where openly right-wing forces have been recently in power. These quarters launched an offensive against the masses' vital interests by pursuing a policy of social dismantling which reduces, in particular, government spending on education.

Progress of education in the socialist world stands out in even bolder relief against this background. The purpose of these efforts is to improve the quality of education and make it

⁵ There are two million illiterate people each in Great Britain and France, 11 million in Italy and over 25 million in the United States. According to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of this biggest and wealthiest capitalist country, about one-third of all Americans at the age of 17 lack a secondary education and more than 70 million adults encounter serious difficulties because of their "functional illiteracy". In February 1984 Ronald Reagan admitted that over 10 per cent of all Americans aged 17 were virtually illiterate and that the quality of education in schools was deteriorating steadily. An analysis of the education level in the United States shows illiteracy and "functional illiteracy" mostly affecting disadvantaged population strata. The illiteracy rate is 44 per cent among Blacks and 56 per cent among Hispanics. Even the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare was forced to acknowledge that mass illiteracy in the United States was a nation-wide problem growing more acute each year.

geared even better to all-round personality development, the latest achievements of science and technology and the requirements of the national economy. The latest examples that bear this out include the major steps to improve secondary education and vocational training in the GDR and Czechoslovakia and the reform of general education and vocational training schools begun in the Soviet Union.⁶

The Joy of Creative Effort Vs the Tragedy of
Unemployment

Education and training is an indispensable stage in the preparation of young people for responsible work in adulthood, an important condition of their integration into the social fabric. However, the facts cited above prove that this condition is met fully only under socialism. UNESCO estimates that in 1980 some 123 million children aged 6 to 11 did not attend school⁷ (the figure has probably increased since); this obviously contributes to a further spread of illiteracy, aggravating the social tragedy of mass unemployment among young people in the capitalist world.

⁶ One might mention here that in the USSR illiteracy, which existed on a mass scale at the time the world's first socialist state was established, was virtually eliminated as early as the mid-1930s.

⁷ Doc. 22 C/4, p. 3.

Percentage of Young People among the Unemployed in 1980

Country	Per cent	Country	Per cent
Thailand	73.9	Canada	47.1
Syria	69.9	Israel	46.6
India	67.2	United States	45.7
Barbados	66.2	Netherlands	44.7
Italy	62.4	Sweden	42.4
Ghana	60.4	Great Britain	42.2
Venezuela	58.2	France	42.1
Singapore	58.0	Belgium	38.0
Spain	57.5	Norway	35.9
Australia	55.9	Finland	33.9
Philippines	54.9	Denmark	27.9
Turkey	48.6	FRG	27.3
South Korea	48.6	Switzerland	23.5
Portugal	47.4	Japan	21.9

Source: UN statistics

These figures signify not only forfeited opportunities but also despair, lack of confidence and disillusionment. "Unemployment", "partial employment", "despondency", "insecurity" and even "survival" have now become household words with young people in the capitalist world. For obvious reasons, unemployment is particularly widespread in developing countries. The International Labour Organisation estimates that in 1980 there were some 200 million unemployed

in the Third World. On average, 60 per cent (120 million) were young people.⁸

Unemployment has always been higher among youth than among older age groups, but this trend has intensified to an even greater degree in recent years. For example, according to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) which comprises 24 industrialised capitalist countries, from 1979 to 1983 the share of the unemployed among the able-bodied population in the 15-to-24 age group increased from 10.6 to 23.2 per cent in Great Britain, from 3.4 to 10.8 per cent in the FRG and from 13.3 to 21 per cent in France. The problem of youth unemployment has become quite acute in the United States too; there, the percentage of unemployed white young people has risen from 15 to 22 per cent in recent years; this increase has been even more dramatic among non-white young men and women--from 38 to 44 per cent. In Canada, almost one out of every five young men and women joins the line in the employment office. About 1.2 million young Italians are vainly looking for the first job in their lives.

The upward trend of unemployment inevitably leads to worse working conditions for those employed for the first time: mostly, they are offered sporadic and unskilled short-term, night-time or seasonal jobs. Hence the trend towards a longer

⁸ See: Youth in the 1980s, UNESCO, Lausanne, 1981, p. 279.

period of social instability and uncertainty. Specifically, unemployment forces many students to accept the first job they are offered and even to give up their studies for this reason, in the hope of completing their education later. Consequently, plans for "settling down" and starting a family are also delayed.

With many college and university graduates, the period of uncertainty caused by the absence of employment becomes a stage in their social degradation. For example, by mid-1984 one out of every five West German graduates from the class of 1977 remained unemployed. In France, out of every 100 graduates only an average of 30 have a chance of securing a job which suits their qualifications. A lengthy period of enforced idleness is the lot of many college and university graduates in the United States. In Austria, there were only 200 vacancies for the 1,600 people who graduated from teaching colleges in 1982. Universities are called "factories to produce unemployed graduates" in Spain, where in 1983, 80 per cent of young people with college or university degrees had no jobs.

A situation like this is difficult to imagine in a socialist country. There, planned socio-economic development guarantees the young people who graduate from secondary specialised and higher education institutions jobs in accordance with their training and qualifications. For example, in the eleventh five-year period which ends this year, the Soviet Union will have trained some 10 million graduates with

a higher or secondary education, and upon graduation, virtually all of them will have been provided with jobs in the appropriate field. The situation is similar in other socialist countries. The younger generation is the main source of well-trained personnel for their national economies. The millions of young men and women taking their first jobs each year in these countries are safe from the tragedy of "redundant" people in the non-socialist world.⁹

This tragedy does not linger merely for days or weeks but lasts for months and years. And while, not too long ago, bourgeois statistics used the term "protracted unemployment" to denote a period of at least six months, now it is at least one year.¹⁰ Commenting on the latest OECD report on prospects for employment published in September 1984, Le Monde of France said that "in all or in almost all Western countries unemployment

⁹ Significantly, the idea that unemployment is inevitable has taken such firm root among youth in capitalist countries that sometimes even the politically more advanced young people are hard put to imagine anything different. The following fact was cited at the October 1984 session of ^{the} National Council of the French Communist Youth Movement. When a group of the Movement's members was meeting with a Hungarian leader and when he told them that there was no unemployment in his country, especially among youth, they simply refused to believe him (see L'Humanité, October 11, 1984).

¹⁰ According to the OECD, in 1983 persons unemployed for more than a year made up 13 per cent of the unemployed in North America and 40 per cent in Western Europe against the 1979 figures of 4 and 27 per cent respectively.

among youth has become a very big problem".¹¹ In 12 out of the 24 OECD countries (the United States, Japan, the FRG, France, Great Britain, Italy, Canada, Australia, Finland, Norway, Spain and Sweden) 10,250,000 young people were looking for work in 1984 (about 17 per cent of the entire able-bodied population under 25). The malignant tumour of unemployment is spreading at an especially fast rate among young people in the four biggest West European countries, Great Britain, France, Italy and the FRG, where the number of unemployed young men and women grew from 2.4 million in 1979 to four million in 1983, and to some 4.5 million in 1984.¹²

Tomorrow holds no promise for the unemployed there. The OECD estimates that their 1985 total in industrialised capitalist countries will grow by at least 500,000 people and will reach 31.5 million. Young people will, like today, form a large part of this mass.

And now to the consequences of the social insecurity affecting the younger generation in the non-socialist world. Work is important not only as a source of livelihood. Useful work is also of great importance for psychological health, for youth's self-awareness as an integral and full-fledged part of society. And when reality defeats efforts to secure a future, when access to education, skills, jobs, housing and entertainment is blocked, the innate optimism of youth gives way to profound

¹¹ Le Monde, October 9, 1984.

¹² The Economist, June 9, 1984, p. 59.

dissatisfaction, discontent and apathy. A hostile economic, social and cultural environment, poverty, no prospects for education, unemployment, poor living conditions and the like--all this affects young people, pushing the crime rate upward and spreading prostitution, drug addiction and suicide as the ultimate stage of other forms of escape from depressing reality.

Naturally, these phenomena cannot be interpreted as a sign of despair or socio-political passivity of all of today's young people. Most of them approach social realities in an active way and show a clear understanding of the need for social progress, of the need to fight to secure their rights, ensure progressive change and strengthen peace and international security.

The Foremost Problem Facing All

The problems of education, training and employment discussed above are, like other social and political issues concerning the position of young people in today's world, also problems of society in general. But they affect the needs and rights of the younger generation in the most direct way and to the greatest degree: the upsurge in the activity of youth in the struggle for its ^{interests} / is therefore natural. Young people increasingly understand that the possibility of improving their social opportunities is linked inextricably with the need to remove the imperialist-induced war threat, to uphold and consolidate universal peace as an essential condition of social progress.

Action against the nuclear war threat, against the arms race which imperialism has launched and is escalating, against aggressive imperialist policy is a major aspect of the democratic youth movement. The world's progressive youth, its national and international organisations also attach great importance to the various types of action of solidarity with all those fighting against any form of oppression or discrimination, for genuine democratic rights, for national liberation and social emancipation.

A list enumerating even the biggest of such initiatives undertaken in different countries would be too long to feature here. Let us instead mention some of the campaigns launched by our organisation--the International Union of Students (IUS).

In the field of action for peace: the "Students for Peace, Against Nuclear War" campaign. The special session on this question held in ^{the} course of the 14th IUS Congress in April 1984 called on students throughout the world to firmly rebuff the threat of nuclear annihilation, stop those playing with the future of man and launch a vigorous drive to reduce and ban nuclear armaments.

In the field of solidarity: promotion of various forms of support for the struggle of nations and students against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, fascism, Zionism, apartheid and reaction. These forms include the sending of international student medical, construction and educational teams to different countries to assist in national liberation and social emancipation, fund-raising campaigns to support progressive national youth organisations, etc.

In the field of the struggle for democratisation of education, for students' rights: the "Education--a Right, not a Privilege" campaign aimed at securing better financing of educational establishments, broader access to higher education, optimum conditions for the transition from study to work, etc.

These aspects of the progressive student movement are fully consonant with the aspirations of democratic youth around the world. They are consonant with the lofty purposes of disseminating ideals of peace, solidarity, progress, respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, ensuring better educational, working and living conditions and vigorous involvement of the younger generation in all aspects of social development.

One might repeat that the International Youth Year must assist in focusing the attention of appropriate government agencies, regional and international organisations on problems of youth. For this, broad public action to uphold the rights and interests of the younger generation must be stepped up. Naturally, young people themselves cannot and do not stand aloof from these efforts. Their political activity is growing. Today, their motto is anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship. The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students, to be held in Moscow in July and August 1985, will be a substantial contribution by young people to the struggle against the nuclear threat and against imperialist attempts on freedom and independence, to the strengthening of understanding and cooperation.

Miroslav Stepan
President,
International Union of Students

Deck 87 BSS

SURVEYS, MAIL, DIARY

The Reader Wants to Know

THE YOUNG GENERATION UNDER SOCIALISM:

RIGHTS, OPPORTUNITIES, PROSPECTS

Young people under capitalism are hardest hit by unemployment, poverty, and lack of rights, all of which are social ills organic to the capitalist society. Time magazine says, for instance, that the number of unemployed under the age of 25 in the countries of the European Economic Community has increased in the 1980s from 2.9 million to 4.4 million, or to 37 per cent of all the unemployed in the region. Young people in the West in the 1980s are often called the "lost" generation living in ever greater apathy, drug addiction, alcoholism, crime and sexual dissipation.

This is why young workers--among them Volker Spitz (FRG), Maria Kaliva (Greece) and Fouad Khater (Lebanon)--and other readers of our journal ask the following questions in their letters: how are the rights of young citizens to work and social security realised in the socialist countries? How democratic is the system of occupational training? They want to know about the opportunities for the young people's full employment, about their working and living conditions, recreation facilities, and spiritual and moral aspirations under socialism.

Below are some facts and figures on these and similar other matters.

ACQUIRING AN INDUSTRIAL TRADE

Eighty per cent of young men and women in the Soviet Union go to work in production after completing a course at one of the numerous technical trades schools. The state system of technical trades education is now made up of 7,800 schools, with an enrolment of 4 million; every year these schools graduate 2.5 million skilled workers in more than 1,600 trades.

The new edition of the CPSU Programme, which was adopted by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, sets the task of gradually advancing to universal

technical trades education, along with the secondary education, which all young people in the Soviet Union are given as a right. For that purpose, new technical trades schools, with at least 810,000 places, will be opened in the period from 1986 to 1990.

In the course of the ongoing school reform in the country, the various types of technical trades schools are to be consolidated into a single type: secondary technical trades school (STTS). After completing an eight-year secondary school course, graduates will go on to these STTSs for another three years of study to complete their general secondary education and acquire an industrial trade. The reform provides for a gradual increase (and for an eventual doubling) of the enrolment in the STTSs. Young people who have completed a ten-year secondary school course--and so already have a complete secondary education--are offered a one-year course at the STTSs.

One such school--STTS No. 27--is located in the city of Podolsk, not far from Moscow. For a quarter-century it has been training skilled workers for the Ordzhonikidze Engineering Works, the city's largest enterprise, and of its 10,000 workers more than one-half are graduates of STTS No. 27.

It now has a student body of 900, and every year enrolls and graduates some 300 young men and women. Roughly two-thirds of them come from working class families, but there has been a recent influx of young people from the families of engineers, economists, doctors, lawyers, teachers and workers in the arts. When Vadim Krasnoryadtsev, an outstanding secondary school pupil, decided to enrol at the STTS after completing his eighth year, many, including his parents, were surprised. His father is a

researcher and his mother an engineer at a plant, and both wanted their son to go into science or management, but the young lad insisted on training as an installer of electromechanical and radio-technical instruments and systems. It so happened, therefore, that in his second year at the STTS, Vadim was a trainee at the plant, where his mother is an engineer, and also at the research institute, where his father works. His parents were finally convinced that he was doing the right thing.

Young people from the countryside also study at the Podolsk STTS, although the children of collective farmers and state-farm workers, as a rule, prefer to enrol at rural trades schools. There are no limitations to education in the Soviet Union for reasons of social origin, nationality, party membership or religious creed, and medical reasons are the only ones for which a young person may be barred from entering a chosen field.

Tuition at the STTSs is free of charge. Those who are enrolled at the STTSs after completing the eight-year secondary school course (and they are in the majority) receive full maintenance from the state in the course of the three years. They are provided with hot meals, uniforms, hostel accommodation, when required, and various articles for personal hygiene. Textbooks and study aids, group viewing of films and plays, and excursions are also free of charge.

Many students are also given grants, either by the state or the enterprise, in order to encourage the training of workers in trades that are most shorthanded. The Ordzhonikidze Works, for instance, offers grants to young people training as lathe

and milling-machine operators, fitters, maintenance workers and electricians. Finally, the students are paid wages for their work in the STTS workshops while studying and while undergoing production training at the enterprises. That gives them enough pocket money to spend.

While the material aspects are fairly important for the young people, the main thing for them is their urge to master a good trade and stand on their own two feet as soon as possible. Scientific and technical progress keeps spinning off more and more new trades, so that their range is continuously renewed and extended. Young people are, as a rule, most eager to work in some high-technology line, and that also meets the needs of modern production. Machine operator, for instance, was not too popular a trade at the Podolsk STTS until recently, but the situation underwent a change when the Works installed more numerically controlled machinetools, while the STTS began to train operators for them.

Both the trades and the STTSs rank differently for the young people on the scale of prestige. The Podolsk STTS is among the best and most popular in the country: last year, there were 450 applications for its 300 places. There are no entrance examinations here, and decisions on enrolment are taken on the strength of school certificate marks and personal interviews with members of the selection committee, which, incidentally, always includes members of the Works management and representatives of the party organisation and other social bodies. The overflow of applications is enrolled at other STTSs in Podolsk.

The city authorities see to it that the necessary number of places is always available in the light of the requirements of production and the wishes of the young people.

Let us bear in mind that the young men and women opting for industrial training are simultaneously given a full-fledged secondary education, as the curricula for general knowledge subjects and the textbooks are the same as those in conventional secondary schools. Thus, at the Podolsk STTS, the future workers study mathematics, physics, chemistry, social subjects and the humanities, including the Russian language and literature, history, aesthetics and a foreign language. In addition to the school programme, there are special subjects, like the recently introduced course on "The Fundamentals of Informatics and Computer Techniques". Use is made of modern study aids and technical facilities, including television, tape recorders, film projectors, and remote-control instruments, while the informatics and computing laboratory is fitted out with a dialogue computer system and micro-computers.

Roughly half the study time is devoted to production training in the STTS workshops and in industry. The atmosphere in the workshops is as similar to that on the shopfloor as it can be, involving the use of the most modern equipment, such as numerically controlled machinetools and robots. While learning to master their trade, the future workers turn out full-value products, such as water-heating boilers for small boiler-rooms, which are in great demand, and even some components for electric-power plants. There are both moral satisfaction and material rewards to be had from such work.

However, the students of the Podolsk STTS are also provided with various facilities for recreation, including two gyms: one for track and field, volleyball, basketball, and general physical training, and the other for weight-lifting and gymnastics. A swimming pool and a shooting gallery are housed in separate buildings. Near the STTS stands a sprawling mansion, once the seat of a rich landowner family. It has been restored--much of it by the young people themselves--and turned into a Youth Club, where there are dance, folk song and other groups of amateur dramatics, a showroom of the young people's technical inventions, and hobby groups.

What happens upon graduation? The young people have no problems in finding jobs, because the STTS trains personnel for the Works according to plan, and according to the law its management provides graduates with jobs according to their trade and skill grade.

Young men and women who do honest work have the brightest prospects before them. Consider the case of Nina Ryzhova, who graduated from the Podolsk STTS fourteen years ago as an electric welder. She displayed an aptitude for her trade and became a high-class specialist. She was also active in doing social work in the Young Communist League organisation, the shop trade union, and the women's council, and was thrice elected deputy to the City Soviet. She is now a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the country's highest legislative body, and is a member of its Presidium. "I shall always remember my school with gratitude," she says. "It not only gave me a trade, but also helped

to decide on my way in life." Her husband was also trained as a lathe operator at the Podolsk STTS.

Graduates who want to advance in education or to try their hand at something else can go on to study at higher schools and technical colleges. That is exactly what about ten per cent of the Podolsk STTS graduates do. Some of them have become engineers, teachers, army officers, or workers in the arts.

The Podolsk STTS is one of the best in the country. Not every school within the technical trades education system is still run as well as the Podolsk STTS, which sets an example for the others to follow in developing and improving the training of working class personnel.

Moscow

V. Krestyaninov
journalist

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THE SENSE OF SECURITY?

One popular slogan in the GDR, "Trust and Responsibility for the Young", is an expression of the attitude taken by the state and the ruling party to the rising generation. But what does this mean in practical terms? Below is an interview with Andre Karutz, Cand.Sc. (Nat.) and a member of the youth commission of the SUPG Berlin regional committee.

Can all young people in the GDR find work?

Indeed, all can do so. There is no unemployment in our republic, there has never been any unemployment, and there never will be any. More than three million young men and women between

the ages of 14 and 25 years now living in the GDR either study or work. Consider, for instance, what happened in 1985 to those who were graduated from general knowledge secondary schools: of the 264,300 young people who completed 10-year and 12-year courses, 186,800 went on to enrol at technical trades schools, and 77,500 at higher schools and technical colleges. The state guarantees to everyone the opportunity to go on studying, to obtain the necessary skills and then to fill a job.

Is it perhaps possible that the modernisation of production is artificially slowed down in order to create additional workplaces?

No, not at all. Modernisation is an important part of our economic strategy, for it is the main way of raising labour productivity. Over the past ten years, 445 million working hours have been saved at industrial, building and transport enterprises in the country through the application of scientific and technical achievements; over the next five years, this figure is to go up to 500-600 million working hours, which means that the pace is to more than double.

