

## INTRODUCTION

**1** We are moving towards the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE with revolutionary optimism and conviction that we will make a critical contribution and respond to the great aims of our Party. In the context of unforeseen developments, very rapid realignments both in our country and internationally, as well as new, more intense rivalries and hotbeds of war, we showed endurance, we became stronger and we keep going with a feeling of increased responsibility and higher demands – collectively and individually – for the strengthening of KNE, the vanguard youth of the KKE, militantly on the road to the socialist tomorrow.

We are certain that the 21<sup>st</sup> century will be the century that the revolutionary movement shall rise and a new series of social uprisings shall be sparked off, to which the young communists will contribute, for '*...the earthquakes to come*'.

We act under specific conditions, which are important for us to study and understand in order to become more effective and pervasive in our intervention everywhere where the young generation acts and lives.

We are guided by the contemporary, revolutionary Programme of the KKE, the decisions of the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of the KKE, by the Party's elaborations overall, which we are called upon to promote, creatively disseminate when approaching the young people of the working class and the popular strata.

The course of our Party and its youth, KNE, and the action of the communists for more than a century rightly fill with pride and enthusiasm every KNE member today, they teach and educate us. A few days after the publication of the Theses, we'll commemorate the centenary of the founding of the Federation of the Communist Youth Organizations of Greece (OKNE) and, in February 2023, we'll commemorate the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the founding of the Unified National Youth Organization (EPON). In these steps, we continue...

Despite the fact that we're operating under conditions in which the international communist and labour movement are in a great retreat, with the restoration of capitalism in the countries where socialism was constructed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; despite the multifaceted, ideological warfare waged that there is no alternative to capitalism; despite the cultivation, by any means necessary, of individualism and competition at the expense of any collective idea and action for decades now, today's members of KNE are more equipped to contribute actively to the class struggle and the new developments, which constantly show that the prospect of a socialist-communist society is more necessary than ever.

The publication of the Theses of the Central Council (CC) of KNE for the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress marks the beginning of the highest intra-organizational process for us. The good study of the Theses and the adaptation of our work based on the main direction they set concerns all members, all organizations of KNE. Our aim is, through the discussion to be held in view of the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE, not only to accumulate the experience of the past period but also to study the course of KNE, to develop a fruitful reflection and elaboration of what we can do and how we can do it to make our action more effective on all fronts, to strengthen our role and make it more distinct as the organized vanguard of the youth fighting for a way out in favour of the great majority of the young generation.

The Theses of the CC for the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE are focused on how KNE can be all-around strengthened as the youth organisation of the KKE, and how it can acquire the ability to play its vanguard role in contributing with young forces to the regroupment of the labour-popular movement, the concentration of forces, the change in the correlation for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for

socialism. Strengthening KNE means strengthening the Base Organizations (BO) and each of its members individually, developing the ability to inspire the youth; it means building up endurance, more antibodies to frustration, resignation and fatalism, to the sirens of the realism of submission in today's barbaric system.

The Theses of the CC for the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE address the millions of young people living, studying and working in our country, the tens of thousands who have emigrated abroad. We want them to reach the thousands with whom we have met in our struggles and political initiatives over the past years, the young people who think rebelliously and out of the box. We also want them to reach many more coming from the working class and popular strata, because their future depends on the course of the class struggle, on the course of strengthening the KKE and KNE and the labour movement. We want to contribute – coupled with their own experience – so that their general concern can take a more substantial content and turn into action and youth initiative in the anti-capitalist struggle. We invite them to take an active part in the pre-congress discussion of the Theses of the CC, in our events and in the pre-congress dialogue, which will be conducted in public as well through the Organ of the Central Council of KNE, the 'Odigitis' magazine.

Everyone's opinions, contributions, thoughts and remarks count. The process of the Congress, from the pre-congress dialogue up to its conduct, will prove once again that KNE and the youth organizations of bourgeois and opportunist parties are as different as day and night. Their congresses are yet another quarrel for personal promotion and satisfaction of selfish, personal and business interests as part of the effort to co-opt the people. These elements are unknown to our Organization because our purpose of existence and action is completely different. We act as like-minded volunteers in order to overthrow the rotten exploitation system, to bond and build relationships of trust and militant action with the youth of the working class and popular strata, to inspire and actively mobilize young people in the struggle for the new, superior society, the socialist-communist society.

## **2 As in all the great moments of our people's modern history, so in recent years, the moments that gave our people a breath of hope and optimism are those when the KKE and KNE were at the forefront.**

Since the previous 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE, in February 2019, there have been dense developments and events, during which KNE made a serious effort to respond to the unprecedented conditions of the time. It managed, despite any weaknesses, to become the main organizing force for the struggles of the young generations.

At the forefront of the battle, without taking a step back from the needs of the youth, KNE was always where the youth's heart was beating and their concerns were expressed. KNE was there, when the bans of the bourgeois state, on the occasion of the pandemic, were flouted: At the rally of the trade unions at Syntagma Square, in May Day 2020. At the double rally, at the American Embassy and the centre of Athens, on 17 November, when the armoured water cannons and repression were not enough to make us break. It was present in the iconic struggles of the workers at COSCO, the ferronickel factory LARCO, the food delivery company e-food; amongst the workers in commerce, tourism, hospitality, where exploitation is on the rise, and amongst the students in training. It was also there when the people acted in true solidarity in the midst of devastating wildfires and floods, thus turning it into the slogan: 'Only the people can save the people'.

KNE was at the forefront of all the great moments of school-students – their mass mobilizations for health protection measures, against anti-education laws, in their great battle so that the serpent's egg doesn't set foot in schools, against

fascism and racism, against the competition that is being cultivated amongst school-students. It played a leading role in the effort of university students to become 'students again', in their great struggles against the university police and the new framework law; in the great victory of 'Panspoudastiki K.S.' and its emergence as the 1<sup>st</sup> force in student elections.

With the outbreak of the imperialist war on European soil, it made a difference by staging the historic rally outside the Russian Embassy marching towards the American one, showing that we won't choose a thief; by taking symbolic actions of resistance and counterattack against the frigates and troops of the murderers; by revealing the truth about the imperialist war and Greece's involvement in it. We are filled with optimism by the proud stance of hundreds of young conscripts against the country's participation in imperialist wars and the contribution of KNE to it.

KNE was on the vanguard of solidarity with the persecuted and exploited around the world, a living example of internationalist, proletarian and youth solidarity, always at the forefront of developing broad cultural and educational activity culminating in the festivals of KNE-'Odigitis', which contribute to the militant intervention of KNE and the rallying of broader youth forces.

These scenes are a living example of how history ought to be written. And KNE has proved that, when history is written, it plays its own part by the side of the KKE, with the unyielding class struggles and faith in the just cause of the working class shedding light on the only way out in favour of the people, socialism.

## **A. OUR FUTURE IS NOT CAPITALISM, IT'S THE NEW WORLD, SOCIALISM**

**3** In recent years, young generations are experiencing and feeling that 'we are living in the worst of times'. This is a result of the sharpening of the system's contradictions, of how the laws of the capitalist market and relentless competition for maximum profit amongst monopoly groups, bourgeois states and imperialist alliances work. Even the bourgeois staffs admit that 'we are talking about a generation that will live worse than the previous one, for the first time in history'. They talk about 'hard winters', 'emergency-war conditions'. Their goal, of course, is the popular acceptance of and consensus on new measures, confinement of thought and action within the limits of the management of this system, promoting the logic that the blame for every problem lies with exogenous factors, failures, etc.