That means that the workers are made redundant. What do they do then?

They take up other jobs, usually at the same enterprise and in the same industry, but jobs that are more exciting and with better working conditions. They are also welcomed in growing high-technology industries like microelectronics, robots, and also in the manufacture of consumer goods and provision of ser-

vices. Modernisation of production last year, for instance, made 77,000 persons available for other jobs, while 260,000 new workplaces were simultaneously created and modernised. The state covered all the costs of retraining and raising skills for those who moved to new jobs.

What is the attitude to this matter on the part of the young men and women and their youth organisation, the Union of Free German Youth?

To say that it is a positive one is to tell only half the story. They are eager to promote this process to the utmost. Here are a few facts. Over the past three years, young engineers designed 10,000 industrial robots and helped to install them in production. Last year, over a million persons took an active part in campaigns to review new scientific and technical innovations put forward by young people. Over the past five years, the Union's initiatives helped to save material resources worth 10.5 billion marks, and concentrated and coarse feeds for livestock breeding worth 300 million marks; they also led to a reduction of 45,000 workplaces.

It is a well-known fact that every other young working person in industry, one in three in building, and every other industrial trainee is an innovator. Sixty per cent of the country's young men and women (and even 72 per cent in Berlin) take part in campaigns to review scientific and technical innovations. This suggests a massive urge among the "young masters of tomorrow" to tackle scientific and technical problems actively and imaginatively, and to help modernise and intensify production.

How do you explain this enthusiasm?

There is, first of all, a natural urge on the part of youth for self-expression in practice, together with their confidence in the future, and their lack of fear of losing their jobs, their livelihood and social benefits. The working people are well aware that the SUPG's economic policy and social policy constitute an integral whole, so that the better and more efficiently everyone works, the greater the state's capacity to appropriate more for further raising their material and cultural level. That is how we intend to solve the housing problem--as a social problem--by the year 1990, when every family, including every young family or newly married couples, will have an apartment with all modern conveniences there.

How does the Union of Free German Youth protect the interests of the young?

The Union of Free German Youth has 2.3 million members irrespective of their social origin or world outlook. The Union's potentialities for protecting the interests of the young and ensuring their democratic participation in all undertakings are sufficiently ample above all because the Union has the right to be represented on state bodies: it has its own group of 40 deputies in the People's Chamber (the GDR parliament), and has the right of initiating legislation. Altogether, almost 33,000 young deputies, that is, 16 per cent of the total, have been elected to people's representative bodies of every level. The Union's voice is heard and heeded in every work collective.

Annual plans for work with young people are drawn up at the enterprises, in the cooperatives and offices, and also on the scale of towns and villages, listing the concrete measures to be put through. That includes, in part, scientific and technical assignments for young men and women to fulfil; ways of raising skills, with a precise indication of who is to be involved and in what form, what kind of assistance will be available, who will be sent by the enterprise to study at technical colleges and higher schools; assistance to newly-weds, arrangements for recreation are also provided. At least once a year, management has to give an account of how the plan is being fulfilled. That is usually done within the framework of "Youth and Athletes Week", in the course of which conversations and exchanges of opinion between young people and government leaders and managers take place all over the GDR.

In other words, one task of the Union is to protect the interests of the young. Another is to educate them and to involve them in active labour activity.

Any concrete examples?

There are 45,000 voluntary youth teams in the country, and they set an example of conscientious work; more than 4,000 young researcher collectives are also blazing trails in the key high technologies, while 48,000 young innovators help to speed up scientific and technical progress.

Our capital could not have been brought to its present state of renewal so fast without the participation of young men and women. There are now over 20,000 members of the Union from other parts of the country working in Berlin on its ^{renewal} / within the framework of a movement we call "Berlin: The Union's Prime Project!". Numerous youth collectives are making a crucial contribution to the electrification of railways, intensifying the production of chemical fibres, and developing livestock farming. Tens of thousands of young people obtained the Union's recommendations and put in excellent work at key economic projects in our country and abroad, in fraternal socialist and less developed countries, where they proved to be genuine internationalists.

Do young members of the SUPG and the Union of Free German Youth enjoy any social privileges?

No, they do not. No privileges are to be had for being a member either of our party or of the Union. However, at school most children eagerly join the Young Pioneers organisation, and as they grow up they apply for membership in the Union (senior grade pupils with poor academic progress may be denied membership for educational reasons). Roughly three-quarters of the young workers are members of the Union, in which membership, as a rule, continues until the age of 25. When they begin to work, young men and women join a trade union, and the best of them become members of the SUPG. Thus, only in the run-up to the 11th Congress of the SUPG (April 1986), 107,000 Union members became SUPG candidate members on the recommendation of their Union.

All the social benefits and privileges legislatively enacted for young people are available to one and all, regardless of membership of the SUPG, the Union or any other organisation. But if anyone feels that his rights have been infringed, he can, of course, apply either to the management or to the Union, which displays concern not only for its own members.

When you mentioned benefits and privileges, what did you mean?

To describe them all I would have to give you a digest of volume upon volume of laws and decrees. Here are only a few examples. First of all, there are three types of interest-free credit available ^{to} newly-weds under the age of 30. Each comes to 7,000 marks (in 1985, real income per head of the population was 970 marks a month). The first credit is for buying furniture for the home; the second is to pay an instalment into a house-building cooperative, and the third, for building one's own home. Since 1972, the first year such credits were made available, their number has totalled 1.1 million to a total amount of 6.5 billion marks. The credits are repaid in monthly instalments over a period of 11 years. If children are born in that period, the young family has a part or even the whole of its debt written off. Such cuts now total 1.7 billion marks.

Large funds are appropriated for assistance to mother and child. Fully paid maternity leave is 26 weeks. After a second child is born, the mother can opt for a paid leave until the child is one year old; in the case of a third and every subsequent

child this leave is extended until the child is 18 months old. In all cases, the mother receives a lump sum of 1,000 marks from the government.

Until they enter school, children can stay free of charge at day care centres for the entire duration of the workday. The parents only pay part of the board costs.

From May 1, 1987, the monthly benefits for a first child are to go up from 20 to 50 marks, for a second, from 20 to 100, and for every subsequent child--from 100 to 150 marks a month. This will markedly reduce the differential in the per capital income of families with children as compared with that of childless families. These economic and social measures are being backed up with two billion marks.

What if a young man or woman falls ill?

In the course of the first six weeks, those who are temporarily unable to work are, as a rule, paid 90 per cent of their net wages, and from then on--50 to 90 per cent. Trainees in production are paid their full grants throughout the period of illness until they are well again.

Disease prevention and the development of physical training and sports are an important element of the health protection system for young people, and relevant provisions have also been written into the Youth Act, which puts the duty on managerial personnel to display concern for creating sound conditions for the young people's study, work and everyday life, and ensuring steady improvement of protection for their health and labour-power.

And now, yet another question, this time about any negative phenomena among youth. Everyone has heard about the wide spread of drug addiction and hard drinking in the West. Are there any such problems in the GDR?

There is no drug addiction as a social phenomenon in the GDR. Any attempt, however insignificant, to spread drugs is immediately and sternly put down both by the public and by the state authorities: the police and the customs.

Our young people have no sense of hopelessness, of being unwanted in the society. The problems of the young are perfectly natural ones: difficulties with studies or work, problems of the lovelorn, or desire to be fashionably dressed. But none of that creates a sense of social uncertainty or leads to the spread of drug addiction.

As everywhere else, we do have young people who are alcoholism-prone or inclined to drink more than is good for them, but their number is very much smaller than that in the industrialised capitalist countries. Here again, the young people's social condition is of positive and crucial significance. The problem, as we see it, does not consist in the existence of an insignificant number of pathological drinkers, but in that there is a category of young people who tend to lose control of themselves after having had a few drinks, for over one-half of all the crimes in the country are committed in a state of alcoholic intoxication. Such people are in full view of the public, the work collectives and the state authorities, which help them to stay on the right path.

FATHERS AND SONS: CONFLICTS OR CONTINUITY?

Like most of their parents, Bulgaria's young people have grown up under socialism. But as the society develops and one generation succeeds another, people's views and assessments of social phenomena tend to change. That is a normal and natural process. What then are the differences between the two generations under socialism? Professor Petr-Emil Mitev, director of the Youth Research Institute under the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, considers the problem at the request of WMR.

The studies carried out by our institute should provide an answer to this question: is there more similarity or difference in the attitudes of the two generations of Bulgarian citizens? There is clearly evidence of continuity and similarity on the fundamental problems of our day. Young people, like their parents, are unanimous in their urge to live in peace and to fight for it. They support, in particular, the Bulgarian government's proposal to turn the Balkans into a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons, and to reach agreement with our neighbours on environmental protection. All the generations take a positive view of the Bulgarian Communist Party's long-term foreign-policy line of continued development of cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states, stronger alliance with the forces of social progress and national liberation, and maintenance of mutually advantageous relations with the capitalist countries on the principle of peaceful coexistence.

When it comes to internal affairs, both young and old believe that Bulgaria's future is linked to socialism. They have given full

approval to the strategy of accelerating economic and social development, which was worked out by the BCP's 13th Congress, and whose main element is carrying on / ^{the} scientific and technical revolution. The attitudes of the generations are also identical to the party's efforts to assert the principle of social justice and to combat negative phenomena.

However, the generations are not always as unanimous on every point: there are some strata of phenomena on which there is evidence of differences, even if the attitudes are akin.

The sociologist I. Hadjiysky has analysed the Bulgarians' way of life half a century ago in his book Our People's Everyday Life and Spiritual Tenor, and his conclusion is that at that time / ^{the} main aspirations in life of workers and peasants, including the young, were primarily determined by this motto: "Work Hard and Save". On the whole, this motto is still regarded as being the right one, but there has been a gradual change in its content.

Earlier generations mainly regarded work as manual and monotonous activity not requiring any profound knowledge, intellectual effort or imagination, and when they kept saying that one has to "work, work and work again", they had in mind just that kind of work. Under the scientific and technical revolution, which puts such a high value on skill, and deep and diverse knowledge, young people now tend to formulate their credo in a different way and offer mottoes that may not perhaps be all that exhaustive: "Work is joy and satisfaction", "The individual asserts himself in the process of work", and "I want to do what I like".

Now and again, the second part of their motto in life comes to something like this: "Life must be enjoyable". As studies have made it quite evident, the joy implies creative work in one's working time, and the pursuit of one's inclinations in time of leisure, with new experience in contacts with one's friends, a broadening of one's mental horizon, and entertainment.

The opportunities for civilised recreation are now fairly ample. Cars or motorcycles put one in touch with the country's scenic beauties, there are sports competitions, films and plays on television, and modern music on the radio. Household appliances make household chores easier and different. A comparison with what their parents, to say nothing of their grandparents, had to contend with, makes it clear that leisure nowadays is largely a new social phenomenon which has become a normal element of the everyday life. And the attitude to leisure tends to differ markedly in different age brackets. The older people still seek to spend their leisure time in some kind of work, such as work in the home, even if it falls short of being socially useful. The young usually try to avoid it, and to devote their leisure hours to cultural or spiritual activity, to meeting each other, and enjoying entertainment.

Can such changes in the life ethic be regarded as entirely positive? On the whole, it is a positive and progressive process, but too steep a change in the life style and moral consciousness of the young tends to produce contradictory and now and again even negative side-effects.

The urge for creative work is, for instance, in itself quite admirable, but the society is still unable to provide every young person with work according to his or her preference. Many still have to do manual and often purely mechanical labour, for it is still here with us. For their part, young people whose preferences do not coincide with the social potentialities tend to be disappointed, take a passive attitude or insist: "Give me what I want or make no claims on me at all." The way out here possibly lies, on the one hand, in renewing production to the utmost in accordance with the decisions of the BCP's 13th Congress and, on the other, in educating young people in taking a more realistic attitude to life, in understanding the social requirements, and in learning to blend what has to be done with what they want to do.

Now about such a trait of the national character as thrift. It is, certainly, a positive quality, as far as principles go, but its content has not remained unchanged. In the old days, saving for the bulk of the population meant putting something away for a rainy day, for the year of crop failure, for one's old age; it meant saving to buy a piece of property, to make one's way in the world, that is, to become a person of some means. The socialist state has undertaken to provide for people in their old age, while health care and education are available free of charge. The real incomes of the population have multiplied over and over again. The polls indicate that the present generation, which knows nothing of want, unemployment or deprivation, most often prefers the good life to a life of thrift.

That seems to be a change for the better. But here again one finds that the positive qualities tend to develop into their opposites: the release from thrift tends to develop into extravagance. What would be desirable is a golden mean, without thrift being transformed into narrow-mindedness and meanness, or the large-handed attitude to life into foolhardiness, flippancy or a squandering of material values.

Our studies covered a fairly wide range of problems, and they all revealed one common element: there was no steep watershed in the similarity and difference of views held by the different generations. Thus, in trying to find out to what extent people felt themselves to be involved in the system of social administration of the society, we asked 5,000 persons of different ages to answer this question: do they feel that the solution of problems in social life and production depends personally on them? The answer was "yes" from 72.2 per cent of the young, and 77.7 per cent from the older people on social affairs, and 84.6 and 86.2 per cent, respectively, on production matters.

These figures indicate above all that working people of every age are quite broadly involved in running a society in which the bourgeois slogan--"Everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost"--has given way to the socialist slogan: "Man is responsible for everything".

The slight difference in these answers is due to the fact that, after all, the generations have a different place in the administrative structure: the more experienced find themselves on the higher rungs. But the difference is not all that great, which means that our society is run by fairly efficient mechanisms enab-

ling all the categories of the able-bodied population to voice their views and to influence ^{the} / adoption of administrative decisions.

Other facts provide similar evidence. Young people (under the age of 30) make up 8.2 per cent of the total number of deputies in the National Assembly, 24.1 per cent in the regional people's councils, 23.4 per cent in the community councils, and 19.7 per cent in the district councils. Young people have also been elected to Bulgaria's State Council, to all other government bodies and to administrative and executive organs of the people's councils.

Let us now consider the attitudes of the various generations to general human phenomena, including ontogenetic ones.¹ At the top of the list for all the generations was the birth of one's first child, and for the elderly, the birth of one's first grandchild. That was followed by marriage, i.e., the establishment of solid ties by the individual with the life of another. There appeared to be at, first sight, no differences between the generations, but a closer look shows that the young tend to invest these events with a somewhat more different meaning than do the older people.

Young people strive for more harmonious relations between the spouses, and young men and women regard each other as equal partners seeking to help each other to attain the fullest possible self-expression. Young families tend to give more attention to bringing up children with a wider range of interests and general culture than to their economic security. The child is regarded

as a potential friend, and as the heir of the individual's spiritual, rather than material, wealth. Things used to be somewhat different in the past when people defined priorities for their children as follows: first, the ethics of behaviour; second, material welfare; third, education and occupational training. The young people now range the tasks in a different order: education and occupational training, the ethics of behaviour, the development of general culture and interests, and lastly concern for material security. This change of priorities has an important message: the greater material security, higher standards of education, and the young generation's active striving for the individual's all-round self-expression.

Linked to these factors appears to be a tendency for parental influence to decline in the young people's choice of way in life, their greater independence, and freedom in moral options. Parents do, of course, have the decisive say in a child's enrolment at secondary school, but young people now tend to take advice less frequently than before when choosing an occupation; they take even less advice when deciding to go to a higher school, and hardly ever, when deciding to marry. So the mentor relationship tends to give way to the dialogue relationship.


In other words, from the moral standpoint, the young generation is brought up to years in greater freedom. But we must insist that the process is not a positive one through and through. Thus, the urge for independence may turn out to be disrespect for others and older people, and release from sexual preconceptions -- abuse of this new "freedom" and licence.

This makes it important to regularly study the processes and phenomena occurring in the sphere of ethics, to spot new, nascent things that distinguish today's youth, including young workers, from the older generations. The conclusions this analysis produces should be used in practical terms to create the working and living conditions young men and women need, to organise their leisure and recreation rationally, to improve the educational activities of families, schools, work collectives and civic organisations.

What conclusion does all that suggest? I think it is that there is no conflict of generations as such in socialist Bulgaria, while the differences are perfectly natural and do not result in any serious sharpening of relations between them. I believe that in the long run--as our society is perfected--there will be a growing understanding between people of the different generations, but the natural contradictions between the generations will never quite disappear, as otherwise there would be no progressive development.

* * *

We hope that the facts and figures taken from life under socialism today will give readers who have written to us a picture of the actual condition of young people in the socialist society.



¹ Meaning the milestones in a person's life: start and finish of course at secondary and higher school, first job, first wage, first product of one's own creative effort, membership in the YCL, receipt of passport, accrual of full civil rights, army service, first election, first sexual intercourse, marriage, birth of first child, one's own first flat, etc.--Ed.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA KURUMU
TÜSTAV

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The Communists and Youth

NEW APPROACHES OFFER BETTER PROSPECTS

Why have few new people joined the Swiss Party of Labour since 1968? What do the party organisations do in order not to appear to be closed sects of sorts in the eyes of the new recruits? These are but two questions out of a host raised in the report by the youth commission of the SPL Central Committee to the 13th Party Congress (1987). The Swiss Communists' concern for this state of affairs found expression precisely in the formation of the commission, which was asked to analyse the problems and mood of the younger generation and also the possibilities for the party to interact with it and ways of attaining the goal.

WMR editors asked Anjuska Weil, a member of the Political Bureau of the SPL CC who heads the youth commission, to speak about the conclusions drawn from that analysis. We also asked Alain Bringolf, SPL CC member and a municipal council leader in the small town of La Chaux-de-Fonds, to share with our readers the concrete experience of the work conducted by the local party organisation among young people.

Anjuska Weil: We Are Not Enemies, to Say the Least

The influence exercised by the party is not the same in different cantons of the Swiss Confederation. The Young Communist League is fairly active in the German-speaking part of the country, Geneva and the Vaud canton. The tangible difference in political and language traditions between different regions also affects the mood and behaviour of the young people and their attitude to the Communists.

For example, in the early 1980s there were clashes between the right-wing bourgeois authorities and violently rebellious

youth in Zurich, the country's financial centre. Brought to despair by their hopeless attempts to find jobs or inexpensive housing and by the indifference shown by the authorities to their needs, young people from the poorer strata took to the streets.

At that time we sought to support their just demands and charges made against the existing system and univocally denounced police repression. Without trying to curry favour with them, we sought to establish the first links of fruitful dialogue with young people.

It^{is}/hard to say whether our partners were influenced in any way. At any rate, none of them joined our party. We now meet at various undertakings, demonstrations ^{of} international solidarity or against the arbitrariness of the authorities, and during other actions. And I feel we are not enemies, to say the least. But is it enough? Or will we be able to accomplish something bigger?

Our commission members are of the opinion that people in their twenties are now more inclined to be individualistic and conformist. Some young people have espoused neoconservative sentiments and convictions. These people have been "programmed" to make a career and to succeed in life as they put it. This holds true both for those who come from middle-class families and for those from the working class families.

Some, however, do not confine themselves to striving after personal success and are not afraid of openly criticising the existing system. Their number is comparatively small. They, too,

often tell us that what the Communists suggest is on the whole correct and yet for more than sixty years now we have been unable to translate our suggestions into life. Under the impact of such sentiments young boys and girls often swing to extreme radicalism and eventually join marginal groupings.

We think that both our party itself and its work with youth should be seriously renewed. In our complicated and controversial world people rarely come to consistent political struggle and the mastering of the Marxist world outlook in a straightforward way. More often than not it is through emotional shocks, a search for answers to questions besetting young people and involvement in concrete actions by various social movements. It seems to me that we Communists will have no real rapport with the youth unless we pay more attention to these movements and be more active in them.