All around the world, the system has left its mark on the lives of young people, even on the youngest children. To a certain extent, 'visions', which were peddled amongst younger generations as the points of capitalism's superiority, are fading. The notion of the 'sustainable development and constant improvement of living standards' that was promised has obviously been bankrupted, especially with the capitalist crises of the last 15 years and everything the pandemic has revealed about the 'sacred and holy' of this system at the expense of the lives and health of millions of people around the globe.

It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that our whole life is constantly deteriorating within the vicious circle of capitalism – economic crises and intensification of exploitation. In a course in which the profits of exploiters have always been the compass that guides all governments regarding their policies, they sacrifice gains and rights that were established with blood and fierce class struggles. Over the past period, it was further revealed that, whether by 'expansionary' or

‘restrictive’ policy – both utilized and implemented by all governments regardless of ideological and political hue – the medicine for one problem of capitalism can become poison for another. The people pay the price in both cases; with unbearable taxes and a huge loss in rights, the people shoulder the ‘fiscal discipline’; with soaring inflation, price hike and energy poverty, the people pay the billions that ultimately go to the big business groups.

The restlessness and concern that a significant part of the youth feels, and could spread to even more, rests on an objective basis. Despite the effort of the system to use the achievements of human work as evidence of its success, there is an ever-growing gap between ‘how we could live today in relation to the possibilities of the time’ and ‘how we actually live’. Despite technological and scientific progress, working hours are not being reduced, but rather violated and ever extending, youth unemployment remains high, insecurity is growing, rents and bills prevent young people from leaving the nest, young couples are finding it difficult to start their lives together, etc.

The anti-popular measures, which were adopted in previous years, target the youth and are here to stay. The reactionary laws on social security, health, education, working time and overall labour relations, wages, as well as a number of other interventions in relation to the rights of youth to culture, sports, all worsen today’s living conditions.

The government, as well as the opposition of all bourgeois parties, bears a heavy responsibility for the future they map out for the youth through their positions or even by voting dozens of bills and provisions. The fact that a young worker doesn’t currently have social security rights and health care is promoted as ‘an increase in salary’. Unpaid overtime, ten-hour work and flexible labour relations are described as a chance for young people to start a family, work and study at the same time or as a way to increase their income, among others.

The majority of young workers today face employment mismatch, intensification of work, and dangerous health and safety conditions, which prevail even in flagship – for capital – investments, the absence of any stability in working time or even in the workplace. Those who are employed in more dynamic sectors and get paid today relatively better, in addition to insecurity, experience the suffocating frameworks set by employers to ‘meet the targets’, and are often exhausted due to working conditions.

At the same time, the cost of living and the prices of basic goods are constantly on the rise, while the problems in finding cheap and quality housing are growing. Overall, the impact of the capitalist activity on the environment, the subordination of spatial land-use planning to the needs of fast profitability and the selective inability of the bourgeois state to protect the people from natural disasters degrade entire areas where the working class and popular strata are concentrated.

The changes promoted in education respond to the needs of capital at this time, resulting in even greater blows on the general character of education and the possibility of mastering a scientific field. The role of the school as an examination centre is intensified and reactionary changes in what and how school-students learn have been promoted. There are increasing difficulties for a young person of working-class and popular background to be able to study at a university. The laws promoted in higher education shape the conditions for enhancing commodification in all its aspects and intensify underfunding and degradation, especially of undergraduate studies. Tuition fees in postgraduate studies are becoming the norm. More and more people are being pushed from an early age into apprenticeship-training institutions, thus serving the aspirations of the capitalist market, without taking any substantial measures to improve technical-vocational education.

There has been an attempt by the New Democracy (ND) government to put the blame for the escalating labour-popular problems on the 'emergency conditions' or 'exogenous factors'. SYRIZA, PASOK/KINAL and MERA25 (DiEM25) support, in one way or another, the strategic restructuring, contributing to the strategic goals of the US-NATO and the EU, and to strengthening both the lowering of demands and the illusion that a change in government can make things a little better. All this, at a time when the consequences of the pandemic, the capitalist economic crises, the intensification of the suppression of the labour-popular movement and the deeper involvement in imperialist competition tarnished the entire capitalist world, regardless of how each bourgeois government defines itself.

Of course, all of the above don't generally lead to a spontaneous radicalization of consciousness. But they form a state of flux, in which our actions, and our revolutionary ideas can exert influence on better terms. New possibilities are emerging and expectations are rising.

All of the above is taken into account by the bourgeois states and their apparatuses around the world. In fear of popular reactions, which they know their policy will inevitably spark off, they intensify repression, authoritarianism but also the policies of co-opting popular anger. The ideological-repressive machinery of the state used against the enemy, that is the people, is being upgraded to shield bourgeois power.

**4** **We have entered a critical decade.** The sharpening of contradictions between the imperialists, the difficulties in the expanded reproduction of capital, mainly the large volume of accumulated capital that cannot be invested in the production with maximum profitability, create an explosive mixture for the peoples throughout the world. Our era is marked by the fight for supremacy in the imperialist system between the USA and China. A huge economic – and not only – war is underway with sanctions and tariffs imposed by both sides on commodities and trade-economic-energy projects, which are in confrontation all over the world. Imperialist alliances are being rearranged, new ones are formed while the contradictions are getting sharpened both between the two main conflicting blocs of forces (the Euro-Atlantic and the Eurasian which is in formation) as well as between the 'allies' themselves.

As history has shown, such far-reaching and important imperialist conflicts rarely remain only in the economic realm. This is why we see a huge increase in military equipment from bourgeois states worldwide; old wounds becoming the subject of renewed confrontation, but also new ones are being created. The war in Ukraine, the intensification of imperialist rivalries and the passage to the phase in which the power of arms becomes a priority, all further contradict decades of propaganda – and especially after the counter-revolutionary overthrows in the former socialist countries, in 1989-1991 – based on which society had entered 'the era of peace and security', with the EU, NATO and the US being the main guarantors. Overall, the sharpening of authoritarianism, anachronism and parasitism in every aspect of economic and social life further proves why bourgeoisies, their governments and parties were celebrating when the first attempt to construct the socialist society was overthrown and were speaking of '*the world of freedom and progress that is opening up...*'.

It's not only the NATO-Russia war on the territory of Ukraine but also the war in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Arctic, Eastern Mediterranean, Eastern Europe, the South China Sea and the Pacific in general; everywhere there are hotbeds of conflict between the imperialists. The refugees, victims of imperialist wars and capitalist exploitation who exceed 100 million, experience brutal repression by the bourgeois states and become a punchbag in imperialist rivalries.

Greece is deeply involved in dangerous imperialist plans. It turns into a perpetrator against other peoples, under the huge historic responsibility of all bourgeois parties. At the same time, the people of our country become the victim, a possible target for retaliation in a potential conflict. The imperialist agreements with the USA, France, NATO-EU, with reactionary monarchies of the Persian Gulf, such as Saudi Arabia etc., the concession of land, infrastructure and military facilities to the USA-NATO, the deployment of Greek military forces out of the borders, these are all an integral part of the dangerous NATO plans, as it has been confirmed numerous times over the last period. They serve the interests of a handful of major domestic shareholders that mainly represent the shipping, construction and energy sectors.