I mean here the solidarity actions with the peoples of Central America, South Africa and Palestine suffering from oppression and imperialist aggression and also solidarity with immigrant workers and political refugees from other countries in Switzerland itself. Hatred towards them kindled by the ruling bourgeoisie often evokes the opposite reaction among young people rejecting (irrespective of their social status) such a patent and humiliating manifestation of injustice. Problems of war and peace and environmental protection are now the concern of people of all ages, especially the younger ones, who readily join the ranks of the antiwar and ecological movements.

This is the reserve, from which we can and should derive fresh forces. At the same time, the analysis carried out by our commission shows that many politically active young boys and girls working in different initiative groups and committees are loath to join any party, and the SPL is no exception. Lengthy and patient persuasion is called for to convince them that their work within the party can be useful and effective.

Who then do we find among our new recruits? For the most part they are students and hired labourers, least of all those who are traditionally referred to as the working class. Quite a few come from mixed families, with one parent being a foreigner, or from immigrant workers' families. Many of them are full of enthusiasm characteristic of their age and fresh ideas on problems, such as, for example, the effect of scientific and technological progress on social life.

We deem it a task of paramount importance to promote the inflow of young people to the party. The Young Communist League is of help in this: its activists find it easier to find a common language with their age-mates for they know better youth problems and feel what forms of work can attract people. And still we are in no hurry to invite these activists to join our ranks. They are of greater use to our common cause as members of the Young Communist League. Young people willingly take part in preparing and conducting annual festivals of the party press and in supporting the Communists in solidarity committees and antiwar movements.

In the cantons and regions with practically no Young Communists new recruits to the party primarily come from various traditional and unconventional social movements. Those who show concern for the development of our society, for the situation and the needs of the people get to know the programmatic goals of our party, its analysis of the situation and activity and take part in individual actions. Some of them, though not many, join the party ranks afterwards.

Alain Bringolf: New Trend in Membership

We can hardly say that the La Chaux-de-Fonds party organisation makes any special efforts to attract young people. For about a decade now we have been trying to pursue the policy of utmost openness and broad cooperation with other forces not necessarily sharing our views. It should be said that the young people positively prefer this policy.

To my mind, they are reluctant to join the Communists for several reasons. To begin with, they refrain from joining any organisation whatsoever, especially the SPL which maintains friendly relations with other communist parties, including those in the socialist countries, where until quite recently the situation was far from perfect. Our banner does not always seem attractive.

This is not to say, however, that we are going to furl it. Far from it: we have openly stated and continue stating our aims and what we fight for. But in our contacts with people we try to avoid abstract theorising and doctrinaire lecturing. We discuss

concrete problems of concern to the people, including the young people. Needless to say, this is easier done on a regional level than on the national one.

Using this advantage, the Communists of our party organisation engage in active dialogue with all those disposed to it. We do not impose on them our precepts or solutions but look for them together with our interlocutors who agree with us if only in one thing, namely, that capitalism offers no real prospects to the people. Those who cooperate with the SPL reject the omnipotence of money, especially manifest in Switzerland. An anticapitalist understanding is already something, from which we proceed to discuss how to act and what ways and means of struggle to choose.

In our analytical and political work we try to show clearly the interdependence of different problems and to explain the integral concept of social progress. This enables us to connect logically all sorts of local and temporal problems with the social system itself, that is, with capitalism and its immanent evils.

However, it is our profound conviction that this analysis should be carried out only through dialogue and an exchange of ideas. Young people willing to engage in a discussion hate to have absolute truths thrust upon them, even if these are indisputable for us. It is highly important to let everybody speak up, to hear the arguments of our partners and to compare them with ours, before arriving at conclusions.

I recall a young man telling our party section meeting not so long ago why he was with us. Searching for answers to problems besetting him, he turned to various forces from the (Trotskyists) Revolutionary Marxist League to the ecologists. It was only among the Communists that he found genuine understanding and felt that he could say what he wanted without coming up against a biased attitude, that those people wanted to listen to him and to look for solutions together with him.

Such an approach to youth proved fruitful. But it primarily attracted students who, apart from party activities and meetings, had a rich intellectual and cultural life of their own. Unfortunately, the situation among the workers is not so promising. Why so?

For far too long we have been telling the people that the problems of their working conditions and wages would be at least partially resolved as soon as they gave support to the party and voted for it during elections. Today, we see that we were wrong. The party can only give correct guidelines of struggle to be waged by the workers themselves in close contact with other social forces rather than single-handed.

To a certain extent, the working class movement in Switzerland has been disoriented. For years on end its only objective was to get as much as possible from the industrial boom, which took place in nearly all West European countries in the post-war period. At the same time it failed to consider the problems of participating in production management and sharing the responsibility for the state of the economy. We are pondering over

these problems today, eager to analyse them in depth and to work out wider approaches. It should be said that our efforts are evoking response primarily among young people who are not disillusioned with the bitter experience of the past, which had pushed many older people out of the political mainstream.

As far as I can judge, this readiness to conduct an open and unbiased dialogue will help the Communists to overcome gradually the painful process of aging, which has struck some West European communist parties, including the SPL. In the past few years the situation in our town has virtually been reversed. The new recruits to the La Chaux-de-Fonds party organisation are almost exclusively young people and those in the 30 to 35 age group, while the people advanced in age are in smaller numbers.

Four years ago, it took us great efforts to make up our lists for communal or national elections, whereas at the very first meeting which discussed the problem this year twenty people expressed readiness to be on the SPL list, the overwhelming majority of them being young Communists. We now face an entirely different task, that of seeing to it that the veterans do not find themselves forgotten. As a matter of fact, the age problem is no longer a headache for our party organisation.

Today, we do not seek to enlist new party members at all costs. It is more important, from our point of view, to direct the young people's energy to progressive and socially useful undertakings. Let them engage in concrete actions and campaigns together with us or in parallel. Time will show whether they eventually join our ranks or not. Young people are aware of such an informal approach and appreciate it.

Let me cite some of their actions here. The townsfolk take an active part in different demonstrations against xenophobia and in support of the rights of immigrant workers, of whom there are many in La Chaux-de-Fonds. The people, especially young ones, keenly responded to injustice suffered by the bank personnel forced by the administration to work at night without corresponding remuneration. A mass demonstration of protest was held in their support. Young boys and girls eagerly take up environmental protection problems. Even though the ecologists are active in the town, they nevertheless often turn to us. They apparently find it reasonable that the Communists do not confine themselves to calls to safeguard, say, the forests but put the problem in the context of the vital interests of the working people and the entire population.

Young political activists learn much about the SPL through mutual efforts in these and other directions, getting to know Communists in person. We invite our new friends to our party meetings. They come, listen and draw conclusions. Some never come back again, while others return again and again, take part in our actions and in the long run become close to the party and even join its ranks.

But this spontaneous inflow of new members is hardly reliable without systematic education, first and foremost, in the form of problem discussions. We seek to avoid the notorious "stiffness", which, regrettably, is still characteristic of some of our party functionaries and may scare away the young people for a long time.

if not forever. It seems that we have managed to avoid it in La Chaux-de-Fonds, which, I believe, has also contributed to the change for the better.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

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News and Views

YOUTH AND SOCIETY TODAY

Valentin Falin Addresses

International Discussion Club on Youth Issues

Moscow, July 1988

Shorthand report (abridged)

Youth issues have become, or promise to become, the most involved in many countries, especially the Third World with its baby boom. The average age of the Indian population, for instance, keeps well below 30. As more and more people inhabit this world, they face ever more problems, and get more flustered with them day in, day out.

Our old experience of work with the young generation no longer works today. At best, it helps us to avoid some mistakes--but it offers few or no positive solutions, with the problems being of an entirely different nature. What we want here is a new approach.

To find that approach is one of the most difficult tasks. The present-day community addresses its younger members only in a predicament. Too often, we ignored the youth altogether. We didn't help the young generation when we didn't need its support, its fresh, dynamic enthusiasm.

That might well be because for too long, those who stood at the helm were not very young, to put it mildly, and lacked vision. There was a telling joke current at the time: young people are never entrusted with important business because oldsters are afraid the young will cope with it.

The Soviet Communist Party had its national conference last June. It approved the idea to draw a Youth Act, which would regulate the relations of our community as a whole with its young members.

Many Soviet young people have aberrated views due to the

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peaceful, goodneighbourly spirit, the world will never see another war.

The perestroika concept took initial shape in April 1985. The 27th CPSU Congress further developed it in 1986, and the subsequent plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee took up the task. Now, the 19th Party Conference has just finished. As all those events took place, the Communist Party leadership always kept in mind that the Party policy was meant mainly for the young, that they will enjoy most of its fruits. So the young work for themselves, in the first place, when they do their bit for perestroika.

Spectacular change will not come today or tomorrow. We have to wait for five or seven, maybe ten years. But we already feel trends for improvement. They will convince each and every one by the mere fact they are here, to quote Lenin. When such trends grow visible enough, we won't have to do so much talking and persuading as now.

To elaborate new thinking is the intellectual part of the perestroika effort. New thinking means revolutionary reappraisal of all outdated concepts in many fields: the environment, nationalities policy, interstate relations, and so on, and so forth.

Not all are willing to recognise that such reappraisals are vital today. The West is especially sceptical about it. But it takes more than one country, or group of countries, to restructure global political, economic and national relations. They will be truly updated when the whole world joins hands in the effort. Young people must be in its vanguard.

We have to say in this connection that the young are responsible for the future, for succession in the cause of past and present generations. There is a major predicament here: the paths that lead to the future are yet untrodden, and the ways of the past no longer suit us. Young people want to blaze their own trail. At least, they do here, in the Soviet Union. The future alone can tell whether their trail will be the right way. At any rate, theirs is a praiseworthy quest.

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pose than to answer. To answer them is all the harder since scientists estimate 70 per cent of all human decisions as wrong. But we can't afford any more blunders. Our social systems have already made too many.

So we have to be wise. And we can become wise only when we pool our intellectual potentials to think at all problems together. The opposites do not eliminate each other: they complement each other, said Niels Bohr, a wise man if there ever was one.

And something else. It isn't all that difficult to make leading officials replaceable. The recent Party conference appointed ten years as the longest term of office. It isn't difficult to open the way to ruling posts for young people, either. It's far more of a challenge to make young people follow a constructive ideal. That's a really formidable task, and demands true expertise, because young people take things tongue-in-cheek, especially where older generations' initiatives are concerned. Young people first say a flat "no", and only then consider all pros and cons. They see all things as clouds, and only later discern the silver lining.

In the Soviet community, older and younger generations share the awareness of their responsibility to the time we live in. Time can be man's friend and foe alike. Time doesn't know how to keep neutral when we waste it. It leaves us never to return.

But back to constructive ideals able to arouse young people's enthusiasm. Perestroika is just such an ideal. As programme of action, accompanied by actual democratic reform, perestroika gives our young generation a chance comparable to the one the young generation of the 1910s and 20s received with the October Revolution. I hope our young people will use their present chance to the utmost.

(APN, July 27. In full.)

THE PARTY

The Communists and Youth

RESTORING TRUST

Angel Negri

CC and National Propaganda Commission member,
Communist Party of Argentina (PCA)

The future of every nation depends on the road the young people take. In Argentina young boys and girls from 15 to 24 constitute an important productive and intellectual force: the country, inhabited by about 30 million, has 4.5 million young people, of whom 1,180,000 are hired workers and over 2,300,000 are students of secondary and higher educational establishments. They are the more dynamic participants in social and anti-imperialist battles. The younger generation, as a rule, tends to be willing selflessly to take up arms and to be impatient, which accounts for every party's attempts to win it over to its side.

The present-day political process in Argentina is developing in the new circumstances and yet bears the heavy burden of the past.

To this day the popular forces are in a state of disillusionment after the 1976 defeat, which resulted in the establishment of the military dictatorship. That happened against the backdrop of the mounting mass anti-imperialist movement the most significant in this century. It was precisely the young people who were then in the front ranks of the fighters for democracy and

socialism. Nevertheless a fascist-military coup took place for several reasons, the main one being the lack of unity of action by revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces.

Upon assuming power, the dictatorship dealt cruel blows at all its potential opponents, first and foremost, the younger generation, taking a toll of thousands missing, murdered and tortured¹ and thousands upon thousands becoming sceptical about being able to carry through positive changes in Argentinian society. Dictatorship had sown despondency and decadence among a considerable section of the young people. But new champions came to replace those disillusioned, killed or missing under repression.

Young boys and girls who entered political life already in the years of the dictatorship differ from the earlier generations by their desire to analyse today's problems in depth and critically and by their revolutionary enthusiasm. Their self-expression was often manifested in forms of opposition that differed from those of the past. Their songs, folk and even folk rock music were full of social protest. We are today to make use of the potential of that section of the young people, too, involving them in social and political struggles.

How well the Communists will be able to cope with this task largely depends on the make-up of our party, the correctness of its chosen course and on whether its ideas and slogans attract young Argentinians who feel the pressure of the crisis experienced by the country.

Today the Communist Party of Argentina is analysing the past in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, as has been ref-

lected in the work of its latest, 16th Congress (November 1986). The party charted out ways of attaining national liberation and the victory of socialism, raised anew the problem of power, tying it to the idea of the effectiveness of the vanguard. After all, it is an open secret that in the preceding period the Communists were not firm enough on the issue of uniting the popular masses. Calling for a "broad unity", we for the most part preferred alliances with bourgeois political groupings, ignoring the role of other left-wing organisations.

That lowered to a certain extent the trust in the Communists, among a considerable section of the younger generation too. Many young boys and girls said at that period that they saw no difference between the policy pursued by bourgeois organisations and that of our party. It should be admitted that their conclusions were not groundless. And today nothing is more important to us than to restore the trust of the young people and all the Argentinians in the Communists and other left-wing forces within the broad liberation front.

The future of the liberation process in this country depends on the working class, the rest of the working people and on the strengthening of left, revolutionary tendencies among the Peronists, the radicals, the supporters of the Partido Intransigente (Irreconcilability Party) and other political organisations. Conditions are taking shape for forming a national and social emancipation front involving broad popular, anti-imperialist and democratic forces. The struggle for economic demands is also on the

upswing. It takes different forms--strikes, marches, demonstrations and the takeover of plants. On the basis of their own political experience the masses are becoming aware of the need for joint actions. The people, and especially the younger generation, are becoming increasingly convinced of the effectiveness of the road proposed by the left. Young boys and girls are coming to the fore of the social struggle, first and foremost of the working class movement, producing new dynamic leaders.

That is why we are paying special attention to young workers. They are called upon to play a significant role in efforts to promote class unity and in stimulating party activity among the industrial workers and those employed in the services and trade. Young boys and girls are playing a greater part in social movements and mass organisations, in interest groups and residential communities, engaged in organising "townships of the poor". Many of these are setting up youth commissions.

We have no doubt that eventually the slogan "Liberation and Socialism" will win to its side the youth movement as a whole and above all the young workers. In this way we will be able to overcome the negative experience of the past and mistrust of the party. We believe that we will be able to cope with this task effectively only when we get a clear idea of the young people's interests and demands and start working to promote their concrete aims linking this with the national and social liberation movement.

What do the young workers show concern for today? In the economic field, the government, representing the interests of dependent capitalism, proclaimed the course towards the "modernisation"

of the system, adjustment to the international division of labour, privatisation of state enterprises and granting privileges to big local and foreign capital. The ruling elite continue paying interest on the country's immoral and unlawful external debt. All this leads to growing unemployment. The number of jobless reaches 1.5 million, with the problem being especially acute among the young people, who are often unable to find their first jobs. The younger generation is especially hard hit by the sharply falling living standards among the working people. Lack of housing is another acute problem. Young boys and girls take an active part in seizing vacant lands in the zone of Greater Buenos Aires, building temporary dwellings there and organising self-defence against the encroachments by the authorities.

The students and the intelligentsia form a dynamic section of Argentina's youth movement. Students' centres, regional federations and the national university federation itself are active in the political struggle, opposing on an ever expanding scale conciliatory and rightist attitudes. Students are working to bring the educational process closer to the needs of the country's development, to democratise the secondary and higher education system and to take an active part in university and vocational school self-management so as to make them serve national and social liberation. Unitary tendencies are fairly strong in this milieu. The Broad Students' Front named after Santiago Pampillion, a student who fell victim to General Onganía's tyranny in 1966, has

left its mark through the joint efforts of the Communists and other democratic circles within it.

A grave situation exists in Argentina's farming world. The merger of part of the landowners with the big bourgeoisie, local and foreign monopolies resulted in the further stratification of the peasantry and the growth of the stratum of peasants with little land, who have practically lost all chances of earning their living. Young peasants have already abandoned hope of retaining their plots of land. Marginalisation lies in store for them in towns. Under the circumstances we bitterly admit that work in the countryside is the weakest point in the activity of both the Young Communist Federation (YCF) and the party. It is important for the Communists to identify with the concerns of farm workers, to set forth concrete tasks of struggle and to help them regain hope. The Communist Party of Argentina believes that land should primarily be given to the poorest peasants, including the young ones. This is one of the points of the agrarian reform proposed by the party with the major aim of putting the country's agriculture on a cooperative basis.

One the whole the young people vigorously respond to social injustice. That is why they are broadly involved in upholding human rights. Young boys and girls support the demands made by the Plaza de Mayo Mothers, the organisation uniting the mothers of those who are missing (numbering more than 30,000). Young people are giving them all sorts of help. No undertaking of this organisation, as well as of the Human Rights League or Argentina's

Human Rights Assembly takes place without the participation of young people with most diverse political and social backgrounds. Efforts are being stepped up to ensure the release of political prisoners kept behind the bars since the time of the dictatorship and also of the victims of the present government. Young Communists actively oppose attempts to clear the military guilty of repressions of the responsibility for the crimes they perpetrated.


Foreign debt and growing dependence are another problem concerning the younger generation. The sense of national dignity and national self-awareness are deeply rooted in its midst. At their age young people feel most acutely the injustice of the situation in which Argentina, a rich country with a hard-working population, is becoming with every passing day more and more dependent on international banks as a result of the Alfonsin government's blind obedience to the IMF diktat. That is why the young people actively support the Communist demand to refuse paying interest on foreign debt and the debt itself, aware that this would make it possible to resolve many economic and social problems.

Young Argentinians empathise with the troubles of other nations. For seven years now supporters of the Young Communist Federation have regularly been forming units for coffee beans harvesting in Nicaragua, which have become a tradition and a brilliant school of internationalist education. Special mention should be made of the fact that in January 1988 volunteer units were formed, this time of representatives of various youth organisations,

rather than of those of the Young Communist Federation alone. It was called The Malvinas to Argentina and Agustin Tosco (named after a major trade union leader who died in 1975) United Brigades.

Together with the entire nation young people come out in favour of restoring Argentina's national sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands within the framework of general actions to turn the South Atlantic into a demilitarised nuclear-free zone. Waging peace also means for our young boys and girls organising campaigns of solidarity with the peoples of Central America, Chile and Paraguay languishing under the yoke of bloody dictatorships and also protest actions against pressure by the US and its interference in regional affairs.

Internationalism, readiness to respond to appeals for help from fraternal peoples, and the sense of national self-consciousness displayed by the young people make the Communists confident that the younger generation of Argentina will fight for democracy and genuine national and social liberation with even greater success.



¹ According to the official data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, people from 16 to 30 predominate in the list of victims of the 1973-1983 military regimes and account for nearly 70 per cent of the total number--Ed.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

Agustus 83

ACTING VIGOROUSLY TODAY

Miroslav Stepan

President,

International Union of Students (IUS)

In the second half of the 20th century, there has been a marked growth of interest in the role and place of higher education in the life of the society. This is due to the rapid development of science^{and technology,} which posed the acute problem of putting their advances to use. On the one hand, the revolution in the sphere of production has created unheard-of prospects for improving the people's material life and enriching their spiritual life. On the other hand, scientific and technical progress placed at the service of monopoly capital and imperialism led to more intense exploitation, aggravated the social ills and, what is more, has pushed civilisation itself to the very brink of destruction. To avert the self-destruction of the human race is a task of truly historic importance.

Young people have an important place in the struggle to avert a thermonuclear cataclysm and ensure lasting peace. Those who are now in the lecture-halls will live and work in the coming century. Their creativity will flower and their minds mature at the beginning of the 21st century. But for that which will largely determine on whose side today's students will be in the confrontation between labour and capital, a contest on whose outcome the very future of this planet of ours depends, / ^{foundations} are

being laid just now. That is why it is so important to try to examine how the current socio-political processes are reflected in the minds of students and what is the response to these processes on the part of the International Union of Students (IUS), one of their most active and massive organisations.

The voices of students have long been heard in the social arena. However, they have not always rung in unison. The power-lines of political confrontation frequently tend to group students at opposite poles. Students will be found not only in the ranks of fighters against exploitation and predatory wars, but also, regrettably, among those who advocate an unjust order. Political inexperience frequently carries students into diverse ultra-leftist and ultra-rightist outfits.

Still, every stage in historical development has its main trend, and it can be brought out through a thorough analysis of the student body as a special socio-demographic group: its numerical make-up, age and sex structure, social origin, social status, and stage of socialisation. These parameters must naturally be scrutinised together, against the background and in the context of the social system of a given country or a group of countries.¹

¹ This article considers the social portrait of students in the capitalist world. In discussing the problems in the practical activity of student organisations, there is also a description of their specific features in the socialist states, which are predetermined by the fact that there is no system of exploitation or antagonistic classes in these countries.

At the present stage, the social portrait of students is determined by the fact that the acute demand for skilled specialists generated by the scientific and technological revolution has led to an accelerated development of higher education. From 1965 to 1977, the student body has more than doubled, from 19.5 million to 42.0 million. In the capitalist world, this quantitative change has led to a qualitative change in the structure of the student body. There has been a growth in the stratum of those coming both from the petty bourgeoisie and from the midst of the workers, farmers and artisans.² This has gradually eroded the caste character of bourgeois higher education, which is becoming socially multi-layered and is ceasing to be a male privilege.³

The deepening political differentiation of students is a direct outcome of these changes. At the same time, the young people's common pursuits, together with their territorial

² From 1957 to 1976, according to UNESCO the number of male students coming from the "professional class" in Britain (a category in which UNESCO includes skilled workers, artisans, engineers, employees and other "middle strata" of the gainfully employed population) went up from 25.7 to 57.5 per cent, and from non-skilled worker families, from 0.6 to 1.4 per cent. For female students, the figures for the former category were, respectively, 9.9 and 38 per cent. In 1957, no female students came from non-skilled worker families, and in 1976 the figure came to 0.8 per cent (see Higher Education in Europe. Published by the European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES) of UNESCO, July-September 1981, Vol. VI, No. 3, p. 54).

³ In 1977, women made up 42 per cent of the total number of higher-school students.

concentration, produce a manifest community of interests, which is expressed, in particular, in the emergence of purely student organisations: political, cultural, educational, athletic, etc.

That does not, of course, suggest that higher-school students have some "supra-class" position. Their political orientation is hardly ever shaped spontaneously. But because of the mentality of their age and the ongoing process of socialisation, students tend to express their political sympathies and antipathies much more emphatically than do full-fledged intellectuals. As Lenin once stressed, students are "the most responsive section of the intelligentsia".⁴

It is important to bear all this in mind because attempts have been made to hyperbolise the role of students in history. The Italian Professor Gianni Statera, for instance, insists that "a Bosnian student triggered off the First World War". He also asserts that in the pre-Bismarckian period, Burschenschaft, a student union, had "influenced the social and political life of the German states". Finally, the Italian Risorgimento (the national movement for the country's unification and liberation from the foreign yoke) was fostered, he says, by students and young intellectuals.⁵

⁴ See V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 45.

⁵ Gianni Statera, Death of a Utopia. The Development and Decline of Student Movements in Europe, New York, 1975, p. 45.

There is no scientific ground at all for such assertions. It is the working class that is the motive force of modern history, and it is the contacts and interaction with the proletariat and its political organisations that makes youth protest more effective and helps to develop that healthy democratic instinct which is so characteristic of the young generation.

Having said that, one must not ignore the social instability and vagueness of the ideological and political stand taken by some students, which produce an inclination for extremist solutions. Those are the weaknesses on which the ideologists of capitalism rely in their efforts to get the educated young person of our day away from the class struggle and, wherever possible, to recruit him or her for their own political reserve.

Thus, in the spring of 1983, a section of the French students incited by reactionary circles took part in demonstrations against a reform of the higher education system. However, it is the view of progressive public opinion that the proposed measures were designed to ensure social justice, democracy, a higher level of professional training and scientific research at the universities to meet the requirements of the country as a whole. That is why there is good ground to say that those demonstrations were effectively an attempt to convert the students into a tool for destabilising the left-wing government coalition.⁶

⁶ Let us note that the right-wing forces managed to secure support in only 30 of the country's 69 universities, and that the demonstrations involved just over one per cent of the students (see International Herald Tribune, May 25, 1983).

The other, and equally dangerous side of the coin is the "de-politicisation" and "de-ideologisation" of students, which entail attempts to lead the young astray from acute social and ideological problems in the capitalist society and to damp down their protests against the existing order. Whenever their indignation cannot be contained or toned down, an effort is made to blame it on the "generation conflict". Everything is being done to strip the young people's protests of their anti-imperialist aspects, to isolate the students from the ongoing political struggle and to direct their efforts for the attainment of purely cultural or syndicalist goals.

Playing up the young people's love of freedom and "rebellious spirit", bourgeois ideologists seek to push them into "autonomous" action, so sending them along a channel which poses no danger to the ruling circles. In the process, the students are frequently depicted as a separate class, which is even more "revolutionary" than the proletariat.

The idea of a "student revolution" has nothing in common with the young generation's true interests, which are closely bound up with the struggle of all the working people for the right to life, to work, and for social and economic justice. Those who talk about a "student revolution" want to keep the students divided, to confuse young minds and deliberately to send them into action that is doomed to defeat, isolating them from the progressive movements and frequently also compromising them in the eyes of broad public circles as a whole.

Let us recall, for instance, the stormy developments which occurred from 1968 to 1971 in the universities of the United States, France, the FRG, Italy, Japan and other developed capitalist countries. They showed how dangerous it is for the student movement to fall under the influence of left extremists (anarchists, Trotskyites, etc.). That is when there was a spread in popularity among young people of ideologists like Herbert Marcuse,⁷ whose purpose is to range youth action against the struggle of the working class and all the other working people.

One should reckon with the fact, of course, that the "student riots" of that period did not spring from a vacuum. They were an objective effect of the further sharpening of the social contradictions in the capitalist world. A large mass of students feel the effects of inflation and the cuts in appropriations for social needs for the sake of further militarisation. Indeed, many of them are faced with the prospect of unemployment while still in the lecture halls.

In the capitalist countries, students are increasingly aware that the intelligentsia, of which they are to become a part, is ceasing to be a privileged stratum in the society,

⁷ An American philosopher of German origin, who claimed that the revolutionary role of the working class had passed to the radical strata of the students and the intelligentsia, to "outsiders" (the lumpen, the persecuted national minorities, etc.), a conception which largely determined the ideology of the left extremists in the capitalist countries.

that it is being subjected to the same kind of exploitation as the working class, and that is what carries it closer to the latter. A sizable part of it merges with the working class and takes a progressive stand. Spreading knowledge of the conditions in which students live and study in the socialist countries gradually gives them an awareness that the absence of antagonistic classes and the system of exploitation helps to assert the actual equality of all the members of the society, gives free access to higher education and provides real guarantees that the acquired knowledge can be applied in practice.

It is natural, of course, that the awareness of the interconnection between capitalist exploitation and the arms race, on the one hand, and the defects of the system of higher education, dwindling scholarship funds, etc., on the other, does not dawn on the student mass overnight. But as this process advances, the conservative and reactionary forces find it ever harder to distract young men and women from participation in public life in and outside the higher schools and to give them the wrong bearings.

All of this explains why it is so important to help the young overcome the effects of the demagogic flirtation of bourgeois ideologists and politologists with the young, and their fear of the repressions to which the authorities frequently resort. It is quite realistic to expect this problem to be solved. Let us recall Lenin's idea that the bourgeois "policy of alternating brutal repression with Judas kisses is doing its work and revolutionising the mass of students".⁸

⁸ V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 6, p. 81.

Indeed, students have taken an ever more resolute stand for their rights: academic, material, national and democratic. They have gone into the broad arena of social life, merging their struggle with that of the other social strata. But if this still largely quantitative change is to develop into a qualitative one, the social causes underlying the student protest need to be analysed in depth. This will help to overcome its frequently spontaneous character and show the students the role they could play in historical development.

Students are at the stage of socialisation at which the formation of the individual as the object and subject of social processes is in the main completed. One could easily understand how important it is to inculcate in the minds of young people on the threshold of adult life the moral tenet that the very concept of "individual" entails a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the peoples and countries and to help them overcome the bourgeois idea that "the man in the street" is powerless. This should help young people to gain an insight into the substance of phenomena and be prepared to tackle many of the tasks which at first sight may appear to lie outside the ambit of their immediate interests. Active participation in social life can and frequently does help a young person to find the place for applying his capabilities in the present and consciously to shape his or her own future.

The defence of peace and the involvement of students in the growing and strengthening anti-war coalition is now undoubtedly the problem which induces the students to overcome

the disarray in their ranks. Practice itself shows the promising perspectives of this line. In the ranks of the students' anti-war protest are Communists and Social Democrats, liberals and pacifists, a large part of the conservative-minded young people, that is, all those who have come to understand that the only way to get an increase in appropriations for education is to stop the stockpiling of the means of destruction.

However, those who oppose war are not always motivated by political or social considerations. Action in defence of peace is also taken by young people who are naturally fearful for their own life and for that of their kin. In other words, the cementing goal--to safeguard peace--is crystallised under the impact of diverse factors.

The present conditions, which are further complicated by the sharpening of the international situation, throw an even stronger light on the potentialities of the student movement. They make clear the capacity of the democratic forces to overcome the weaknesses and vacillations of young people from the petty-bourgeois strata, to neutralise the extremist trends, to unite the student body and to direct its energy to the struggle against the threat of war, and for social justice. The qualities which characterise the progressive students of our day are boundless dedication to this struggle, moral purity and an urge for constant humanistic activity.

Forward-looking young people have always sought to coordinate their actions. The earliest attempts were made at the end of the past century, when an International Congress of Socialist Students was convened in Geneva on December 8, 1893. In a letter of greetings, Frederick Engels called on its participants to develop among their comrades a sense, "an awareness that from their ranks must emerge the proletariat of mental labour that will stand shoulder to shoulder and in the same ranks with their brother workers ... and play a considerable role in the imminent revolution".⁹

Today, the International Union of Students, which unites 109 organisations from 106 countries,¹⁰ is the biggest and most representative student body. It emerged in 1946, as the democratic forces were consolidated on the crest of the wave of victory over fascism and there was an ever more manifest urge of the peoples to cooperate for peace and progress. The IUS Charter, which was adopted at the time, says: "We students of the world, faithful to the example of the best of our members who died in the fight of the democratic peoples for their liberty, affirm our will to build again a better world desirous of liberty, peace and progress."¹¹

⁹ Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Works, Vol. 22, p. 432 (Russian edition).

¹⁰ Data for December 1980. The Executive Committee has now recommended the admission of four new applicants from four countries at the forthcoming IUS Congress in 1984.

¹¹ This Is the IUS, Published by the International Union of Students, 1979, p. 44.

For nearly four decades now, the IUS has been true to that vow and has consistently and perseveringly worked to translate it into life. At every stage of social development, our Union has concentrated its efforts on the concrete tasks facing the students. Today, it was emphasised in January 1983 at a sitting of the IUS Executive Committee in Athens, the point is to increase "the contribution by the students world over to the struggle alongside their peoples against the danger of nuclear war and aggressive imperialist policies, and for peace, disarmament, national and social liberation, democratic education, and students' rights and interests". This idea has also keynoted the statements by the youth-movement delegates to the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, in Prague.

One of the IUS's important distinctions, as compared with most other international associations, is that it is not individual student organisations acting in this or that country, but their national unions as a whole that are usually members of the IUS. These national unions bring together students irrespective of their party affiliation, religious creed, property status, etc. This warrants the assertion that the IUS represents the standpoint of the broadest student circles, which makes it a truly universal organisation.

The IUS actively cooperates with various democratic organisations: the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Organisation of

Journalists, the World Federation of Scientific Workers, the World Federation of Teachers' Unions, and many others. Since the programme of our Union orients its activity towards problems in education, upbringing, culture and the social sphere, the IUS is involved in the work of UNESCO and the UN Economic and Social Council in which it has consultative status. At the Second Special Session of the UN General Assembly on Disarmament, a representative of our Union was given an opportunity to set forth the views expressed on this issue at numerous student conferences, symposia and discussions. All of this means that we have the right to put up the opinion of students for discussion by authoritative intergovernmental forums considering the global problems of our time.

The struggle to create optimal material conditions for study, to improve the quality of higher education, and to ensure job placement for graduates is the constant sphere of activity both of the national unions and the IUS as a whole. The differences in the higher-school systems which depend on the specific features of the social systems naturally also differentiate the problems with which students and their organisations are daily faced. In the capitalist countries, there is, in particular, a shortage of appropriations--direct outcome of the "missiles instead of scholarships" policy. Despite the fact that, as I have said, the percentage of students from the middle and lower-income strata in higher education has lately been growing, the higher schools continue to be "citadels" of the children of the well-off.

Spokesmen for student organisations have noted that in the capitalist countries curricula are woefully inadequate to present-day requirements. In many cases they are not up to the modern level of knowledge and the advances in science and technology. Wherever efforts are made to raise the standards of the curricula, they are aimed to train specialists for concrete and narrow fields in production. This is often done under pressure from the various monopolies which are able to control the activity of universities and institutes by means of various instruments (membership of supervisory boards, funding, etc.).

The demand for genuine democratic education oriented towards the social interest is the thrust and content of the student action on the national and international levels for university reform, a campaign the IUS has conducted under this slogan: "Education--a Right, Not a Privilege!". A European forum on problems in the social condition of students was held within that framework last February. It was attended by representatives of national student unions and international non-governmental organisations, who discussed ways of improving living and study conditions, and job placement upon graduation. It adopted an address to UNESCO emphasising the need to use the human and material resources now being wasted on the arms race for peaceful purposes, including higher education.¹²

¹² Among the many measures put through within the framework of the campaign aimed to satisfy the basic students' demands were an "International Week of Action on Questions of Education" (November 15-21, 1982), an "International Round Table" (Beirut, March 1982), and a seminar at the Central American University in Costa Rica (August 1982).

Practice in the socialist countries shows that the higher education system can be restructured on democratic lines. In these countries, the students' social activity is a part of the working people's struggle to raise the economy and culture. Students combine study with work and research. They are involved in the administration of higher schools, and have a leading role to play in running organisations which deal with various aspects of study, everyday life, work and recreation. In the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, GDR, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries, students have actively joined in the volunteer labour drive in various sectors of economic construction.

A key feature of the student movement at the present stage, as I have said, is the steadily growing and ever more evident understanding of the incontrovertible fact that the right to study and a fitting place in life can be realistically safeguarded only in the conditions of peace, detente and disarmament. That is why the attention of the IUS is constantly centred on anti-war activity and efforts to arrange broad cooperation among students in the struggle for peace, both on the national and the international levels.

The IUS's initiative in mounting the "Students for Disarmament" campaign has met with a broad response throughout the world: demonstrations and rallies in protest against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe staged within its framework have now rolled across all the continents. In 1981 and 1982, protests against acts which increase the danger of a nuclear

war, and calls for the adoption of disarmament measures rang out at a number of major international meetings organised on the initiative, and with the participation and support of the IUS.¹³ The documents they adopted stressed that it is Washington and its allies that bear the responsibility for stepping up the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race.

Since the latter half of 1982, student anti-war action has become even more vigorous. Demonstrations, peace marches, conferences, festivals, concerts and similar other functions were staged in Austria, Bulgaria, GDR, Greece, India, Mexico, USSR, FRG, Japan and other countries, with the IUS acting as one of the initiators in many cases. There is growing popularity of such new forms of anti-war activity as the campaigns "For Non-Nuclear Universities" and "Medical Students for the Prevention of Nuclear War".

This year has been one of mass action aimed to frustrate NATO's decision to deploy new US medium-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe. Young people in Britain demand: "Scholarships Instead of Missiles", while students in West Germany rally to slogans like "Better Be Active Today Than Radioactive Tomorrow" and "Death Will Be the Winner in the Next War". In

¹³ A "Students for Disarmament" Round Table was held in Nicosia, Cyprus; an "International Student Meeting for Peace, Disarmament and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity" was held in Guadalajara, Mexico; a "Tribunal on US Missiles" sat in Bonn, FRG; and a seminar on the role of students in the struggle for disarmament and socio-economic development was arranged in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

the universities of all the European countries, there are militant calls: "No to Pershing-II and Cruise Missiles in Europe!".

The IUS backs the disarmament proposals put forward by the socialist countries and explains their meaning. That is also the purpose of the IUS's information and propaganda work, as recently exemplified by anti-war pamphlets, special issues of the journal World Student News,¹⁴ Disarmament Bulletin, placards, posters, etc.

The ruling circles of the capitalist countries are seriously alarmed by the growing influence of the IUS¹⁵ and the massive scale of the action by progressive young people and students for peace and social progress, and they are trying very hard to contain and compromise the struggle of IUS-affiliated national unions, to undermine the emerging cooperation between young workers and students and dull the anti-imperialist edge of their actions.

Efforts are simultaneously being made to set up parallel international student organisations, as will be seen from the failed attempts to form a so-called International Student Association, whose "constituent congress" recently convened in Paris ended in the isolation of the sponsors of this splitting

¹⁴ World Student News, the official organ of the IUS, published since 1948 in English, French, Spanish, German and Arabic (the Arabic edition has been temporarily suspended because its editorial offices in Beirut have been destroyed by the Israeli aggressors).

¹⁵ The growth of IUS ranks has been admitted even by Taurus, which expresses the views of an organisation of groups of conservative-minded students from some West European countries (see Taurus, No. 1, 1982, p. 24).

act: the Trotskyite Association of French Students, whose leaders preach "independence from all parties", but who actually serve the reactionary circles, and the leaders of the American Student Association, who maintain contacts with the Washington Establishment.

The basis of the IUS's day-to-day activity is vigorous participation in the offensive carried on by the common front of the peace forces. Progressive students regard themselves as an organic part of the popular anti-war movement of our day. Young men and women in the higher schools are aware that the way to the 21st century--the century in which they are to live, work and fight for the destiny of the globe--runs through peace, disarmament and mutually beneficial cooperation between states and nations. The sense of alarm for their future, for the future of the Earth is embodied in this call of the students of the world: "The Time to Act Is Now!".



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S U P P L E M E N T

x PARTY AND KOMSOMOL IN SOVIET SOCIETY TO-DAY

Y. Ligachev, Secretary, CPSU
Central Committee

(Kommunist No. 13, 1984. In full.)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİHİ
TÜSTAN İRRAŞTIRMAK

PARTY AND KOMSOMOL IN SOVIET SOCIETY TO-DAY

Y. Ligachev, Secretary, CPSU
Central Committee

The Communist Party's direction of the society of developed socialism is increasingly wide-ranging and comprehensive. Its attention is invariably focused on economic problems, the development of productive forces and the improvement of the relations of production. It is exercising a growing influence on all super-structural elements, on ideological and cultural activities, social and political relations, and the performance of public and social organisations.