At the same time, the competition between the Greek and the Turkish bourgeoisie focused on which one will have a more enhanced standing within the wider region of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans with both areas being in the eye of the storm because of their geostrategic importance (energy deposits, transit of energy pipelines and transportation routes). The bourgeoisie of Turkey takes advantage of its powerful position to bargain both with the USA-NATO-EU and the Eurasian bloc (China, Russia, etc.) that is under formation. It maintains occupation armies in other countries, conducts military operations and questions treaties under which the borders have been established. The 'allies' of the Greek bourgeoisie and bourgeois parties prefer Turkey to remain on the NATO side for their own interests, thus sacrificing the sovereign rights of Greece and festering the provocations by the Turkish state. The people of Greece and Turkey have common interests. What unites them is capitalist exploitation, poverty and the consequences of the natural disasters they have faced. Neither nationalism nor the cosmopolitanism of capital will satisfy their expectations for peace and prosperity. Imperialist confrontations are followed by imperialist agreements for peace, which however already include the seeds of a new conflict. In any case, the people, and especially the youth, are the ones who have to foot the bill as history has shown.

## **5 The struggle against the capitalist system that gives rise to wars, crises, poverty and refugee flows is the way out for the youth of the working class and the popular strata.**

Every day, capitalism is ever more intensely revealing its appalling nature. History has shown that when a socio-economic system becomes obsolete and stops being progressive, the necessity is created for its overthrow. Likewise, since capitalism is becoming ever more reactionary, it needs to be overthrown. It's continuously intensifying inequality, adding new burdens on the shoulders of young people and insurmountable obstacles to their efforts to be educated, study, work and live with dignity.

Socialism-communism is the answer to the great problem of our time, to the fundamental contradiction that is constantly sharpening within the framework of the capitalist system – i.e. labour and the process of production of wealth are getting more and more socialized, while the appropriation of their results is being concentrated to fewer and fewer people.

The socialization of the concentrated means of production as well as central scientific planning, under the revolutionary workers' power, capable of organizing and protecting production and distribution that will aim at social prosperity is a historic necessity. The overthrow of capitalism and the transition to a superior socio-economic system, i.e. socialism, is the only way to meet the contemporary needs of the people and youth by focusing on these needs. The untold wealth being produced by the workers, which is now seized by capitalists, will then remain in the hands of society. Socialism has already proved its superiority, even in the first attempt at its

construction in the USSR. From the very first years, education, housing, steady work, a high-quality health care system, leisure and vacation were ensured for everyone. Socialism had established decades ago rights and services that today are considered a luxury and an elusive dream for the majority of workers, and which could reach a much higher level now with the advances in science and technology. Based on the experience and the conclusions collectively drawn from the weaknesses, mistakes and problems of that first attempt at socialist construction, the new society can gain the strength needed to irreversibly establish social progress.

Our struggle springs from this belief and thus, it can inspire the youth to en masse follow the direction of socialist prospect and rally forces around the revolutionary overthrow. Revolutionary action under any conditions is a prerequisite for the cracks running up the rotten capitalist world to become deeper until it finally gets defeated under the revolutionary situation.

## **PLANNING OF ACTION OF KNE UNTIL THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS**

### **B. FOCUS ON THE ALL-ROUND STRENGTHENING- STEELING OF KNE UNDER THE NEW CONDITIONS**

**6** The CC highlights that the main issue, upon which all members and cadres of KNE should reflect, is the need to further understand that the expectations are rising overall for the KKE and KNE now that we have entered a new phase, which isn't just characterized by some new, separate facts, but also by qualitative changes. By studying and drawing conclusions from the action of KNE in the previous years, we need to take further, more unified and solid steps towards the strengthening of KNE with a qualitative improvement of the intra-organizational life and its vanguard role in the struggles of the youth.

In other words, there is the need to strengthen more decisively and at a faster pace the special contribution of KNE to the intervention in the ranks of the youth of the working-class and popular families, to the development of their struggles and their orientation. Moreover, being the youth organization of the KKE, it ought to develop more decisively its ability to educate with the revolutionary ideas and communist organization in order to foster today, under the complex conditions of class struggle, endurance and steeling for all its members, but also for all the young people that should join KNE in the years to come.

The slogan of the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE, *'Even more, more capable, we pave the way for what is truly contemporary and young, for a world worthy of our dreams, and worthy of our people, Socialism!'*, was the guide for our efforts over the past four years. We mainly assess that it helped to enhance the steady orientation for the construction of new KNE Organizations in places where the youth is gathered, the ability to significantly increase the growth rates of our Organization and to improve the preconditions for all the above at a level of political guidance. The measurable results of the organizational growth of KNE during this time shouldn't hide the fact that these steps are still small and not uniform in all Organizations and that there is still a lot of room for improvement and potential, of which we should take full advantage.

With the CC assuming the main responsibility, we set as a target to further improve the political guidance work and the overall intervention of KNE. A precondition for that is enriching the life of the organs and Base Organizations

(BOs) by better organizing discussions on ideological-political issues, which will be elaborated and adapted to the needs of the youth, within the framework of the general political line and positions of the Party. Gaining collective experience and the necessary knowledge are key elements to act incisively within the youth; for the new members of KNE to be adequately equipped; to address the possibility of fatigue when the struggle doesn't bring instant results; to develop the notion that nothing is in vain but, on the contrary, every action and effort lays the groundwork for the great overthrows.

This presupposes a plan of action that is not limited to a list of duties for each period, but instead is aiming to make our members more active; it aims to elaborate and unfold an intervention plan in every area of interest to us. Widening the political circle of the BO, having a big organizational growth of KNE – as a basic and irreplaceable precondition for the militant counterattack of the youth – and fueling the Party with more young members are central and measurable criteria of success.

We are concerned about the traits that the members of KNE develop through their organized life. The operation of the BOs needs to be based on a more solid, communist theoretical background, with perseverance and superiority for the goals of our struggle. Based on the above, along with the power arising from being organized, all members of KNE need to acquire a militant, vanguard and daring activity within the places where the youth lives and works. With the necessary support, the members of KNE need to gain the ability to share the spirit of resistance by being inspiring examples of militancy, combativeness and solidarity themselves, and at the same time, by showing the way to younger generations to be freed from exploitation once and for all.

The way that the overall activity, organized life, operation and political guidance work equip each member of KNE to build a conscious and steady course of action in their life, is a prerequisite for KNE to fulfil its important role as the basic source of recruits for the Party. We intensify our effort, through the battles waged and everyday work, to cultivate on steady basis elements and traits that characterize the young communists. Such elements are the resistance towards any kind of injustice, reading Marxist, historical and literary books, spending free time creatively, developing a cultural background as well as an aesthetic criterion, caring for and expressing solidarity with all the young people from the working class and the popular strata.

The daily stance of each and every one of us, instilled with the ideals of socialism and the values of the struggle for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man should be accompanied by practical support and solidarity measures. That way each one can find the strength and courage to overcome any difficulties, smaller or bigger ones, the obstacles of everyday life, the living conditions that make the organized activity more challenging, and even the consequences of the general situation of retreat of the movement internationally. The conscious resistance to the siren calls of individual solutions to major social problems should be stiffened.

In the time to come, through our vanguard stance in the struggles and the wide political work, we need to improve our ability to massively establish criteria amongst young people. Criteria for the youth action, which can and must get stronger, for the power of the organized people that is emancipated from the capital's calls, and the role they can play. This section of the youth that neither trusts bourgeois governments nor has any expectations from them should be heard more. This section that doesn't buy into government changes for the so-called progressive governments and the various adjustments of the bourgeois political system that are used as a way for discontent to be vented. The section



of the youth that rejects the subjugation to the needs of the big business groups, the planning of imperialist alliances, the EU and NATO. It should be as deeply and widely as possible understood that, especially in our time, the struggle for individual gains is linked to the development of the class struggle, to the fight for revolutionary, radical changes; that the solution to the major social issues can only come through the overthrow of the exploiting class.

Especially in the glooming times to come, our Organization is ought to be able to adapt its activity regardless of the obstacles and conditions that may arise. It should be able to intervene in overcoming those obstacles so that the revolutionary line of the Party reaches everyone anytime. Vigilance and communist operation, inspired by the rich experience of our Party, should be strengthened.

Our people, with KKE at the forefront, have written some of their brightest pages in history, in times when all was smothered in darkness. They achieved greatness in times when this was deemed impossible. In the face of important and crucial moments, as a result of the capitalist impasses and the class struggle, it's our duty to make KNE more prepared, more massive, stronger and steeled in a multi-faceted way so that it can fulfil its role as the youth organization of the KKE.

## **7 'What we have achieved' and 'How we have achieved it' during this time offer a valuable experience and motivation for the future.**

KNE has gained important experience during the past four years, since the last Congress. It is no coincidence and shouldn't be taken for granted that under these conditions we managed to raise the crucial issue of the need for the people and the youth to fight independently and be guided by their own interests, rallied behind their own organs of struggle, building the base for whatever follows. The core to develop such work was the elaboration of suitable positions, demands and slogans that revealed the essence of the developments; at each given moment, they took into account the mood and the stance of the workers and the people and answered to the crucial question of 'what can we do about all this?', through which form of organization and under which plan we can do it.

The conclusions drawn from that time should be assimilated by all KNE Organizations; they should be discussed widely amongst the youth to become the solid base for the immediate, unified and steadier progress of our forces throughout Greece.

► **We work in terms of a long-term outlook. In every struggle, which we helped develop or intervened in, we highlight, with the appropriate elaboration, the need to confront this system.** Our political proposal for the way out should and can be tested in the struggle, under conditions of shocks, realignments and reshaping of imperialist alliances. We need to take quick steps in strengthening KNE by taking advantage of and deepening the cracks created by the sharpened contradictions and impasses of the system, as well as the objective difficulties of the bourgeois forces to form the conditions to co-opt and align the working class, the popular strata and the youth forces with their own aims. Within this framework, our experience is of great importance. It's mainly about how the Organizations of KNE, besides their decisive contribution to organizing every battle waged, also managed to highlight the need to confront this system, the real enemy. By improving the way we popularize the proposal of the Party for the way out, we managed, to some extent, especially amongst those participating in the mobilizations, to leave an impression that every achievement today requires collective and militant struggles. We also managed to steer the reflection towards the fact that radical changes require overall overthrows. During the major school-student struggles, the discussion on 'the school we need today' breathed new life into the de-

mands and the main slogans of the time. During the university-student struggles for the re-opening of universities– after closing for about two years due to the government management of the pandemic – and against the reactionary restructuring and intensification of repression, the focus was on the necessary requirements to meet the contemporary needs for education and work with rights. All this contributed during the mobilizations to the large number of students who supported the demands of the unions and were galvanized into action.

Similarly, mainly through central initiatives or activities by certain Organizations, we started the discussion and encouraged doubt and anger towards phenomena and issues that mainly concern younger ages and are inherent, after all, in the decay of the system. Such elements characterized our action during the pandemic, and also the confrontation with the fascist groups, the wall raised by associations and mass organizations against racism, the abuse and multifaceted violence towards women, our initiatives and interventions about issues of suppression and the violence expressed by forces with overt and covert links to the system. The murder of the unemployed G. Floyd by a policeman in the USA fired the discussion on the desperate voices of the oppressed throughout the world within a system that doesn't let us breathe. Multifaceted interventions took place all around Greece. We shouted 'Enough is enough' when the murder of the 19-year-old Alkis Kampanos in Thessaloniki caused an uproar regarding hooliganism and the overall links between criminal actions and big business interests. Demonstrations were staged; activities at schoolyards were carried out, as well as sports tournaments. We tried to adapt to the daily reality and the thought of more young people the slogan of the school-students: 'Today it was Alkis, tomorrow it will be you, let this be the trigger for us to change the world'. The deaths of a young worker at a factory in Arta and of the toiling delivery workers, the numerous work accidents have not been forgotten. They became the red line dividing the interests of the workers and the interests of the employers. All the above and many more examples showed more people 'what KNE is about'; they contributed to its recognition as the force that confronts the system and has positions and proposals; they proved that this system is that suffocates the contemporary needs of the youth.

► **We have a clear plan on how to organize the struggle of the youth, and how to improve the correlation of forces everywhere.** During all previous militant processes and the elections held in mass organizations, many people and broader forces told the members of KNE 'I trust *you* because I only see you fighting.' Many factors contributed to the members of KNE being recognized as militants and as the ones who organize the struggle. Apart from the increased prestige of the Party due to the activity developed over the previous period, and other factors as well, what played a huge role was having a concrete plan, taking initiatives, suggesting what should be done at each stage by also keeping in mind that our activity should be multifaceted and have an escalation.

At the same time, it was important that we were also taking into account how many people participate in each fight and also how they perceive the content of the struggle. The slogans 'the mask itself isn't the only protection' and 'we want to be students again', the initiatives we took for vocational and art education etc. allowed us to make our demands known, denounce government decisions and confront other political forces intervening in the movement. All the marches, rallies and demonstrations held during that time were accompanied by concerts, artistic events at squares, insightful propaganda and scenes of struggle that imaginatively promoted the demands, sports tournaments, multifaceted acts of sol-

idity, and joint activities and coordination with those mobilized at each stage. All these played an important role in the duration of the mobilizations and the positive impression left on so many people. In this effort, we distinguish the substructure that we have created or that we are forming in the course of the struggle so that it can express those who want to fight, to express everyone's concerns, to be at the forefront of the organisation of the struggle, in order to unify demands in a place of activity. Some steps were made in this direction. New unions were established in faculties, in which we clashed with years of inertia and degeneration. We focused on a stable and multifaceted plan in local coordinating committees of school-students. The Student Unions in Public and Private Institutes of Vocational Training (IEK) were recognized by even more people, and the forms of organization have gotten to the point that they can express the will of thousands of students to 'do something altogether'. The steps we took in our intervention – although small – in the Schools of Physical Education and Sports Sciences (SEFAA) and the efforts made to coordinate the activities of the unions are positive. Moreover, even though there were great imbalances, we better planned our intervention in cultural associations and groups, mainly at Universities, and we contributed to the creation of new ones. Finally, we contributed to the positive results in unions' elections, formulating demands or starting initiatives that helped young workers organize themselves and fight for the first time. At the same time, we need to further use the experience drawn from the still few committees of young workers and unemployed in the neighbourhoods of Attica. The way we work in the existing mass organizations or the ones that we aim to set up is connected with our effort to improve the correlation of forces in every place, to have new forces joining the struggle and taking on duties, ultimately gaining valuable militant experience.