The important measures taken by the Party to step up youth work and upgrade the guidance of the Young Communist League have been indicative in this sense. These measures have been thoroughly explained and spelled out in the speech made by Konstantin Chernenko, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the National Conference of YCL Organisers of the Armed Forces as well as in the Central Committee's Resolution "On Further Improvement of Party Guidance of the Komsomol and Enhancement of its Role in the Communist Education of Youth".

The Party considers its work with the younger generation to be its strategic priority. In producing its policy documents of basic importance to the Party and Komsomol organisations, the CPSU has proceeded from the recognition of the great part that the youth play in the life of the Soviet state at the present stage. Youth are the most dynamic section of the community. They are our future and, in many respects, our present as well. They make a sizable contribution towards economic, scientific and cultural progress, and are active in promoting the continued refinement of socialist democracy and in building up the nation's defence capability. Now, the way the young people grow up and train themselves and the account they give of themselves are largely essential to the success the Party

and the people are likely to achieve in upgrading developed socialism and to the pace of our advance towards communism.

I.

The place and the role of the young people in the struggle for the social emancipation of the working class and the rest of the working people and in creating of a new type of social order are among the points thoroughly investigated by the fathers of Marxism-Leninism. They attached paramount importance to the young people's active involvement in the revolutionary process. For it is the generations becoming socially active that, as the record of history shows, are capable of joining the class battles with the greatest enthusiasm and energy and reinforcing the contingents of fighters against exploitation, against oppression in every shape or form, for peace, democracy, and socialism.

There is an intimate connection between the youth movement and the revolutionising activities of the advanced contingent of the working class -- the Communist Party. "We are the party of the future", V.I. Lenin wrote about the Bolsheviks, "and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators. We are a party that is waging a self-sacrificing struggle against the old rottenness, and youth is always the first to undertake a self-sacrificing struggle." (Coll. Works, Vol.11, p.354).

The young people's ambition to devote all their energies to the struggle for a revolutionary remaking of the world under the Communist Party's leadership can be achieved in full measure only if the Party itself meets that ambition half-way and if it does everything to support and develop it. That is how our Leninist Party has always acted and how it is acting today.

On the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Party paid special attention to the youth movement. Its Sixth Congress declared, in its Resolution "On Youth Leagues", that the Party supported the revolutionary activity of young workers and peasants and their desire to organise and to form their associations. It

recorded the Party's clear determination to see that the youth organisations acquired a revolutionary, socialist character right from the start and that, while remaining organisationally independent, they came into close contact with the Party, held themselves open to its ideological influence, and banded together.

The record of the revolutionary struggle in this country has borne out the justice of that policy. It provides conclusive evidence to show that a fragmentation of youth organisations and their ideological disunity hamper the development of the young people's class-consciousness and play into the hands of the enemies of socialism. Our class enemies have more than once attempted to belittle the Bolshevik Party's role in the youth movement and pressed for it to be "independent" of, or "equal" to it. Lenin cautioned young people against their "false friends", all those, who, while pretending to defend their interests, were, in actual fact, seeking to use youth people for their own selfish ends, and break them up by creating all kinds of insular youth organisations.

The Party struck out against such attempts with all determination. It made a lot of efforts for the nation's advanced young workers and peasants to create a common youth organisation of a new type for the first time in history -- with communism as its priority and with a membership comprising representatives of the entire young working people.

The creation of the Komsomol was a landmarking event in the history of the Communist Party's relationship with the youth movement, and a qualitatively new stage in its emergence and development. The Communist Party has never looked upon the younger generation as nothing but an object of education. It has always seen it as being actively involved in the creative social endeavour on equal terms with everybody else, and has always helped young people to organise their practical activities, as Lenin put it, "by learning, organising, uniting and fighting..." (Coll. Works, Vol. 31, p. 290).

The history of the Leninist Young Communist League, now having a membership of 42 million, has abundantly proved that this is the type of youth association that best responds to the objectives of the communist education of young people. This common league serves to meet the interests and requirements of various sections of young people. The Komsomol is always looking for an interesting and useful job for each of its contingents to do as well as for appropriate forms of work. But the general content of the activities of each of these contingents and their ideological and political orientation remain common.

As soon as it emerged, the Young Communist League declared its full solidarity with the Party. Having recognised its political leadership, it bound youth fast to the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. On its part, the Party proclaimed right away that its work of directing the Youth League must not and would not take on the character of guardianship or punctilious interference in its work. While faithfully observing that principle, the Party has always concentrated most of its attention on having the Komsomol stand pat by its Marxist-Leninist platform.

Party guidance of the Komsomol has always had a political meaning and has always been exercised by political means. The work of the Komsomol and the education of youth have been considered, in one way or another, by virtually all the Party Congresses in the post-Revolutionary period. Their decisions and the Central Committee resolutions on these matters and the speeches by Party leaders before YCL congresses and other documents formulated the Party's political guidelines which helped it identify the basic trends of its activities at each historical stage in the process of building a socialist society as well as the immediate objectives that the entire young people were to realise.

The political experience of the CPSU indicates that youth work must be based on complete confidence and high requirements, as well as on having young people develop the greatest sense of responsibility for the historical destinies of socialism.

While teaching the young people, the Party has been speaking its mind to them both about their achievements and shortcomings, about negative occurrences in the life of young people and omissions in the work of Komsomol organisations. As Lenin pointed out, "We stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but also for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors! We must not flatter the youth" (Coll. Works, Vol. 23, p. 164). That has become a rule to govern relations between the Party and the Komsomol. The CPSU has gained a wealth of experience in leading the Komsomol's activities in rallying and organising Soviet young people and in their communist education.

Together with the Party, our Komsomol, faithfully fulfilling Lenin's behests, has traversed a great historic road. And, as experience has conclusively demonstrated, the Komsomol owes all of its remarkable accomplishments to the fact that the Party has always competently directed its work, fostered in every way the initiative and autonomy of the Youth League, entrusted great and challenging missions to it, and called on it to attain far-reaching objectives which captured the imagination of young people, made them enthusiastic and inspired them to selfless work and outstanding mass performances.

That is how it has always been in the first years of the Soviet government, during the Civil War, the Great Patriotic War and the nation's peace-time development. That is how it was at the time of building the legendary Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur and launching such projects as the Dnieper Hydro-Electric Power Station and the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works, and at the time of the heroic endeavour to turn up vast tracts of virgin soil. That is how the Party is acting today too. While drawing, with a proper sense of imagination, upon the entire previous experience of work with young people and of leading the Komsomol, the CPSU has been mobilising this country's younger generation for fresh accomplishments.

In this process, our Party considers the fact that the present stage of developed socialism has produced not only the conditions

essential for the all-round development of the rising generation, but also some further problems to deal with in youth work. With the problems of socialist development acquiring greater magnitude and complexity, with the war danger markedly increased and the ideological confrontation of the two social systems drastically sharpened, the questions of moulding new generations of fighters for Communism and making them more active at their work and in political affairs, are more and more coming to the fore as matters of paramount strategic importance.

Along with these objective factors, there are some other reasons behind the Party's special attention to youth problems and Komsomol affairs.

Having made some on-the-spot inquiries, the CPSU Central Committee has established that certain Party committees have slackened their leadership of YCL organisations in recent times. Many regional committees and Central Committees of the Communist Parties of Union Republics have failed, for a number of years, to hear Party Committee reports on the subject at their plenary or board meetings. Party bodies have sometimes been acting very much like guardians of Komsomol organisations. Another extreme has been an elementary lack of consideration for the Komsomol's concerns and affairs. Many local Party and government leaders rarely meet young people and YCL activists.

However, it is not only positive developments, predominant though they are, that occur in the life of youth. There is no conflict of generations in Soviet society and, on the whole, our young people, who have grown up in socialist years, highly value the socialist way of life and are most devoted to Communist ideals, the cause of the Party and the ideals of the October Revolution. Yet, a certain section of youth exhibit lack of discipline, individualism, and passivity at their places of work and in public life. Some youngsters indulge in heavy drinking and even commit crimes. There are relatively few of them. But our community is accountable for

them as well. We must fight for every young soul. There must be determined action to end all negative trends in the life of young people if our society is to advance effectively.

All these factors, internal and external, objective and subjective, have been taken into account by the Party and its Central Committee in producing its fundamental guidelines and deciding on steps to be taken to improve youth work to meet the current requirements of social development. Of key importance is the continued upgrading of Party guidance of the Komsomol and the enhancing of its role as the Party's main base of support in the Communist education of Soviet youth.

II.

The Resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the statements by Konstantin Chernenko have formulated and motivated the current challenging objectives which the Young Communist League and youth face today and identified the aims and forms of their activities. The main thing is to have young people play their full part in the difficult and wide-ranging job the Party is doing to advance developed socialism, bring on the young people to be devoted to the cause of Communism and to be worthy citizens of Soviet society. This fundamental guideline and the Party's instructions arising therefrom carry forward Lenin's behest, set out in his speech at the Third Congress of the Young Communist League: the young people must learn Communism and the Party must teach the young people Communism, and specify this behest to suit the present-day conditions.

The CPSU has been teaching the young people Communism by holding up as example the life and works of the great Lenin, and the revolutionary, fighting and working traditions of the Party and the people, and arming them with Marxist-Leninist theory. It is tirelessly concerned with the ideological and political training of the younger generations, helping them to grasp the involved developments in present-day public life from class-governed positions, and striving for the whole job of bringing on, educating and training

modern youth to meet the principles of Communist morality.

The Party is teaching the young people Communism by getting them to be actively involved in the constructive endeavour, in learning and working, and in resolving the key problems of economic, scientific and cultural progress. It is only in the process of honest and orderly work side by side with workers and farmers that one can make a true Communist, Lenin pointed out.

The Party is teaching the young people Communism by having them play their full part in public life and in the administration of the State and the community. The CPSU is attaching special importance to having the Komsomol and the young people in general exercise to the fullest possible extent the great rights that the Constitution of the USSR has granted them.

In point of fact, to teach the young people Communism means assuring the continuity of the experience acquired during the socialist Revolution and the building of the socialist society. It means bringing on the young people to assimilate the revolutionary experience of the older generations and to enrich it with their own accomplishments. "It is our standing concern", Konstantin Chernenko has pointed out, "to train such youth as would not flinch or bend under the burden of their historic responsibility for the destinies of the nation and for the destinies of socialism and peace".

The CPSU Central Committee, while suggesting the guidelines for the Leninist Young Communist League to follow in the economic field, calls upon the Komsomol organisations to mobilise the young people for the effective attainment of the targets of the Eleventh Five-Year Plan, for the implementation of the Food and Energy Programmes, and for resolving the problems connected with the intensification of the national economy, acceleration of scientific and technological progress, comprehensive automation, advance of electronics and nuclear power, development and application of basically new types of material, machinery and technology, and learning the economic methods of management.

The Komsomol has every opportunity to cope well with this assignment of the Party. It has acquired a valuable stock of experience in training youth to work well on major national building sites. Bright chapters have been written into the glorious record of the Komsomol's labour effort by the young builders of the Urengoi-Pomary-Uzhgorod Gas Pipeline and the Baikal-Amur Mainline. Young people have been making a tremendous contribution towards reshaping the Russian Non-Black Soil Zone and tapping the resources of Siberia, the Far East and the Far North. Sixty-five national top-priority Komsomol-built projects have come to epitomise the enthusiasm our young people show at the point of production. Considering the new conditions of economic management, Komsomol organisations make extensive use of those forms of promoting productive activity as conform to the specific, age-related features of the young people: contests of young inventors and rationalisers, agreements about the professional cooperation of scientists and production workers, contests for the best worker in his line, team work and other advanced methods. The Komsomol's initiative in organising teams of Komsomol members and young people in general deserves the utmost support. They are called upon to become a training ground for young workers and to more actively involve them in running production. It is important to make every particular idea and every particular initiative as constructive and effective as possible.

There must be more concern for basic production units like teams, farms, shops, laboratories, or apprenticeship groups. It is in this environment, first and foremost, that a young person comes to maturity, learns his trade, and passes through his school of collective work and moral and internationalist education.

There is a system of preceptorial training at work in primary production units. Upwards of three million experienced workers are doing this rewarding job. Their concern not only about their own achievements, but also about that of their workmates and about the

collective interests of the whole unit and the nation in general, deserves much public acclaim and support. They are doing much to help those working next to them work no worse than they do. This is a most active stance! It is characteristic of a person brought on in a socialist society. The CPSU Central Committee calls upon the Party organisations to promote and upgrade preceptorship. The role of this movement in the professional advancement and moral instruction of the young people must be substantially enhanced.

Komsomol-sponsored 'student detachments' are an effective medium of the working education of young people and of bringing them right from college into the actual process of resolving the problems of national economic expansion. They number over 800,000 every summer. In the first three years under the present Five-Year Plan, they have done a total of 5,200 million roubles' worth of work. Student building teams have been highly praised by the Party and the nation. Yet the reputation of this mass movement has been marred by some instances of money-grubbing. In some localities, the leadership of these teams has been bloated out contrary to the very spirit of this movement which has the students' initiative and autonomy as its principal feature. The task before the Party organisations is to help the Komsomol Committees put an end to negative occurrences in student teams and have them improve their performance.

In his speeches and statements, Konstantin Chernenko has been pointing out that the problem of "minor jobs" is one of rather serious in YCL work today. Rather often YCL organisations, while concentrating most of their attention on big-scale activities, underrate some particular everyday business, treating it as something of secondary importance. This lopsided approach is erroneous. For it is the "minor" everyday

business that eventually grows into major achievement. Lenin insisted that the Young Communist League should see that "every day, in every village and city, the young people shall engage in the practical solution of some problem of labour in common, even though the smallest or the simplest" (Coll. Works, Vol. 31, p. 299).

One major point of youth work and an essential prerequisite for the young people to be more efficient at work is to create the proper conditions for young workers, collective farmers, and skilled labour to achieve a high rate of productivity, advance professionally, and enjoy their leisure time in the best way possible. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has been stressing the need for the Party, government, trade union and Komsomol organisations and economic management bodies to concern themselves with this aspect of work all the time. There must be a special effort to provide young couples with comfortable living quarters and to discover more opportunities to do so. The Young Communist League could make itself the patron of cooperative home-building for young people. It is already quite active in drawing the young into the job of building apartment houses and other social welfare and recreational facilities. There are some feasible opportunities for this work to be expanded.

More attention should be given to hostel facilities which are known to be primarily used by young people. These must be real homes for all who lodge there. Komsomol organisations, in conjunction with economic and trade union bodies, are expected to press for all hostels to be provided with proper amenities and all possible conveniences, showing a most exacting and consistent approach in handling the matter. Each accommodation block must have a close-knit group of people autonomously maintaining good order in their own house by the principle of self-management.

An important aspect of the Komsomol's work in the field of occupational training and moral instruction is that of stamping out any sponging trends among young people and a consumerist attitude to Socialism.

This country's young people have never had to experience such dreadful social evils as exploitation of man by man, unemployment, illiteracy, chauvinistic and militaristic aberrations, or persisting uncertainty about their future, that is, anything of what still constitutes the bleak everyday realities of the young people in the capitalist world. In the context of Socialism, our youth have a full life to live out, complete with interesting things to do and major accomplishments to achieve in a climate of real, rather than imaginary, freedom and with the Leninist Party invariably concerned about the welfare of the people.

While throwing the doors wide open for the young people to the greatest gains of Socialism, the Party tells them frankly that the future has to be won by their everyday effort, hard effort sometimes. The more efficiently the young people work and the greater the contribution they make towards national economic and cultural advancement, the fuller will be the extent to which the young people's fast-growing needs can be met by our society. There is a dialectic interdependence between young people's contribution to society's advancement and society's effort to advance young people's welfare, which reflects the unity of the rights and duties of the Soviet younger generation.

III.

The ideological and political education of the YCLers and the rest of the young people has all along been a major aspect of the activities of the Leninist Young Communist League. It is carried on, in full measure, by the YCL-operated system of political education catering, with its basic components, for over 21 million boys and girls. The Komsomol press and the youth media make a great contribution towards propagating

Marxism-Leninism and political knowledge.

The CPSU is attaching great importance to the continued enhancement of the Komsomol's ideological work. This is dictated not only by the growing scale and complexity of the priorities of Socialist development, which cannot be properly handled without direct association with rising standards of Communist understanding and involvement of all Soviet people, the young included. It is likewise necessary to consider the fact that youngsters come to maturity as citizens in the context of what is today the sharpest-ever ideological and political confrontation on the international arena with our class enemies banking, first and foremost, on the ideological and moral corruption of youth in their bid to undermine the Socialist system from within. The major battle of ideas between capitalism and Socialism, bourgeois ideologues claim, "must take place in the battlefield we normally call youth".

In their attempts to drive a wedge between the Communist Party and the Soviet state, on the one hand, and the young people, on the other, imperialists are exploiting the latter's psychological specifics. Our ideological opponents take into account the fact that the present young generation has never had to go through the ordeal of the class struggle and wars which throw into full relief the true image of imperialism and its hatred of the Socialist system. It is not by chance that anti-Communists should be trying their best to infect Soviet young people with the germs of political complacency and the ideas of universal class conciliation.

All that makes it central to youth work to teach them to be true to Communist ideology and to the cause and traditions of the working class. It is still a matter of the greatest relevance to have them embrace well-established Marxist-Leninist views, to be absolutely sure of the justice of Communist philosophy, to be ideologically committed, politically vigilant and uncompromising, and to be able to resist the pernicious influence of bourgeois propaganda and so-called mass culture.

An indispensable condition and major pre-requisite for the resolution of this problem is the utmost effort to develop and reinforce : our young people's love for their Socialist homeland, a sense of pride for it, and readiness to serve it well and to rise at any moment in defence of the gains of Socialism and to throw every ounce of their energy into building up the nation's economic strength and defence capability. Educating the younger generation in the spirit of Soviet patriotism is one of the major objectives of ideological work which the Party wants the Young Communist League to achieve.

The Party has been urging the Young Communist League to step up the patriotic and defence education of the whole mass of the young people and to have them better prepared for service with the Armed Forces. It has supported many forms of this work, initiated by YCL organisations, and had them spread far and wide. This work comprises group tours of places of historic interest associated with the Revolution or war-time heroism, war games and sporting events for teenagers, collection of evidence about the outstanding deeds of valour during the Civil War and the Great Patriotic War, get-togethers with servicemen and war veterans, and patronising links with military units. A great amount of work to build on the remarkable traditions of their fathers is being done by the Armed Forces' Komsomol concerned, first and foremost, with carrying through Lenin's behest "to learn the art of war properly" (Coll. Works, Vol. 27, p. 108), and assuring the high level of combat preparedness of the Army and the Navy.

The patriotic and defence education of the young people has further opportunities opening up for it as this country prepares to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Victory over Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism. The relevant CPSU Central Committee's Resolution has outlined a set of

activities to intensify ideological education, with Komsomol organisations called upon to play their part in this drive. Together with the Party and trade union bodies, they are to take full advantage of the preparations for the 40th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War and the celebrations of this anniversary, which we all hold dear, for further enhancement of the Soviet young people's efficiency in work and political affairs.

The cultivation of the ideas of Soviet patriotism is inseparable from training the young people to be true to the principles of proletarian, Socialist internationalism and friendship of the peoples of the USSR. The Party is doing its utmost to get the YCL to be more active in this respect. Relying on the Komsomol, it is working for the principles of internationalism to be integral to our way of life and for the Soviet people, including the younger generation, to strengthen the relationship of solidarity and cooperation with the sister Socialist nations and with the peoples in battle for their social and national liberation.

The Young Communist League is in contact with international and national youth and student organisations of various political complexions from 140 nations of the world. The Party is attaching particular importance to promoting the Komsomol's broader and closer all-round cooperation with the Youth Leagues of the sister Socialist nations.