► **The duty of strengthening KNE is a top priority in all circumstances.**

Our possibilities are acquiring multiplying power, precisely because we act in terms of conscious discipline and collectivity. We are bound to a just cause that, in our day-to-day effort, liberates us from the traps of the extortionate bourgeois dilemmas and radicalizes the concerns of young generations by showing the solution, the socialist-communist prospect. The first phase of the restrictive measures in the context of the pandemic was an important test for KNE. We have estimated that we managed to stay strong, but this doesn't mean that we haven't faced difficulties. What really stood out were the efforts of the cadres, many of whom had just undertaken their responsibilities at that time, to meet with all the members of KNE in person, discuss about the "Rizospastis" newspaper, make the members of each Organization care about and help each other. The meaningful discussions and the confirmation in every possible way that the KKE and KNE are here and will stand up and fight for everyone and alongside anyone who is in need gave impetus to our efforts. By the side of the Party, we confirmed many times how important organized action is; how important is to have a nucleus that is determined to fight for what it believes in, always for the people's just cause. The way we've worked and acted in crucial moments – with many people saying that 'only the KKE is capable' – as for example during the pandemic, when confronting the repressive mechanisms of the bourgeois state and fighting to save the people from natural disasters while the bourgeois state left them unprotected etc., needs to describe our daily work and each of our efforts.

## **8 KNE can radicalize the most dynamic sections of the young generations and inspire wider forces to action.**

We, the members and cadres of KNE, when intervening in these developments, even though we have made steps, ought to become more capable of sensing the tendencies and identifying the factors that shape the lifestyle of the youth. For us to be able to express and strengthen any radicalism that develops in the ranks of the youth, in addition to our vanguard action and our correct positions, it's necessary to develop strong bonds with these people with patience and perseverance. Moreover, based on the experience we have drawn from the struggles by the side of the Party, we need to further consider the fact that whatever concerns the youth today, whatever makes it question and rage against the status quo, is actually the ground for the comprehensive intervention of our Organization in the movement and its independent political action.

We know that the ideas and values of the bourgeoisie will remain dominant as long as it retains power. For any tendency to radicalize the youth's consciousness, there will be an attempt to co-opt it and channel it into harmless to the system outlets. However, we shouldn't underestimate our ability to convince and detach forces from the enemy's influence. Today, from a better start, we can discuss the preconditions needed to radically change young people's lives, and respond to the great concerns expressed by young people.

We also know that the majority of young people coming from working-class and popular families, experience exploitation and insecurity about their future. However, they don't join the organized associations of the movement, but they're instead looking for solutions outside of collective struggle.

That is what we are trying to change with our intervention, in marked contrast to the enemy's plans, ideologies and machinery. For a vanguard of young people to stand out, a vanguard that doesn't compromise with the situation and, alongside the members of KNE, shall be at the forefront of the organization and action to enthrone the great majority of young people, those who are suffocating but still hesitate to fight against everything drowning them.

With these young people, we share the living conditions, common problems, interests, anxieties, expectations, even if we have different political views and ways of thinking, and even we detect prejudices, confusions, fears or illusions during our discussions with them. Equipped with the positions of the KKE on every aspect of the youth's life, every member of KNE can answer the questions of their fellow students or colleagues; can help to reveal the root causes of the problems and show them the way out.

Each member of KNE, within the organized life, needs to acquire the traits of the vanguard militant: caring about the life and problems of the youth in general, without any underestimation; showing trust and having a joint action with young people that don't agree with us on everything at first; getting prepared and ready for immediate action and developing initiative once a problem exacerbates; having the ability to confront bourgeois, reformist and opportunist ideologies within the movement. The good utilization of the elaborations that our Party and KNE study and develop can give apt and insightful content to the angst and reflections of young people, for example in teaching schools about the new school programmes (one-day conference of the Central Committee, the materials of which have been published by SynchroniEpochi editions), amongst students about school violence, and more.

In the following period, the deterioration of living conditions, and the needs of young people being crushed in stark contrast to the potential of our time, will lay

the groundwork for the organization and the struggle of the youth. That is why our intervention is focused on highlighting these contemporary needs concerning the entire life of the youth.

And these are:

- ▶ The all-round, free education and studies for all, without class barriers so that we can learn about the world and change it, develop well-rounded personalities, be able to respond to the challenges of knowledge and the development of science, which both demand a high level of education and modern skills. For the degree to be the only condition to pursue a profession.

- ▶ The utilization of scientific research and technology in the service of social needs so that an increasingly higher standard of living is achieved for all.

- ▶ The permanent and stable work with rights for everyone, with a general reduction in working time and wage increase, with collective bargaining agreements that will ensure modern working conditions along with safety and health protection measures in the workplaces.

- ▶ Creative use of free time with universal and free access to sports, along with a corresponding integrated network of infrastructure and staff in every city, neighbourhood and educational unit, with the development of physical education as a key factor for improving the quality of life, protecting one's health and shaping one's personality. Free access and the possibility to engage in culture and arts for the development of aesthetic criteria, culture and recreation. The right to contemporary free housing.

- ▶ Against the participation of our country in imperialist wars, for the NATO bases to close down. For no soldier to be sent abroad. To strengthen solidarity with the victims of wars and exploitation; isolation of and confrontation with fascism, racism and nationalism, over the prospect of peoples living peacefully together, without the exploiters of their labour.

- ▶ Against state repression, the criminalization of struggles, radical thought and art, the attack on trade-union rights and freedoms.

- ▶ The front against all types of drugs, fighting for prevention, treatment, social reintegration and research on the multifactorial phenomenon of drug addiction.

- ▶ The struggle against the consequences of capitalist development on the environment having a direct effect on the lives of working-class and popular families.

- ▶ The struggle for women's equality and emancipation, against social discrimination at women's expense and against the anachronistic, patriarchal and irrational views about the relationships between the two sexes, which are reproduced in the reactionary arena of the exploitative society.

In any case, the framework of demands that we process and promote, based on the youth's needs, can be adopted by young people in their struggle only if it's specialized in the reality of each place of studies, work and neighbourhood; only if we choose the appropriate issues of concern and find the link that can ignite the spark of struggle.

Through discussions and collective processes to form the framework of struggle, through the substantial confrontation with other forces in the movement and the very development of the struggle, we seek to show in the consciousness of more and more young people the one and main fact: who are depriving the

youth of their rights and why; how can they reclaim them and with whom at their side; what kind of struggle is needed and in what direction. The framework of struggle is also the starting point to unfold a multifaceted ideological and political intervention of KNE aiming to reveal true potential and the necessary conditions to meet contemporary needs.

In order to achieve the above, it's necessary to hinder the efforts of other forces within the movement to disorientate it from the real enemy, targeting only certain government officials (e.g. ministers), a specific policy (e.g. neoliberalism), cultivating through their slogans the logic of the supposedly lesser evil and the change in government, and thus objectively leading to disappointment and compromise, since, although ministers, bourgeois governments and even management policies change, in the end, the attack on the youth rights continues, as long as true control is in the hands of the big business groups, of the bourgeoisie.

### **C. KNE, EQUIPPED WITH THE CONTEMPORARY REVOLUTIONARY ELABORATIONS OF THE KKE, SHALL FORM THE CONDITIONS OF THE COUNTERATTACK**

**9** **The effort of the bourgeois staffs to make the youth support their pursuits is evolving and enhancing and will get intensified.**

The bourgeois staffs are constantly processing which issues they'll choose to present to the youth and also in which way, in order to achieve the active support or demobilization of young people for their aspirations. They invest in the fact that the youth hasn't experienced the period of socialist construction in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its contribution to the peoples of the whole world. They have even reached the point of equating fascism with communism. This is further reinforced by the quarrels amongst the bourgeois parties creating the impression that there is a plurality of political choices and alternative solutions within capitalism. That is why the focus should constantly be on the discussion about the necessity of socialism and the causes of its overthrow, both within the Organization and broadly with the youth in terms of a counterattack.

We confront the attack from bourgeois propaganda, the government, the parties of the capitalist system, their mechanisms etc. that with several variations say that 'the KKE is marginalized', 'it hasn't been adapted to the current developments', it can't offer 'realistic solutions', such as based on our position on the refusal to participate in or support a government within the framework of capitalism, which is supposedly translated into a refusal 'not to get our hands dirty', etc. The ND and in general the bourgeois staffs try to present the KKE as a political party that doesn't have anything to do with real life; that is supposedly 'a result of the period when there were socialist countries, which, however, either collapsed or were overthrown by the peoples themselves'. At the same time, SYRIZA claims that 'the KKE and KNE postpone the improvement of the people's living conditions to an unspecified, distant future'.

Moreover, over the past years, we have faced the attack based on which 'the KKE is a systemic party', which was orchestrated by the forces of PASOK, SYRIZA – which back then had an opportunist character – by the self-described anarchist-autonomist forces but also by fascists. Our own action during these years, the experience from the 'first-time left government' of SYRIZA and numerous

other factors have played a role in ensuring that this argument no longer prevails in the attack on the Party by various centres. However, this doesn't mean that this argument won't be used again at a certain point.

Obviously, the vulgarities and the distortion of the Party's positions continue and evolve. Thus, today, some forces from the entire political spectrum band together and dare to accuse the KKE of 'conservatism', 'nationalist positions', and even of being a 'pro-Russian' party, and that it should be outlawed, etc. What we identify today is the multifaceted attempt to paint as progressive what is deeply reactionary and anachronistic, and the coordinated effort of the system to make the youth set the bar of its demands very low.

Key factors that have an impact on the way of thinking and must be addressed:

► **The attempt to channel the justified anger of the youth into supposedly more just reforms of the capitalist system.** Thus, although the problems are worsening, this doesn't mean that they necessarily lead to radicalization and militant action, since theories on a greener and more just capitalism, etc. are promoted as so-called solutions. At the same time, it's argued that with appropriate measures and policies, with 'young people', 'more capable politicians', with 'specialized and good technocrats making the decisions, capitalism can become humane'. Whether these perceptions are promoted by neoliberal politicians or by social-democratic and opportunist forces – mainly through their action within the movement but also through their political positions – their common denominator is the concealment of the causes of the acute youth problems, which are inherent to the very nature and operation of the capitalist mode of production. For example, energy poverty or the unbearable cost of housing, which both make the popular families suffer, are presented as results of specific political choices or of random and external factors which could be solved without conflicts by bourgeois power and its policy. Thus, for example, no one talks about the fact that in capitalism both energy and housing are objectively handled as commodities and as such, they are produced and sold for the profit of a handful of major shareholders. Meeting contemporary social needs can only be achieved in a socialist society, in which profit is abolished as a criterion for the development of production. Based on socialized means of production, central planning can provide solutions to the vast and acute problems of the youth, such as education, housing, energy and others, since they cease to be commodities, while the focus of development in this new society shifts towards meeting the ever-expanding social needs.

► **The attempt to hide the character of the bourgeois state, as an instrument for the domination of the bourgeoisie.** Our whole ideological-political intervention and action, both independently and within the movement, constitutes a confrontation with the bourgeois institutions and laws of the exploiters. The state organizes today the violence of the exploiters against the oppressed, safeguards private capitalist property and ensures the perpetuation of exploitation with all its functions. Over the entire previous period, the struggles of university students and school-students, as well as young workers, challenged in practice a series of reactionary legislations that set obstacles to their demands, such as the attempt of the bourgeois state to intervene in their unions, the restrictions on strike, the establishment of courts for school-students, the persecutions of university students who participated in struggles, etc. Especially amongst the youth, the modernization of the bourgeois state and the improvement of bourgeois institutions are presented as solutions by all bourgeois political forces.

However, the improvement of the bourgeois state's reactionary functions has always been turning against the people and their children by utilizing new technologies for the benefit of bourgeois power, no matter how much the bourgeois parties try to present the digital executive bourgeois state as being in favour of the people. Such examples are the suppression of popular struggles using modern methods of repression; the digitalization and profiling-collection of personal data by state agencies – such as the phone tapping by modern technology, as was revealed with the scandal regarding the surveillance of politicians, journalists and an entire political Party, of the KKE, by the National Intelligence Service of Greece (EYP) and other services; the more effective heavy taxation of our families; the further and direct reduction of social spending and the implementation of the cost-benefit criterion to a number of sectors, such as education, healthcare, civil protection etc. Whether these cases have to do with 'civil protection', bourgeois justice, the ministries and the various public bodies or the repressive machinery, they all confirm the consistent inability of the bourgeois state to satisfy the needs of the people.

In stark contrast to the bourgeois state, the workers' state in the socialist society is the only one that works for the benefit of the workers and the people. It's the organ of the working class that has seized power. Its functions concern both the guarding of the new society against 'the old world [that] is dying', meaning the suppression of any counter-revolutionary actions, as well as the creative development of the new, non-exploitative relations of production for the benefit of the people's needs.

► **Promoting bourgeois democracy as the most ideal form of government.**

In reality, this is just the display for the dictatorship of the monopolies. Thus, unmasking its role is a key factor in strengthening the organization of the youth and in the rise of militant actions, which, to achieve substantial results, must objectively confront the plans of the bourgeois governments. Specifically, as the problems afflicting the popular families grow, the bourgeois staffs are intensifying their efforts to ensure that the prestige of the bourgeois institutions (e.g., parliament, the police, judicial system, the army, etc.) is not damaged in the eyes of the people and the youth. That is why these institutions are safeguarded by a legislative framework jointly passed by all bourgeois parties. With our overall intervention, drawing on the recent experience of the youth, we need to expose the fundamental inequality amongst the majority of society – i.e. between the workers and their children on the one part, and capitalists on the other – which is hidden behind formal 'equality' under bourgeois democracy. On the occasion of the conviction of the criminal Nazi organization Golden Dawn, bourgeois democracy was over-promoted as the supposed answer to nationalism and fascism. A similar systematic effort is being made in the EU regarding the 'rise of the far right', which is being used to promote the unity of progressive/ democratic forces to counter the threat, even cultivating the idea that democracy must tackle both extremes equally, that 'something needs to be done about red fascism', etc. Apart from the fact that, a few months later, several fascists were released from prison by bourgeois justice, the main conclusion is that the bourgeois-capitalist state not only cannot tackle fascism, racism and nationalism but on the contrary, it constitutes a breeding ground for their manifestation and strengthening since this is the dictatorship of capital. Within the framework of workers' power, a superior type of democracy is being formed, with new organs of power and institutions created by the working class and its struggle to overthrow capitalism. For the first time in human history, workers, men and women alike, are given the opportunity to step into the forefront of social development, actively participating in the decision-mak-



ing, implementation and monitoring of decisions on the organization of production and social life in general.