With imperialism getting increasingly aggressive, it has become a matter of urgency to pool the efforts to this planet's young people in the struggle for a safe peace and against the threat of thermonuclear war. The CPSU has been seconding the Komsomol's initiatives with a view to realising this objective. It has given much of its attention to the Komsomol-sponsored decision of the International Preparatory Committee to hold the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students

in Moscow next summer. The Party and the Soviet Government will lend all possible assistance to the Leninist Young Communist League in hosting the festival as a mass anti-war and anti-imperialist activity so that it could become a major event of the International Youth Year. It is important to take advantage of other activities under this Year's programme, along with the 40th anniversary of the Victory over fascism and the World Festival, to explain the peace-building foreign policies of the USSR and other countries of the Socialist community and to demonstrate the political, economic and social achievements of actual socialism, and the great opportunities it presents for the all-round development of the rising generations.

While following an integrated approach to educational work, the Party considers it necessary for the ideological and political education and occupational training of the young people to be intimately combined and closely associated with moral instruction. In this respect, the CPSU is acting upon the assumption that it is not only the standard of ideological education, but entire social practice and the moral and political climate in the land, in each compartment of society and in each production group that predetermine the political and moral health of the young people.

The Soviet system has social justice as its cornerstone, and therein resides its tremendous force. That is why it is so important for the principles of social justice to be unfailingly observed in everyday business everywhere. Youngsters are particularly sensitive to all facts of indecency and dishonesty, red tape and divorce between words and works. In its determined action to extirpate things of this kind, the Party is thereby exercising a great influence on the mood of the young people and helps them develop a good sense of social

optimism and to be active in public life. That, in turn, helps the Komsomol raise the efficiency of the education of the younger generation in line with the Communist principles of morality and to be more effective in getting the Soviet young people to distinguish themselves by their moral integrity and nobility and by their commitment to great ideals.

The aesthetic education of the young people goes together with ideological and moral education. The Young Communist League is carrying on this work, which has one purpose behind it, both in the process of training, productive and social activities, and in organising the pastime of the young people. There must be unflagging concern that lads and girls should not indulge in pointless amusements but that any pastime should conduce to their ideological advancement, physical development, formation of high cultural requirements and aesthetic tastes, and enjoyment of the best of national and international cultural values.

The Central Committee of the CPSU leaves this job, first and foremost, to the Party and Komsomol organisations, expecting them to react in good time to the young people's changing passions, channelling them along proper ideological and aesthetic lines, whether in music, singing, stamp collecting, etc. While encouraging in every way the young people's pursuits in the arts and handicrafts as well as their eagerness to get to know the best samples of Soviet and foreign literature and art, it is important to prevent self-styled associations infecting young people with the germs of political indifference, immorality and blind imitation of bourgeois fashions. The YCL officers' personal participation in young peoples' collective recreational activities will do much in this sense.

Youthful years are not only the time to learn and start to work, but also the time to set up house. The Komsomol

organisations are expected to work hard to teach the young people a proper sense of responsibility in contracting a marriage and bringing up children and to cultivate the ideals of parental care and authority.

One of the great and challenging objectives the Party wants the Young Communist League to realise is to draw youngsters not only into the process of production but into that of public life and social affairs. The Komsomol is doing much towards resolving this task, being as it is part and parcel of the Soviet political system.

The YCLers and the young people in general are well represented on government bodies and managerial agencies as well as in all kinds of community organisations. Young people under 30 make up one-third of the Deputies to the Soviets. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League has been elected a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and there are YCL representatives on the Boards of a number of ministries and departments, as well as on the Public Inspection Committee of the USSR, the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Soviet Army and Air Force Association. Upwards of 3.6 million lads and girls are represented on elective trade union bodies, and 1.6 million YCLers, on public inspection bodies. The YCLers share in drafting factory and office economic and social development plans, in the deliberations of standing production conferences, in monitoring managerial compliance with safety rules as applied to the young people, the distribution of incentives, housing, health-resort and holiday-home accommodation vouchers, day-nursery vacancies, etc.

One should say, along with that, that the Komsomol could make appreciably fuller use of the great rights granted to it by the Constitution of the USSR and other Soviet laws for running the affairs of the community and the state. It is important to see to the creation of the requisite conditions for it and to support the worthwhile initiatives of Komsomol organisations with a view to fostering the young people's social and political activities. All urgent questions relating to the young people's training, work, everyday life, rest and recreation, the CPSU Central Committee has stated, must be decided with the Komsomol's indispensable direct participation. There will have to be still more of YCL activity to improve the public order.

IV

There must be a substantial streamlining of Party leadership of the Komsomol and of the Komsomol's own performance if all the tasks now before the Young Communist League are to be effectively accomplished. This is the idea behind all of the CPSU Central Committee's precepts for youth policy. Party guidance of the Komsomol, the Central Committee has underlined, must be carried on according to plan and as a system and must ensure the full-scale and consistent functioning of all the units of the Young Communist League. It is an indispensable thing for such guidance to be thoroughly competent in analysing social and ideological processes occurring in the midst of youth and to influence them as well as to be ready all the time to help YCL organisations in choosing the major trends and the best forms of work. It is important, furthermore, to take into account the specific aspects of YCL work among socially different groups of youngsters. There must be special care for young workers. For it is they that carry the future of the working class with them today. It is through them that the best qualities of this class -- the highest-ever level of political understanding, organisation

and discipline and a sense of collective involvement -- are passed from generation on to generation and increasingly become the assets of the people as a whole.

One mandatory requirement to meet as far as Party guidance of the Young Communist League is concerned is that the Communists should use the force of conviction in dealing with YCLers and the rest of the young people, show the greatest possible friendly consideration for them, support their useful initiatives with an interest of their own, and teach and educate them through cooperative work, rather than lecture them, and by their own personal performance and example, rather than by verbal appeals. In this context, the Party is attaching special importance to Party leaders constantly communicating with young people and to the Communists' and all managerial staffs' full-scale involvement in the ideological, political occupational and moral education of the rising generation. They must make it a rule for themselves to visit the places where young people work, study, or pass their leisure time, to seek to find out the things which are upper-most on their minds, to have open-hearted and confidential discussions with them on all questions and to give full answers to them. Political statements of the leaders in front of the workers and students as well as part-time YCL activists are an effective means whereby the Party can influence the Komsomol's work.

The Party has always shown great concern for the ideological, political and organisational consolidation of the Komsomol and for the enhancement of its role and social standing. Thanks to Party guidance, the Leninist Young Communist League has come to occupy a fitting place in this society as a school of education and a school of struggle for Communist ideals. Several generations of Soviet people have already passed through this school.

The Komsomol is honourably fulfilling the role of a dependable reserve of the CPSU. Nearly 16 million YCLers have joined the Party since the Komsomol was established. Today, the YCLers make up about 73 per cent of probationer members of the CPSU. The Party will continue to select the best of YCLers, above all, those from among factory workers and collective farmers, to admit. The role of the Komsomol as the Party's reserve shows itself also in the fact that it is a good school to train prospective officials of Party, government and community organisations. Scores of thousands of these officials have learned the ABC of grass-roots work and received their political and organisational training while in the Komsomol. One-third of the First Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, territorial and regional Party committees have had a certain amount of experience as YCL leaders.

The continuous growth of membership is a pointer to the Komsomol's great popularity with the young people. The membership of the Young Communist League has doubled during the last 20 years. It will continue to increase. But that does not mean, of course, that the YCL will indiscriminately admit whoever may wish to join it. One cardinal principle of reinforcement of the Young Communist League is that of strictly individual selection of worthy representatives of the young workers, farmers, servicemen, college students and schoolchildren. One imperative in the entire work of the YCL organisations with the new crop is to elevate the title of YCLer, train him or her to develop a sense of pride and responsibility of belonging to the league of young Leninists and to train everyone who has joined the Young Communist League to be ready and able to help the Party in practical terms to build Communism. The way to that is not only through the improved procedure of admission to the YCL but, first and foremost, through its continued organisational

strengthening and through the upgrading of all YCL activities.

The Central Committee of the CPSU requires the Party bodies and YCL committees to work persistently for improved style, forms and methods of YCL activities and for every YCL group to establish a climate of vibrant creative activity of great social value, capable of attracting lads and girls with the romantic appeal of great goals and interesting and useful undertakings. That is all the more necessary since YCL work has been suffering in recent times from such occurrences as formalism and paper-work which undermine the autonomy and wide-ranging democracy of this youth league. The process of educating young people is suffering sometimes from excessive organisation and window-dressing and inordinate enthusiasm for ostentatious effect-seeking drives and marches.

To do away with such shortcomings is an urgent priority. Party organisations are expected to help the Komsomol do it. It is necessary for the Komsomol, on the one hand, to raise the standards of organisation, order, and discipline of its membership, and, on the other, to encourage the YCLers' initiative and resourcefulness. Therein, Konstantin Chernenko has emphasized, lies the sum and substance of all action taken to improve the style of YCL work.

It is particularly important for the YCL executive staff today to be able to combine competently the mass and individual forms of work among the young people. One can say that the more numerous the Youth League becomes and the more sweeping are the tasks it has before it, the more important such an approach in the activities of its leaders is. The centre of gravity of YCL work is being increasingly shifted direct to social groups of young people, basic units of the Komsomol -- primary organisations and YCL teams, concerned with youth education, first and foremost. There must be a more constructive and more concerned approach to every young man, that is a call of the times.

The measure of responsibility of the YCL executive staff is rising greatly in the new circumstances. It is important for all Komsomol organisations to be headed by true leaders capable of rallying and leading young people. Such qualities of YCL leaders as ideological commitment and moral integrity, the knack of organising people and the ability to react promptly to the specific requirements of the young, professional maturity and youthful fervour are all things of tremendous importance.

The formation of the YCL executive staff is a major aspect of the Party's manpower policy and it is one that requires a most serious and responsible attitude. That is why the Central Committee of the CPSU is giving special attention to working with YCL officers, considering it to be crucial to intensifying the activities of the Youth League and one of the major areas of Party guidance of the Komsomol. The creation of active YCL forces, selection and training of YCL organisers must ever hold the attention of Party committees.

Experience indicates that it is worth while having the positions of responsibility in the Komsomol held by young people with a record of service in productive employment and a certain amount of experience of working collectively. There must be more women in the leadership and more concern about people of all national ethnic backgrounds, forming part of Komsomol organisations, being involved in it, and about a certain stability of the leadership group of the Leninist Young Communist League being achieved. YCL committees at all levels must comprise officers of different ages and experiences, veterans and beginners, properly combined.

It is the Communists that constitute the backbone of the Komsomol executive staff, the nucleus of the YCL. The CPSU has been consistently working to reinforce the Party contingent in the Young Communist League and to increase its role in the League's activities. During the last 17 years, the number of Communists working for the Komsomol has increased over 5.6-fold to add up to one and a half million today.

Of course, the purely numerical growth of the Party contingent does not by itself mean intensifying Party guidance of the Komsomol. For the point is, indeed, not only how many Communists are in the Youth League but how they work and what influence they actually exercise on its life and performance. The Central Committee of the CPSU considers that a Communist's work in the Komsomol is a Party job of great responsibility, and one has to do it with honour. The Party bodies are expected to contribute to that in every possible way, direct the activities of budding Communists every day, and to see that each of them earns his or her high standing among the YCLers and the rest of the young people by his or her selfless work, ideological commitment, and irreproachable personal behaviour.

It has become a practice for district or city-wide conferences of Communists working for the YCL to be held, for their reports to be heard in primary Party organisations, and for YCL organisers to be elected to sit on Party committees and boards. Close on two-thirds of the First Secretaries of district, city, regional and territorial committees of the Leninist Young Communist League form part of the boards of district, city, regional and territorial Party committees. The Central Committee of the CPSU finds it necessary to keep promoting this practice conducive towards upgrading Party guidance of the Komsomol.

The Party is setting much store by the all-round training of YCL officers. This is done through a ramified network of Party and Komsomol schools and courses. While attaching great importance to the political education of YCL officers, the Central Committee of the CPSU has found it necessary to have them trained at the Party-maintained institutions of higher learning and at the Higher Komsomol School under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League.

The practice of Socialist development has provided ample evidence to show that youth work can be most effective whenever it is done not only by the Party and the Komsomol but by all the other segments of society and by each compartment of its

political system. With this as the guiding principle, the CPSU considers the education of the rising generation to be a most important subject of concern to the Party, the State and the people as a whole. This requires the constant attention of all government, managerial and community organisations, the workforce collectively, and schools. Party bodies, on the other hand, are called upon to coordinate their efforts in this direction.

The Soviets of People's Deputies and their standing committees concerned with youth work have a great part to play in providing an integrated solution to the issues of the young people's work, everyday life, rest and recreation. Such commissions number over eleven thousand today. Youth work commissions exist in a number of ministries and departments as well as in trade union organisations, and their governing bodies. Their work has been and will be an object of unflagging concern of Party bodies which strive for it to be more constructive and more expressive of the immediate requirements of the young people.

The immense influence that literature and the arts have on shaping the young people's outlook and moral complexion is a matter of common knowledge. Therefore, the Party is attaching great importance to organising and promoting the close cooperation of professional associations with the Young Communist League in order to upgrade the ideological, moral and aesthetic education of youngsters. Effective forms of such cooperation are used by the Writers Union and the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League. These are conferences of young writers and annual national week-long campaigns to advertise books for children and contests to review ~~xx~~ schoolchildrens' compositions on patriotic and moral subjects. The art of the film and the theatre has been placed, in full measure, at the service of the job of educating the rising generation. Acknowledged workers in the cultural field and talented creative writers, artists and composers are invited to do their bit towards creating works of fiction and art for the benefit of the young people.

All that has its positive effect on the Komsomol's youth work. But today, as the Party requires, there must be a fresh effort to ensure higher quality and a higher ideological and artistic standard of the works on the subjects of interest to the young people and an increased sense of responsibility of cultural and professional organisations for this job.

The School System Reform now going on in this country is a good case in point to illustrate the constant concern of the Party and the State for educating and training the rising generations. This Reform, reflecting as it does the Party's strategy in the field of education, is aimed at fundamentally improving the standards of the schoolchildren's occupational training and vocational guidance in the process of instruction combined with productive employment. It is carrying forward, in line with present-day conditions, Lenin's ideas about a uniform vocational polytechnical school.

The implementation of the Reform will call for a thorough improvement of the Komsomol's activity at school and that of the Young Pioneers' Organisation. They will have to display the greatest possible measure of initiative and resourcefulness so as to become the dependable base of support for the teaching staffs in their work of upgrading the academic and educational process. The Reform will, furthermore, require a greater effort by factory-based YCL organisations acting as patrons towards schools of general education, vocational schools and Young Pioneers' teams.

There are great objectives to achieve and a wide variety of forms and methods of work to apply in youth work in the context of developed Socialism. And today, whatever aspects of this work we may turn to, we shall always feel it necessary to keep improving the practice of Party guidance of youth education and to rely, to a still greater extent, on the Komsomol, on government, managerial and trade union organisations, and on the public at large. That is what our Party is doing.

The record of the CPSU irrefutably proves that young people are capable of playing an authentically revolutionary role when they operate under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party, in close unity with the working class and the rest of the working masses in the name of the great goal of the Communist remaking of society. That is what we find corroborated as well by the present-day practice of building Socialist societies. It shows that Party guidance of the youth movement is a primary condition for, and a major guarantor of the revolutionary continuity of generations in a Socialist society, and a pledge of the Komsomol's ideological commitment, militancy, and creative activity.

Training the young people to be true to Communist ideals and intensifying Party influence on the performance of the Youth Leagues are among the general problems of current importance for all the brother parties of Socialist countries. A mutual exploration of the experience they have gained in working to resolve this problem has been undertaken at the conference of Secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist countries, concerned with organizing Party work, held in Sofia late last May. The conference was unanimous in pointing out the abiding importance of Lenin's ideas and principles of youth work for all nations in the process of building Socialism and Communism. They emphasized that creative drawing upon the totality of the experience of the brother parties in bringing up the rising generations and leading their Youth Leagues would serve to strengthen the Socialist community and enable it to make further headway in building up an advanced system of society. Our Leninist Party has been making and will continue to make its contribution to the common cause essential to the destinies of world Socialism.

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Yük 84

YOUTH DECLARE FOR REAL CHANGE

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The political situation in our country is rather complicated. The removal of the Right from power made possible certain democratic achievements, a development which aroused many hopes among the people and opened up new prospects. But gradually the policy of the government caused disillusionment, for it does not solve pressing problems in the interest of the people, particularly the younger generation. The government confines itself to reforms affecting neither the system of monopoly domination, nor the dependence of Greece on imperialism. This enables the Right to exploit growing difficulties for demagogical ends as it seeks a conservative change in the development of society. Against the background of capitalism's growing crisis, which tells on the life of youth directly and painfully, the ruling class wants young people to resign themselves to the existing system, the crisis and its effects.

The thinking of youth is strongly influenced by the worsening of the international situation, above all the increasing threat of nuclear conflict due to the adventurist strategy of US imperialism and NATO.

"Our party," said the Political Resolution of the 11th CPG Congress (December 1982), "is fighting directly for the implementation of a programme of objectives for real change... The objectives of real change are for the Communists a programme of

immediate struggles and form the basis for popular unity and cooperation with other progressive forces on all fronts. These objectives are in keeping with the requirements of anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly change." We young Communists base our entire work on the conclusions of the party congress. The lines^{of our activity} were discussed and defined at the Third Congress of the Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) in December 1983.

"No" to Washington's Pressure

The Greek people and their youth realise that the situation is critical. The strategic location of Greece on the "southern flank" of NATO, which US plans for the region take into account, makes our country an object of open pressure and blackmail on the part of imperialist forces. They would like to fully subordinate it to their militarist policy. On some issues the Greek government refuses to give in to pressure. Mention may be made of its proposal to put off the deployment of Pershing-2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe for six months or its actions in favour of promoting cooperation in the Balkans.

This is largely a result of extensive actions by the people, including youth, for peace and against imperialism. Our young men and women join in peace marches and other actions for peace. It was on the initiative of the young that referendums on the US bases in Greece were held in schools, universities, neighbourhoods and factories. Thousands of school students signed a letter to President Reagan protesting against Pershing-2 and cruise missiles. Young people organise youth

peace camps, put on anti-war concerts, picket US bases, call rallies under the slogans "Make the Balkans Missile-Free" and "Make the Mediterranean a Sea of Peace".

Our main objectives are to extend actions against war, bringing as many young people as possible into them, and at the same time to accentuate the anti-imperialist trend of the peace movement. We make a point of always linking our activity in defence of peace with the effort to unite all supporters of real changes in the country, which the 11th CPG Congress called for. This is reflected in demands put forward by youth, such as "Money for instruction, not for NATO" or "Money for the workers, not for arms".

It is highly important to awaken people to the fact that the source of nuclear threat lies in the militarist and adventurist policy of the United States. We know from experience that the mobilisation of youth is most effective when conducted on the basis of resistance to Washington's aggressive ambitions. By contrast, the attempts of certain forces backed by the bourgeois press to stage demonstrations in favour of staying "equidistant" from the "two superpowers" produce negligible results.

Our activity within the anti-war movement gains greatly in force of conviction from the peace policy of the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union. Their resolve to defend peace and help fighters for freedom and independence gives confidence to all peace supporters and not to Communists alone. This policy helps explode the myths of an "all-powerful" USA and "weak" nations, myths which the Greek ruling class uses

in an effort to influence the people and curb their struggle. We consider that the dissemination of anti-Soviet concepts by bourgeois propaganda is aimed at splitting and weakening the peace movement. It is particularly important to defeat these concepts today, when Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are being installed in Western Europe, when the socialist community countries are compelled to take counter-measures and when the monopoly-controlled media are trying to confuse people and spread a defeatist mood among them, shamelessly exploiting anti-Sovietism.