► **The effort of the imperialist camps to rally the youth to the side of one imperialist or the other, with the EU and NATO propaganda being predominant in Greece.** As competition sharpens, this effort will intensify even further and is already permeating the action and propaganda of all the bourgeois and opportunist political forces in various forms. Particularly striking is the attempt to present the EU to the youth as a force that ensures democracy and stability, a shelter from competitions, and the cradle of civilization in the face of the barbarism of war. The EU, however, being an imperialist alliance of bourgeois states, not only cannot defend peace but is one of its biggest violators. The recent developments concerning the sanctions against Russia, the stance of the EU on the war in Ukraine and the arms race confirm that, in all cases, the EU policy is being implemented at the expense of the peoples' lives, against their needs and in favour of the strategic interests of the EU monopolies. The confrontation with NATO-EU and their multiform intervention (military bases, educational programmes, bills, research programmes, etc.), and the struggle for disengagement from the imperialist alliances is an integral element of the overall struggle for the overthrow of the power of the capital, in the struggle for building the new society. A true alliance of countries in favour of the peoples' interests can only exist among countries that walk the path to socialist construction.

► **The distorted notion of freedom that sets a criterion for today's young people's attitude.** We are constantly confronted with the narrative that within this system everyone 'is free to make their own choices, and if they are competent, they will succeed'. On this basis, in a cynical and vulgar attempt to compromise with the system's inability to meet the ever-expanding needs of society, we are peddled a so-called 'progressive' force claiming to respect certain self-evident individual rights, often presented with anti-scientific and anachronistic perceptions. Today, we have even reached the point where the so-called 'choice' of a woman to prostitute herself, the use of drugs, etc. are presented as 'freedom'. For us, the struggle for true freedom is translated into putting forward the need for young people to have a thorough knowledge of the laws of motion of natural and social evolution, their history, as well as the laws of the everyday struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society; to build a world where economic constraints and the bourgeois morality surrounding them will come to an end. A world where every young person will be truly free to create, develop their personality, be educated, fall in love and live their life, precisely because they will own the wealth they produce. That is why the freedom of the people and their children presupposes the liberation from the bonds of bourgeois power, the abolition of wage slavery and the private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists, that is, the construction of the socialist society.

► **The 'individual way' and 'individual solution' to today's problems remain dominant.** But, at the same time, young people in particular will always seek to join various groups based on their interests (e.g., innovation and research groups, supporters' clubs, etc.), as well as based on the fragmentation fostered by the system as to what '*can and should be changed*', especially within various environmental NGOs, etc. We must be able to engage with any young people we need to win over; to seek their active participation in mass organizations in their neighbourhoods, their places of education and work, making a clear distinction between us and those organizations that are objectively intertwined with business interests, services, the machinery of the system, etc. For this rea-

son, it's necessary to monitor the activities of these groups more closely. At the same time, experience shows that we can have a significant impact on some of these people when we help them understand the positions of the KKE and KNE on issues of their concern, as well as the greatness of organized life and action—within the framework of a revolutionary organization—comradeship, solidarity, the potential for each individual to comprehensively develop their aptitudes and interests in the struggle for a society liberated from any kind of constraint and exploitation, that is to say, socialism. In a society in which the workers cooperate as a whole for meeting social needs, liberated from capitalist exploitation and the competition of the capitalist labour market. These are the conditions under which the foundations for the development of collectivity and the abolition of individualism and the individual way are laid.

► **The falsification of history accompanied by the intensification of anti-communism.** The integral element of the bourgeois state's attack on people's rights is anti-communism, the slander of the 20<sup>th</sup> century's socialism and its contribution to the struggle of the peoples, and the distortion of the history of the labour and communist movement, focusing on the 1940s, a time when the class struggle in Greece was getting sharpened. This effort aims to convince, particularly the youth, that there is no alternative to the capitalist mode of production. That is why, in an effort to highlight the necessity and timeliness of socialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we are often confronted with anti-Sovietism and mudslinging against the socialist construction of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, coming from young people from completely different political starting points than ours. Besides, anti-communism either promoted tactfully or bluntly is an integral part of all bourgeois governments, the education system, the EU and all bourgeois parties, with variations and gradations. Today, however, we are equipped with many new means of overcoming this obstacle, such as the study and conclusions of the 'Course of socialist construction in the USSR', the 'Essay on the History of the KKE', etc. Several objective factors, which have been assessed at previous congresses of KNE, continue to influence the youth. However, the conclusions and historical experience of the communist movement and the KKE don't end with the generation of revolutionaries who experienced those moments, while their assimilation is not a matter of personal experience. The assimilation of these crucial conclusions for the formation of the contemporary revolutionary strategy by all KNE members is primarily a task of political guidance, performed through the study of those conclusions and their promotion through events, for example by the "Odigitis" magazine, with care and consistency for the new members of KNE.

**10 All bourgeois parties make a special effort to intervene in the youth.** The experience from the last Congress to this day has confirmed that, despite the difficulties that political youth organizations may have, at various periods and for various reasons, the system never gives up the effort to create obstacles to the rallying of new forces around the KKE and KNE, and to take measures to strengthen its organized presence. Typical of this fact is that even in discussions amongst bourgeois staffs, the following striking comment was made: 'we cannot let the universities be a privileged ground of intervention for the KKE and KNE'.

The youth organization of ND (ONNED), despite the intra-organizational conflicts and with the support of the government, will intensify its efforts to regroup, primarily within the Universities, but also in schools. It's presented as the force that can 'overcome the malaises of the past', the one that 'fights for reason and

modernization to prevail, for becoming a modern state against the opposition of political minorities’.

The near absence of a SYRIZA youth organization from the places of education and work can leave no room for complacency. The policy of SYRIZA and social-democracy, in general, is based on the dominant ideology of entrapping young people’s consciousness in the logic of seeking solutions within the framework of the capitalist system. Therefore, it has a solid ground for development –that is, the bourgeois ideology it forms part of– of the notions of management and humanization of bourgeois power, regardless of their organized forces. At the same time, SYRIZA maintains forces within the ranks of professors, lawyers and elsewhere, mechanisms of the old PASOK and other ones they had established during their time in government. Thus, they pave the way for co-opting the popular-youth reaction into the dangerous and dead-end waiting of a governmental change.

Within the same framework, the youth organization of PASOK, through PASP (the list supported by PASOK in universities) and various other mechanisms (professional chambers etc.), despite having forces in a few regions, is attempting to appear as a force that, having left the mistakes of the old PASOK behind, can be considered a solution to ‘both the authoritarianism of the ND and the populism of SYRIZA’, by putting forward supposedly realistic proposals for the youth. Likewise, MERA25 (DiEM25), which calls for ‘realistic disobedience’, that is, a compromise with the realism of the current barbaric system, is a force co-opting the popular resentment into the strategic choices of the bourgeoisie.