The stranglehold of dependence on imperialism, the CPG stresses, is the chief obstacle to any step by Greece towards progress. This is why the youth movement gives priority, now as in the past, to the struggle for anti-imperialist goals. This struggle has always been the main factor in radicalising the rising generation. Our experience entitles us to be optimistic, for the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly orientation of the young is becoming more and more marked. Greek youth identify themselves with the peoples of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cyprus, Turkey, Lebanon, Palestine, ^{and} South Africa. The idea of anti-imperialist solidarity dominates major initiatives by our organisation which culminate every year in the festival of the KNE and its weekly Odighitis. We take an active part in demonstrations and campaigns sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and support the proposal to hold the 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow next year.

Blows of the Economic Crisis

Unemployment, which seriously conditions the thinking of the younger generation, is one of the biggest problems in Greece today. It is growing and assuming a permanent character and involved roughly 350,000 people, about 65 per cent of them young, by early 1984. Young men and women are also affected by unequal pay and the reduction of apprenticeship to a form of superexploitation.

In the sphere of education the measures adopted by the Right in previous years led to a more rigid class selection of those seeking a higher education. Matters are made worse by the low standard of teaching, anachronisms in textbooks and the lack of connection between instruction and production. The present education system meets the thirst of youth for knowledge less and less.

Young servicemen are faced with serious problems. Military service in Greece lasts longer than in other NATO countries. There occur no changes in favour of democratising the armed forces and it is not only the KNE that notes this but also other democratic youth organisations.

The problem of free time meets with growing difficulties and there are fewer and fewer opportunities for reasonable recreation and creative effort. The pressure of unsolved important problems of youth as well as of the social effects of the capitalist economic crisis tell on human relations; they worry young people and make them feel defenceless.

It is only the people's struggle, the Communist Party points out, that can bring about positive changes. While the

present government has taken some steps to extend the democratic rights of youth, it does not generally concern itself with their basic problems. Nor will it be able to find a solution unless it adopts a policy directed against oligarchic rule and imperialism.

The present situation affects the thinking of youth in a most contradictory way. It may arouse a desire to fight or, on the contrary, cause inaction or lead to a lame protest, a search for one's "place in the sun" and the acceptance of conservative models of behaviour. The right choice of position depends in large measure on participation in class struggles and on the Communists' ideological influence.

To lead youth astray, the ruling class takes advantage of the crisis in the most diverse ways. The Right proposes to allow private initiative complete freedom, allegedly as a means of ending unemployment. It fosters the illusion that anyone can start a business of his own without difficulty and become an employer. It publicises social reformist ideas of "perfecting" capitalism. Brutal reality and the Communists' explanatory work prevent these illusions from spreading wide.

Taking its cue from other EEC countries, Greek bourgeois propaganda plays up differences between jobless and job-holders, old and young, and advertises partial employment. One of its propositions is that young people should work for smaller wages to "rescue" jobs or that they must bear part of the responsibility for the crisis and that sacrifices must be made by those suffering from it and not those who are to blame for it, that is, the monopolies. All this is intended to undermine the class unity of young workers and mould their thinking on reformist

lines so that they cannot play a vanguard role in the youth movement.

Reaction is also out to indoctrinate teenagers, especially schoolchildren, who have not yet gone through the school of struggle against the Right and many of whom are ignorant of the political essence of the New Democracy Party, which expresses mainly the interests of foreign and domestic monopolies. This party and reaction generally pretend to concern themselves with the problems of youth so as to secure their support in this fraudulent manner.

Orientation Towards Unity

The Third KNE Congress pointed out that the Greek youth movement today is an undeniable reality and is on the rise, winning ever greater support among the people despite the difficulties it has to face. / Young workers are active in trade unions and other mass organisations and have their place among the front-line fighters for the cause of the working class. By far most students participate in elections for the leading bodies of their associations. The student movement has a single organisation enjoying appreciable prestige.

The crisis creates problems which new alignments of young men and women must examine and solve. How is the struggle of jobless youth and their common front with the working people to be organised? How shall we resist in practice an increasingly changeable mood among a section of youth? How is the working class movement to absorb new categories of young jobless or seasonal workers (rural youth, young men and women looking for

a first job, diploma'd specialists who cannot find a job), who are particularly vulnerable to misleading reactionary propaganda?

We attach great importance to the solution of these problems, the growth of militant youth alignments and the coordination of their efforts. Young working people's cooperation with the trade unions and municipalities, the work of factory youth commissions and the setting up of sports sections, cultural and leisure time groups within their framework are unquestionably useful. We also use an organisational form of school life like pupils' societies for the same ends.

The chief condition for the steady expansion and correct orientation of the youth movement is to increase the share in it of young workers and young working people generally and to ensure that they join increasingly in **social** and political struggles. The KNE proposals to step up the activity of young workers in defending their right to work are in harmony with the programme adopted by the 11th CPG Congress. Everyday actions in support of the working people's immediate demands and for easing the pressure of the crisis on youth help advance to deep-going changes.

Our aims are similar in the educational sphere. We advocate greater democracy, principles of instruction directly meeting the people's needs, enrichment of the content of studies with Marxist scientific thought as far as possible, and resistance to reactionary theories.

Youth actions of the past decade are an impressive "pre-history" of the unity of action and militant cooperation of

their progressive organisations, first of all the KNE and PASOK¹ youth. This prehistory has also a positive effect today, when we encounter considerable difficulties arising from the government's concessions to reactionary forces and a corresponding change of position by the ruling party's youth organisation. We go on using every opportunity for joint action in defence of peace, against US nuclear missiles, for nuclear-free Balkans, the rights of young servicemen, and so on. This sustained effort, which is in line with the Communists' consistent policy, yields some results.

With due regard to the established orientation of the youth movement, we seek unity of action ^{in the work among the masses,} / ^{primarily} young workers and students. The farther we advance in this direction, the greater the potentialities of achieving such unity on the level of organisations as well. We see effective ideological struggle and independent political action as an earnest of success. Experience has shown that the stronger our organisation, the greater the possibilities of seeking unity of the youth movement and extending our political influence on it.

Debunking Bourgeois "Ideals"

The complexity and contradictory character of the political situation in Greece and the effects of the capitalist ^{growing} economic crisis make for the/role of ideology in the class struggle.

¹ Panhellenic Socialist Movement, the party now ruling in Greece.--Ed.

The tasks set by the ruling class before its ideological army include the following: keep the young out of political struggles, cut them off from the advanced forces of the organised youth movement and limit the appeal of the movement. Accordingly, a shrill propaganda campaign has been launched which bombards young people with such calls as "Defend your independence from parties" or "Keep out of politics". Much publicity is given to the concept that participation in organised struggle "suppresses the freedom and personality of young people". The main purpose of the campaign is, of course, to alienate youth from Communist policy and ideology, from socialist ideals, and to undermine the influence of the KNE.

Neoliberalism, offered as a means of "improving" the condition of youth under capitalism, is now the chief component of the ideological aggression of the Greek ruling class. The "European ideal", intended to convince youth that capitalist integration within the EEC is improving the quality of life, is likewise being advertised. This is fully disproved by the grave consequences of our country's entry into the EEC, first of all massive unemployment among youth.

Anti-Sovietism and anti-communism, which are virtually reaction's principal "ideals" and are spread through thousands of channels, form the common basis for all bourgeois and revisionist trends hostile to the younger generation. A most important standing task of our ideological activity is to resist them by showing the achievements of existing socialism, especially in the field of youth's rights.

Reformist attempts to alter the orientation of the progressive youth movement have been plentiful in recent years. Reformists want the movement to become a "movement of participation" in the new institutions established under the present government to assist the authorities. The Communists in no way minimise the opportunities of meeting the working people's demands offered by the democratic gains made to date. Indeed, they emphasise their significance and insist on greater participation by youth in government bodies, the educational system and generally in all institutions concerned with the solution of problems important to the young.

Young Communists are in the forefront of the defenders of democratic achievements against encroachments from reactionary forces. At the same time they use their ideology to fight back those who make participation an end in itself running counter to the general economic and political interests of the working people. We are fighting against this perverted logic also because it dovetails with the well-known old opportunist concept of a gradual transition to socialism through structural reforms under the existing system, which actually implies renunciation of revolutionary changes.

The deterioration of the environment and the quality of life, the inequality of women and other population groups--problems which the crisis is aggravating--add to discontent among youth and generate a trend towards radicalisation of a notable section of them while at the same time confronting us with new ideological tasks. Revisionists describe the people's

struggle over these issues as rivulets of a "daily revolution" that will allegedly replace the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly stream. They attach independent significance to such issues, which they consider in isolation from their class sources. We, however, try to respond from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint to all that agitates youth. We want to convince young people that their actions in various spheres must merge with the main lines of the anti-imperialist, anti-monopoly struggle for real changes.

We have already gained ample experience in this respect. As for, say, the environment, the chief role in this matter does not belong to individual "environmental groups" but to the mass organisations of working people involving youth as active participants. We use many forms of action for specific aims, including protest marches, rallies, and petitions to the government demanding that it take steps against the monopolies that are polluting the environment.

On the basis of Marxism-Leninism and CPG policy, young Communists make an in-depth study of new problems facing the youth movement and expose opportunist trends. Loyalty to Marxist principles does not move us away from youth but constantly enables us to win them over to our side.

We give much attention to cultural problems and the younger generation's way of life. A handful of monopolies control over 80 per cent of all musical productions and films in Greece. The ruling class invests a large amount of political and economic capital in this. It showers young people with pseudomasterpieces of imperialist "mass culture", specimens

of the "American way of life", cosmopolitan and irrational ideas. At the same time the ruling class uses liberal bourgeois concepts of "aesthetic pluralism", elitism, "art for the select" to influence progressive youth, above all students and intellectuals. It extols the theories of Fischer, Garaudy and other opportunists.

Young Communists attach great importance to the advancement of a mass progressive cultural movement among youth. Proceeding from the activity of the CPG in this field, we popularise the best achievements of the progressive culture of the Greek people and other peoples, thereby helping safeguard young people against bourgeois brainwashing.

The KNE-Odighitis festival, which annually draws hundreds of thousands of young people, is a major political and cultural event and an important contribution to the education of the people. We publish books and periodicals. Our proposals for the founding of youth clubs and workers' cultural groups and for the utilisation of other forms of collective cultural activity and artistic creation are put into practice by municipalities, trade unions and youth organisations. We see this effort as a means of helping young men and women evolve a militant and optimistic attitude to life and of bringing more and more of them into the working people's organised movement.

The Communist Youth of Greece is the most influential political alignment of young people. It is the only one to be represented as an organisation in the sphere of labour. Among students, an association enjoying KNE support has held a leading place ever since 1975. During elections for the administrative council of student associations, one in three students votes for it. Our organisation wields similar influence in secondary schools. Opportunist groups are operating on the margin of the youth movement.

To be sure, there is no question of resting on our laurels. Extreme manifestations of the crisis, such as drug addiction, corruption or increased fascist activity, limited as they may be, should not be underrated. We uphold the view that the best response to all this is to further the youth movement for unity of action.

Last year the KNE celebrated the 15th anniversary of its activity, carried on in the most diverse conditions: in struggle against a military fascist dictatorship and against the Right, and then, after the accession of the present government to power in 1981, in a new, more favourable situation. Under the ideological and political guidance of the Communist Party our organisation is extending relations with youth, primarily young workers.

Equipped with the decisions of the Third KNE Congress, young Communists are looking ahead with optimism but also with a sense of great responsibility in view of the important tasks and new problems arising from the struggle for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole. We realise the need to play a vanguard role among youth more effectively in order to ensure that they participate still more vigorously in the popular movement for peace and real change in favour of democracy and socialism--goals set by the Communist Party of Greece.

CIA UNDERTAKING

Moscow. February 24. TASS. Commenting today on the so-called international youth conference which is to be held next April in Jamaica under a Washington script, the national daily Pravda described the planned event as "an undertaking of the C.I.A." The managers of the American funds, which provide the money for the preparation of that "Tropical holiday," make no bones about admitting that the conference will in fact represent a provocative "counter-festival" to discredit the forthcoming 12th World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow.

Washington's unsuccessful attempts to frustrate major international forums in socialist countries, Pravda said, are nothing new. Suffice it to recall the ill-famed boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980. This time, too, the U.S. secret services, which stand behind the scenes of preparations for the Jamaica "festival," are following their old pattern.

But if one still looks for anything new in the latest undertaking, Pravda said further, one will find it in "the sharply increased share of political cynicism in respect of one of the underdeveloped countries of the region. The blood of the demonstrators, who were shot during recent massive protests against the diktat of the International Monetary Fund and the American transnational corporations that act in collusion with it, has not yet dried in the streets of Jamaican cities. Financial capital on that occasion failed to find money to help Jamaica and stabilize prices on its domestic market. While today tens of millions of dollars appear to be available to pay for the festival tinsel, arrange tours by the most popular Western groups and try and bribe figures of the youth movement from capitalist and developing countries."

(Pravda, February 24. Summary.)

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WHO IS BEHIND JAMAICA CONFERENCE

Y. Alexeyev

"Participation, development, peace" - such is the motto of the International Youth Year proclaimed by the United Nations. But the forces of the Right try to use these noble aims for splitting the international youth movement. The conference of the youth of the "free world", scheduled to be held in Jamaica this April, is bound to serve this purpose, too.

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So Washington has decided to hold an international youth conference of "free world" countries in Jamaica.

Why that country? Isn't it because the White House has chosen it as a showcase of Reagonomics in the Caribbean? Or because Reagan's "programme for democracy" is aimed at the developing countries in general? It is here that Washington is planning to implant the American way of life and its "freedoms". The tiny island state in the Caribbean is only just beginning to taste its fruits. And the following are the conclusions it has made.

The very word "democracy" uttered by those who have wrecked the democratic process in Jamaica by depriving almost 180,000 young people of the voting right, says the Jamaican newspaper Daily Gleaner, sounds insulting, while "the inability to change the situation is making Jamaica a shameful example for the rest of the world and for the Jamaicans each time when democracy is mentioned. It may be added that a quarter of the country's population are jobless, with the figure rising to half in Kingston.

Early this year thousands of the country's people went into the streets of cities to protest against the nakedly pro-imperialist and pro-American policy of the government, which has for all

intents and purposes exposed Jamaica to foreign capital.

The aims of the conference reflect Reagan's ideas on the forcible inculcation of American-style "democracy". The task is being set of "protecting the values of the free world" and of struggling against "totalitarian regimes", among which they include the Soviet Union and ^{other} countries of the socialist community, as well as national liberation movements.

What about the methods used in preparing the conference in Jamaica? On instructions from Washington it has been found advisable to invite to the conference "fighters for democracy" from among... Cuban and Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, from the anti-socialist counter-revolutionary emigre rabble of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

This is an act of "psychological war", which the sponsors of the Jamaica conference are seeking to present as a noble undertaking of the International Youth Year. Even bourgeois unions, including some conservative youth organisations of NATO countries, are shunning this venture. Leading youth organisations of Jamaica stated they would boycott the conference. And at one of the sittings of the national committee for the International Youth Year in Jamaica the hosts had to admit that the conference of "free world" youth had in fact no relation to the Youth Year.

Judging from Western newspaper reports, preparations for the "conference" in Jamaica are the business of an "international secretariat". Is that really so? Until recently there has not been such a secretariat - everything was orchestrated from Washington. To put an end to puzzled queries from West Europeans, the men in Washington decided to create a semblance of democracy. Suffice it to say that members of the so-called "international secretariat" represent no countries, no peoples and no organisations. Still they make bold to speak on behalf of the whole of Africa, Asia and Europe. For example, Africa in it is represented by a Senegalese who has quarrelled with all

youth organisations of his country. A certain Uzi Landau of Israel, who has been made to represent ... the Middle East (?!), has said without mincing matters that the conference will mark a milestone in uniting right-wing forces in the struggle against "international terrorism", which he claims is practised by Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian patriots. A Briton, Steve Morrison, from the right-wing conservative association called "The Democratic Students of Europe," has stated that the conference on Jamaica is a "beacon of hope" for the young supporters of big business and anti-communism.

The sponsors of the Jamaica affair have not held a single consultation or meeting on a genuinely democratic basis. They have usurped the right to decide which youth or student organisation may be called democratic or not, and in which country.

Practically all influential international associations of democratic youth have condemned Washington's unsavoury idea: the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, the International Union of Socialist Youth, the Pan-African Youth Movement, the Latin American Continental Student Organisation, the Arab Student Union, and others. The criminal plans of imperialism are being exposed by many national organisations of youth and students. A number of liberal US organisations and a large group of youth and student associations from other NATO countries have decided against participating in it.

The facts are coming to light, showing that American special services are behind the forthcoming meeting in Jamaica. Thus, an article carried in 1982 in the New York Times, reported that Charles Wick, USIA director, instructed an intelligence expert from the National Centre for Strategic Studies, R. Godson, who formerly was an assistant to CIA director William Casey, to give his assessment of the youth situation throughout the world and to recommend the US ways and means of opposing Soviet propaganda. A publication by the National Alliance of

(now: American Youth Work Center)
Youth Work/issued in November 1983, says that as a result of the work done by this "expert" there was a strange zigzag in the plans regarding the International Youth Year; USIA political appointees set about exploring the possibilities of using the U.S. Committee for the International Youth Year for their purposes. Concerning this, the Gannet News service reported that R. Godson has very insignificant experience in dealing with youth problems. He has instead very extensive knowledge in the sphere of international intelligence and spy recruiting. He is the author of two books analysing requirements to intelligence Ethics." The article goes on to say that the American intelligence in the 80s and the CIA's attitude to American/ commission for the International Youth Year is the brain child of Godson and the USIA and also of the US Youth Council (USYC).

Part of the funds is being made available to the USYC directly from the National Centre for Strategic Studies to recruit young people for the purposes of national intelligence, to search for friendly students from other countries who would agree to work for the American intelligence community.

Hence one can understand the desire of the USYC leadership to distance itself from those youth organisations of the country which showed sincere intentions to take part in events of the UN Youth Year. "We have had several meetings in order to establish cooperation, but have not received any reply from them. We have given written recommendations and offered our assistance, all to no avail," A. Sherman, managing director of the youth organisation Camp Fire, complained about the USYC and the American commission for the International Youth Year in the USA, set up on its basis.

Godson and the USIA's protégés are far from the problems of the young generation of America. Apparently they have decided to use the Youth Year to obtain support for President Reagan's foreign policy, for the deployment of American missiles in Europe and for the USA's interference in Central America's affairs. This is how the Washington Post has determined the aims

of the trips of the USYC delegation to foreign countries. The funds earmarked for the holding of the Youth Year, the same paper reported, are used for foreign trips by American representatives, mainly to Western Europe and Caribbean countries. The aim of such trips is to arrange briefings on interpreting the motto "Participation, Development, Peace."

In light of this American activity which is far from being in accord with the goals and tasks of the International Youth Year, proclaimed by the UN, one can understand the meaning of Reagan's speeches to the effect that the Jamaica meeting deserves resolute support.

Indicative in this respect is the way Washington's rightists interpret the topic of peace. The draft Kingston Declaration of Principles prepared by them states far and wide that universal peace can be based only on the "loyalty to and defence of freedom, on the values and institutions of free and democratic societies." They interpret freedom and democracy in such a way that peace can be ensured only through the destruction of socialism. Such conclusions are based on the following arguments. They say that socialist society has no political pluralism and rules out opposition hostile to it. Hence, they argue, it excludes "the right to free choice! That is why socialism does not ensure "pure democracy" and threatens peace in conditions of "freedom".

The discussion on this issue, a dialogue and a quest for the ways of the joint ensurance of peace and international security are not planned by the sponsors of the Jamaica meeting. They fear such a dialogue because they know that arguments are not in their favour. Such apprehensions, incidentally, determine the choice of "guests".

Washington has preferred not a discussion, but pressure in advance on its allies and partners so that they would not question too much the text of the prepared declaration. They fear that some of the delegates from allied countries will speak in

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favour of the principles of mutual relations between states as sealed in the Helsinki Final Act. Or, they fear, that someone will express sincere concern that the power of big business is hidden behind the democratic envelope of formal equality before the law.

Jamaica is not waiting for freedom fighters either. In this case the sponsors of the Jamaica meeting do not stand for "pluralism". The invitation of patriots of Nicaragua, El Salvador, South Africa, Namibia and other countries would run counter to their designs as well as to the provisions of the declaration of the so far unconvened meeting in Kingston which already accuses national liberation movements of terrorism. The conference itself has been conceived as a rally of "contras".

Another question arises: does this correspond to the platform of the Youth Year which is being held by the UN? The refusal of non-governmental youth organizations associated with the UN system and of specialized UN agencies to participate in this vain venture can serve as the answer to this question. There is reason to believe that UN officials will disassociate themselves from the conference.

Some leaders of West European bourgeois unions are involved in the convocation of this meeting of reactionary forces, in this venture so unpopular in Europe and on other continents. This way they have violated the commitments taken earlier to observe the Declaration of the Principles of All-European Cooperation of Young People and Students.

Conservatives dominate among the not numerous organizations of Western Europe backing the Jamaica conference. Who will go to Jamaica from West Germany? The CDU/CSU Junge Union and revenge-seeking unions of the "expellees".

One should recall that during the "cold war" the US reactionary circles, relying on conservative leaders in the youth movement, set up the World Assembly of Youth and turned it into their mouthpiece. In those years, being prompted by the CIA,

the Assembly held quite a few conferences of the youth of the "free world".

Officially that organization was to meet the demands of the youth. Actually, however, its actions were determined by such organizations as the USYC and were directed at fomenting anti-communist sentiments. This organization served as imperialism's tool of the ideological and political struggle against the Soviet Union and countries of people's democracy, ardently supported the imperialist and neocolonialist policy of Western countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and carried out subversive activity in the international democratic youth movement. After scandalous exposures of the ties between the leadership of the World Assembly of Youth and the CIA, the most influential and large organizations of African and Latin American youth and then West European national youth committees withdrew from it. The World Assembly of Youth has suffered a complete failure.

The pro-imperialist International Student Conference established in 1950 through the CIA's efforts to counterbalance the International Union of Students, was an instrument of the "cold war" in the international student movement. The activity of the International Student Conference fully depended on monopoly capital and the CIA's money which came through a number of American foundations. Those funds were used for collecting intelligence information, for bribing some student leaders and for the subversive activity in the international democratic students' movement. Like the

World Assembly of Youth, this organization ceased to exist after sensational exposures of the links between its leaders and the CIA.

This short historical account shows that Washington's attempts to set up the fifth column in the youth movement are not something new. What is new in the approach by the US ad-

ministration is the stake on the extreme rightist forces and also the attempt to use the UN flag for its purposes.

The splitting activities of reactionaries will certainly suffer a fiasco, will lead to still greater isolation of the right-wing-conservative forces in the youth movement, primarily to the isolation of their leaders in the United States.

The holding of the youth meeting in Jamaica in the International Youth Year could be only greeted if it served the cause of peace, the aims and tasks of the Youth Year proclaimed by the United Nations, if it contributed to the solution of the problems facing young people and students. However, the events around this meeting testifies to the fact that the noble goals of the International Youth Year are obviously being used to the detriment of peace and the interests of young people, including the young generation of Jamaica.

(Komsomolskaya Pravda, March 6. In full.)

THE END

STAGING A FARCE

E. Kavelina

The United Nations has declared 1985 the International Youth Year. Is it not a good opportunity to take a closer look at the rising generation and think about its future and, consequently, about the fundamental right of all people to live in peace?

Let us open the UN programme of measures and actions for the preparation and holding of the International Youth Year. It says in no vague terms that the aim of the efforts made within the framework of the International Youth Year is to search for ways and means of ensuring useful application of the energy, enthusiasm and creative abilities of young people in tackling the problems of national development, international co-operation and the maintenance of world peace. It seemed that that was how the UN member countries interpreted the motto of the International Youth Year: "Participation, Development and Peace." However, it is now becoming clear that not all of them understood it that way.

Here is another document. It has been published with the UN emblem and the UN motto on its cover by those who are staging "an international youth conference," which is to open in Jamaica on April 6. The aim of the conference, the document says, is to unite dynamic youth leaders from Europe, North America, Africa, Asia, Australia and Latin America for the purpose of studying and discussing ways of safeguarding and consolidating the values of free society and also setting up appropriate institutions and finding ways of promoting these values.

Sounds nice. doesn't it, but what does it mean? The facts serve to show that, the organisers of the Jamaica forum want to use the UN initiative as a cover for their efforts to divide

the rising generation into two warring camps. No wonder they said that there should be no "Reds" at the international youth conference in Jamaica and that it was open only to "representatives of the free and democratic world." According to the organisers of the Jamaica conference, El Salvador and Chile are "democratic countries," while Nicaragua and Cuba are not. As might be expected no youth organisations in the socialist countries have been invited to the conference. Errol Anderson, head of the Jamaica conference organising committee, stated in the committee's tabloid Countdown that the committee's secretariat had ruled that the Soviet Union was not a democratic state and decided to invite only dissidents from the Eastern bloc countries.

What are the values which the organisers of the Jamaica conference want to promote?

Photographs showing endless lines of unemployed youth waiting for some job are the usual accompaniment to articles published in the bourgeois press about the rising generation. Young people account for a half of the unemployed in the West. The situation in the developing countries is even more tragic. As many as 70 per cent of the unemployed there are under 24. It is unemployment that causes particular anxiety of the United Nations. Peres de Cuellar, the UN Secretary-General, said that unemployment was a major economic and social problem facing young people. The situation is aggravated by the wasteful arms race, which imperialism is imposing on the world. The military-industrial complex robs students, young workers and their families. One has every reason to ask here whether the organisers of the Jamaica conference want to "safeguard" unemployment, illiteracy, oppression, racism, hunger and poverty.

The US Youth Council began to embody it into life. Here young republicans from the party of President Reagan play first fiddle. Incidentally, not only the USYC worked out the details of the assembly in Jamaica. To recall a fact of recent history, it was this organisation that in 1968 was exposed as having

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links with the CIA.

In the United States itself the American commission for International Youth Year is called the creation of Godson and the US Information Agency, as well as of the US Youth Council controlled by them. The New York Times replied to the question of who Godson is. On the eve of Youth Year USIA director C. Wick, reported the newspaper, had asked intelligence expert R. Godson of the National Centre for Strategic Studies (previously assistant to CIA director W. Casey) to assess the youth situation in the world. So Godson must have contributed to the elaboration of the American approach to International Youth Year. The people there outright disassociated themselves from the problems of the youth of America itself, and wholly occupied themselves with journeying abroad. The aim: to win support for the foreign policy course of President Reagan, the deployment of American missiles in Europe and US intervention in the affairs of Central America. This is the evaluation given by the Washington Post to the first steps of the American commission for Youth Year.

Hence the pathos of the speeches of the US President himself. In a recent proclamation on International Youth Year he directly appealed to the US youth everywhere to publicise the American way of life and to be the proud ambassadors of national interests. The opportunity presents itself, he stressed, thanks to the people of Jamaica; certainly because, he might have added, the Jamaican conference is the favourite brainchild of Washington. Back last summer at a meeting of representatives of the national commission for Youth Year the President had unambiguously declared that the conference in Jamaica deserved the resolute support of freedomloving people everywhere...

And support did come, very generous at that. Washington donated a million dollars for the organisation of this get-together. Under its pressure other governments too, in particular of Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, took a decision to subsidise the trips of their delegations to Jamaica.

US air lines are prepared to deliver a significant number of delegates there free of charge.

The Jamaican conference is to end with the establishment of an alliance of pro-American "youth leaders of the free world." As conceived by Washington, it will be the one that will undermine the unity of the youth of different countries and continents.

"An undisguised attempt to split the international youth movement" - this is how the preparation of a "conference" in Jamaica has been assessed by the International Union of Students. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has described it as a "component part of the global anti-democratic policy of Washington and its allies." The "conference" represents a bid to put together an "alternative" youth organisation that would serve imperialism and reaction. Its aims and objectives have nothing in common with the real interests of youth and students and are at variance with the basic principles of the UN. Such is the opinion of the majority of youth associations.

(Sovetskaya Rossia, April 3. Abridged.)

Friday, July 13, 1984

OSMOVO-1991

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LEARNING COMMUNISM AS LENIN BADE US

V.Mishin, First Secretary of the YCL Central
Committee

After studying one of the draft resolutions of the 11th Party conference in December 1921, Lenin made a remark on the preparation of new Party members through the Komsomol, which remains topical up to now. Said he: "I believe stricter conditions should be laid...to make sure that the members of the YCL admitted to membership of the Party have, first, really studied seriously and learnt something, and secondly, that they have a long record of serious practical work (economic, cultural, etc.)"

The Communist Party brings on its younger generation conscientiously and diligently, in Lenin's style, equipping the Komsomol with the knowledge and experience of the older generations. Party guidance is an invigorating source of the Komsomol's strength, an earnest of all of its achievements, and a reliable, time-tested guarantee of the revolutionary continuity of generations.

It is a symbolic fact that it was on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the conferment of Lenin's name on the YCL that the Central Committee of the CPSU adopted a resolution on further improving Party guidance of the Komsomol and on increasing its role in the communist upbringing of the youth.

The tasks set by the Party before the Komsomol have been prompted by life itself, by the essential needs of the development of Soviet society which is vitally interested in bringing on the young people who, as Comrade Konstantin Chernenko noted, will not waver, and will not succumb under

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the burden of historical responsibility for the destinies of the country, for the destinies of socialism and peace, who would not only master the experience of the older generations, but would also enrich it with their own accomplishments.

The Komsomol takes pride in the high Party assessment of its activities, fully shares the Party's views on the shortcomings in the Komsomol's work, and has a clear idea on the ways and means of their removal. In line with the Party's demand, the YCL committees see to it that the activities of each primary organization should conform as much as possible to the complicated and responsible tasks of the perfection of developed socialism.

1.

Labour has been and remains to be an immutable foundation of the education of the young citizens of socialist society. The educational process today is inseparable from the active participation of young men and women in the work of production collectives and in the implementation of key economic tasks.

The majority of our young people work honestly and conscientiously, feeling personal responsibility for the country's performance, and being fully aware of their civic duty. A vigorous work-effort of the young people in honour of the 60th anniversary of the conferment of Lenin's name on the YCL has become a new example of heroism in mass everyday work.

A passive attitude to work and public activities, individualism, lack of discipline and reluctance to work where it is necessary for society, which are current among a certain part of the youth, are all the more intolerable against the background of bright, meaningful life and enthusiastic work of millions upon millions of the young people of today.

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Komsomol organizations do not always use the means which they have at their disposal for giving a good scolding to slackers bursting with health, to idle chatterboxes, and to those who like to hide behind the back of others or to live on their tender-hearted parents, and for creating an atmosphere of intolerance around slipshod workers, around those who infringe on labour discipline and around other morally handicapped people. YCL committees often lack an ability to see the sources of negative phenomena in the life of the youth, and to uproot what impedes our advance.

A dynamic growth of the youth's share in social production necessitates all-round advancement of labour education, and the conversion of the sphere of labour into the sphere of moulding civic qualities in the personality.

Quite a few difficulties still stand in the way of solving these tasks. Due to lack of coordination in the activities of different organizations which take part in the education of the young workers, work collectives fail to use in full their potentialities in the field of education. Educational work with young people at production is frequently replaced with petty tutelage, and is far from always being a purposeful and systematic process. The blame for this situation primarily rests with Komsomol organizations.

At the same time, the managers of enterprises and heads of organisations, ministries and departments must have a higher sense of responsibility for the educational implications of production activities. We must vigorously combat the practice of individual managers using young people's enthusiasm in their own selfish interests, when young people are used to rectify the faults resulting from inefficiency.

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Nor should we tolerate the situation when at some enterprises young people are not trusted with modern technology and when competent young specialists and skilled young workers are considered "apprentices" for a long time. All organisations concerned must see to it that every enterprise, every collective and state farm and every research institution creates, as the Party demands, broad opportunities for young people's initiative.

There is reason to believe that the decision to introduce the post of a deputy shop superintendent and deputy head of an organisation or enterprise in charge of educational work is warranted. This practice must be promoted in every possible way. The practice of senior workers taking charge of and assuming responsibility for junior workers has a great role to play in ensuring continuity of generations and promoting the traditions of shock work. It must be elevated to the status of a major institution of social upbringing and there are all opportunities for doing so.

Speaking about the problem of work education of young people, one cannot omit mention of the problems related to the activities of secondary schools, institutions of higher education and vocational schools. Komsomol organisations are participating in the implementation of the school reform with a sense of responsibility. They are seeking to make their contribution to the efforts to link education to production, enhance the educational role of school apprenticeship teams and the effectiveness of students' summer work practice and improve vocational guidance.

An efficient and well thought-out system is needed in work education of young people and everyone must be interested in

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contributing to the cause. There is a wide range of problems that must be solved without delay. There is still a shortage of toys which help children acquire basic work skills and an interest in sophisticated modern technology. The range of materials that can be used by children in their creative endeavour is extremely narrow. Little progress has been made in supplying school apprenticeship teams with tools and equipment specially designed for teenagers.

In formulating the guidelines for the country's development, the Party is pinning big hopes on young people's skills, initiative and enthusiasm. This must be inculcated in the mind of every young person and new effective methods of labour education of young people should be found.

2.

The moulding of the Marxist-Leninist outlook of the world in youth, the development of their ability to understand political events and the stimulation of their desire to learn the science of revolutionary action and study the current problems of the Communist Party's home and foreign policy occupy a special place in the Komsomol's activities. The decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent plenums of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee had a favourable influence on that process.

However, this work still lacks consistency, soundness of judgement and depth. There are still cases of formalism and over-organisation. Emphasis must be shifted to an independent, thorough and consistent study by young people of Marxism-Leninism and fuller use of the vast opportunities inherent in political literature, television and radio. Political education of young people must be more closely linked to vocational training and be an organic part of the general

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system of personnel training and re-training and, in the long term, be included in the general system of continuous education.

Lecturers, ralliers and specialists in political affairs can do a great deal in telling the mass of young people the truth about our life and imparting the optimism of socialist reality. Meetings of Party and government officials with young people, which have become traditional in many republics, territories and regions of the country, are also of great political and educational importance. Getting first-hand information, so to speak, young people become more involved in the affairs of the state and realise to a fuller extent their responsibility for a common cause.

The moulding of a world outlook in young people is taking place in an atmosphere of intense ideological struggle. Young people are the main target of imperialist ideological subversion. Imperialism is conducting a fierce offensive on young people's minds and hearts, using the most sophisticated methods and the most advanced technical facilities. The arsenals of our enemies include malicious slander on socialist reality, falsification of history, propaganda of the Western way of life and advocacy of non-involvement in political affairs, scepticism, the lack of principles, and consumerism.

The Party is urging the Komsomol to make its work with young people more vigorous and up-to-date. Committed to the traditions of Bolshevism, we realise that we should not be afraid of discussing controversial problems at Komsomol meetings, in young people's political clubs, in students' social clubs or at places of recreation. It is bad when such debates take place in smoking rooms and backyards and at gatherings which are out of Komsomol control and influence

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and are not as harmless as they might seem, where the tone is set not by a political fighter of the Young Communist League but by a philistine, demagogue, grumbler or persons fond of slandering our reality, who take their cue from foreign slanderers.

The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's resolution "On the Further Improvement of Party Leadership of the Komsomol and the Enhancement of Its Role in the Communist Upbringing of Youth" says that Lenin's historic call to the youth "to learn communism," which he made in his speech at the Third Komsomol Congress, is becoming increasingly topical in the present situation.

It is the duty of the YCL's central and local committees to ensure that all primary organisations develop their activities on the basis of our political and ideological principles, young people know how to apply Marxism-Leninism in their daily lives, YCL lecturers sound convincing, and membership meetings, the YCL press and YCL inspectorate groups help young people perceive the triumph of social justice and foster collectivist morality.

Preparations for the 12th World Youth and Students Festival promote the education of young men and women in the spirit of internationalism.

In preparing to mark the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory over nazi Germany, YCL committees are working for YCL members and non-affiliated young men and women to emulate the revolutionary, combat and labour exploits of the past generations of the Party and the people.

Relying on the experience amassed, the YCL will continue to foster young people's love of the homeland and respect of its Armed Forces and to see to it that educated young men, strong physically and mature politically and morally, come to serve in the army.

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With the assistance of other organisations, the YCL Central Committee intends to give young men greater opportunities to go in for the sports that will help them in the army. It is time to think of opening more cadet schools and using retired army officers as instructors.

YCL committees have not yet concentrated on young people's leisure time, a scene of the struggle of ideas. We have not yet done all we could to invest with Soviet, socialist content, such things of special interest to youth as fashion and music.

The YCL must devote more attention to the moral aspects of young people's education and to their free time, to help develop recreational and sports facilities, particularly in new communities, and to react more resolutely to things which, although appealing to some of our young people, prejudice the interests of society.

This will be promoted by a comprehensive programme of work among children, teenagers, and young people at the place of residence. The programme was sponsored by the YCL Central Committee. It is to be believed that the programme will help combat juvenile delinquency. Crime prevention is becoming a pressing matter for the Young Communist League to tackle.

The YCL Central Committee and the YCL press receive letters from YCL activists, teachers and instructors saying that it would be expedient to pass a law on young people, setting forth the duties of organisations and officials responsible for work among children and teenagers.

3.

The YCL develops activities on the basis of the experience accumulated over decades. The new tasks, formulated by the Party, require a new approach. However, inertia and conservatism still persist in this field.

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Talking with army YCL organisers, K.U.Chernenko said that YCL organisations still try to handle new tasks with the help of outdated methods. This prevents us from reacting instantly to new trends in the life of young people in order to channel them in the desired direction.

In fulfilling instructions from the Party, YCL committees **work** for the higher standards of organisation, order and discipline in the League, help YCL members to become more resourceful, and combat red tape, overregimentation and ostentation. It is not moves intended to impress people, but emphasis on the organising and educational aspects of the League's daily work that will help every YCL organisation make its activities more interesting and constructive.

The success of YCL committees on every level depends in great measure on the attention shown in their activities by Party organisations, which, as a resolution of the CPSU Central Committee says, should rely on persuasion and comradely concern, support good initiatives, teach YCL members and, to use Lenin's words, to ginger up stragglers by example, rather than moralising. Refining the style of work, YCL committees will learn from the Party to work creatively, more efficiently and with maximum effort.

YCL officials and millions of YCL activists have an important role to play in improving the forms and methods of the League's activities and style of work. YCL organisers carry out an important commission of the Party. They must rub shoulders with young people, see how they work and recreate, know their sentiments, help them shape their requirements and to protect their interests.

YCL organisers and activists have great rights and duties. It is not only activists that have duties to discharge. Every

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YCL member should know that his honest work will be rewarded and sluggishness censured.

To meet the demands the Party makes of the League, every organisation and member of the League should be responsible for the success of an undertaking, which can be small but important for society.

The Young Communist League spares no effort to implement the principles formulated by Lenin. The League is celebrating the anniversary^{of} its being given the name of Lenin by enthusiastic work and by paying more attention to shortcomings and unsolved problems. Accepting the honour of bearing the name of Lenin, the YCL members of the 1920s pledged to be worth of that name and kept their promise against all odds. The League remains loyal to their vow. The young men and women of the 1930s will remain as committed to Lenin's cause as the preceeding generations.

(Pravda, July 12. In full.)