At the same time, within the movement, and particularly in the places of education, the action of the opportunist forces objectively serves the strengthening of the political line of social-democracy. Of course, there are some differences between the various groups and organizations, while their compromising line is often masked by militant phrases and slogans. However, this doesn’t negate the fact that the essence of their political line and their intervention in the movement distracts from the true opponent, objectively cultivates the logic of the lesser evil and the solutions from above, and the expectation that a change in government can resolve their problems. They firmly promote anti-communism and slander the socialism that was constructed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In certain areas, the forces of opportunism continue to influence a section of young people participating in processes within the movement, despite the difficulties they face due to their strategic dead-ends and the serious conflicts within them.

Various ‘anarchist-autonomist’ groups were active in student mobilizations during the previous period in several cities. In addition to the obstacles they put up to the organization and development of those mobilizations, they put forward misleading demands while targeting KNE.

No complacency of any kind must be allowed regarding the activity of fascist-criminal groups, which, in the previous period and after the conviction of the fascist-criminals of Golden Dawn, are in a process of reshaping. As shown in the cases where the forces of the KKE and KNE took the lead in tackling and isolating their activity, the fascist groups will always be utilized by the system and its mechanisms against the movement, with many strings connecting them to the business interests and institutions of the bourgeois state.

**11** **KNE contributed decisively to encouraging the reflection, which already exists within a significant section of the youth, about the effects of the use of social media.** KNE fights for the youth to acquire objective knowledge of the role and function of social media, revealing their social, economic and ideological framework, and shattering any illusions and misconceptions. The developments regarding the phone-tapping and everything – not all, obviously – that have come to light, confirm the great potential that has been developed for the capital and its power to repress, gather information, and monitor by using social media as well. Every day we are confronted with their impact on forming attitudes, criteria, way of thinking, and strengthening social distancing, while an attempt is made to generalize their use as a way of communicating and working. We contribute to forming criteria and an all-round attitude towards social media, based on understanding the context in which they operate and the risks involved in their use. An attitude that, of course, has nothing to do with technophobic beliefs, but it's instead linked to the struggle for the liberation of the potential of technology from the bonds and constraints of capitalist ownership. We are aware that in a society in which the purpose of production is not profit but the meeting of popular needs, it will be possible for the technology, on which social media are based today, to create new, great possibilities in production, to be used in communication, education, medicine, culture and in the social organization overall.

**12** **The decisive importance of the ideological and educational work in the political guidance and everyday action of KNE.** Particularly in recent years, our own action has shown the new and increased demands for convincingly and effectively giving impetus, endurance and answers to the struggles, concerns, and questions of the young people, by projecting and fighting for the real way out of today's dead-ends, for Socialism-Communism. At the same time, the high renewal rate of the organized forces of KNE requires constant care and concern over the assimilation of important elaborations of the Party, the strategy of the KKE, and the necessity of organized discussions and courses that will be repeated and greatly supported by the Party organizations.

The strengthening of the ideological element in the political guidance and action of the Sectoral Councils and the Base Organizations (BOs) of KNE, as long as it has permanent and qualitative characteristics, will contribute to improving the ability of KNE to carry out the great tasks ahead and ensuring that the future members of the Party are equipped with the necessary means to respond to the course of the class struggle.

To achieve this, we need to focus within our daily work on the ideological, political and educational improvement of the intra-organizational operation of KNE, from the CC to the BOs, based on the following pivots:

► **Any decision on current tasks is effectively implemented when it's accompanied by the necessary ideological and political discussion.** It's a prerequisite for all KNE members to be mobilized. The discussion within the BOs and especially the leading organs on specific political and economic developments is a necessary precondition for liberating the young people from the dominant ideology and the bourgeois parties while highlighting the socialist way out. The development of the methodology of thought, especially in younger ages, where the denigration of reading, short texts and the glorification of the

image have been systematically spread, depends to a large extent on studying. This work corresponds to the collective contribution, the creative development of Marxist revolutionary theory, and the interpretation of new phenomena. For example, the generalization of remote working, to the extent that it was the focus of the leading organs and the BOs of the sectoral organizations, was utilized to highlight the essence of capitalist exploitation, to develop, together with the Party, a plan of intervention and an all-pervasive framework of struggle in areas of generalized remote working.

► **The strengthening of the ideological element in the life and action of the BOs unlocks the potential for the fierce growth of KNE.** Whatever concerns and troubles the young people is an opportunity for us to forge a plan that will guide the minds of the young people in our areas of activity towards the need for total confrontation with the power of capital and its directions. Ultimately, we aren't only called on to show the decay of capitalism, but to interpret it, revealing the only way out and the struggle that needs to be waged today. A task, however, that cannot be carried out by ending every intervention with the slogan 'socialism is the only way out'. We faced this particular shortcoming recently, over the dilemmas posed by the opponent at the start of the Russian invasion of Ukraine; we fought really hard to expose the role of NATO, the EU, and the country's involvement in their plans. Organizing the intra-organizational discussion on this particular issue was what contributed to convincingly demonstrating our position on the imperialist war in discussions with candidate members of KNE, and having corresponding positive results.

► **The integration of the ideological and political struggle and the educational and cultural interest into everyday planning, sets a ground of superiority in the confrontation with bourgeois and opportunist political forces.** The confrontation with the opponent brings the desired results when, by highlighting our own proposal, we fiercely deconstruct their arguments and not the other way round. We shouldn't act from a position of defence, trying to respond to the attack or the false dilemmas posed. A typical example was the attempt of the opponent to present the Party's opposition to the strategy of capitalist development regarding the Green New Deal as an anti-environmental one. This initially led to questions from young people, such as whether we are in favour or against renewable energy sources, etc., overlooking the reactionary criteria of this particular strategy. Utilizing the relevant elaborations of the Party, communicating and discussing them within the Organizations – to the extent that we managed to do this – was what helped us to demonstrate that only central planning based on the socialized means of production could allow the development of a balanced relation between human productive activity and the environment. In this way, and by also taking advantage of relevant developments, we managed to highlight the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie and we gained ground by bringing out the crux of the issue in the attempt to align the youth with the flag of green growth.

► **We are strengthening the ability of every organ and Base Organization to steadily outline the ideological and political confrontation within their area of responsibility.** The purpose of outlining the ideological-political confrontation is not only to record what people or the rest of political forces say but to describe in outline the difficulties we encounter when trying to convince on the political proposal of the KKE; whether these difficulties are posed by the opponent and other political forces or are deriving from our own weaknesses.

That outline is an asset for the leading organs in order to choose more effectively which key issues of the ideological-political enlightenment should be highlighted in the implementation of the plan and the objectives of KNE in each area of responsibility, in each phase. Specific weaknesses can be identified in the lack of such work.

► The Communist Review (KOMEPE) is a reliable asset used by the organs in the work mentioned above. Through the campaign of the CC for the 100 years of the KOMEPE, in 2021-2022, new members of KNE learned about the history and the content of the KOMEPE, while hundreds of our members subscribed to it for the first time, a fact that shouldn't be taken for granted. This effort to distribute and introduce the KOMEPE to new members must continue on a steady basis, bearing in mind that no cadre can fulfil their duties without studying the KOMEPE. However, the main factor that will help us to integrate it organically into the action of KNE – as proven by the experience of the Region Organizations (RO) with significant efforts in that direction – is to steadily utilize the KOMEPE in the political guidance and hold discussions on its articles, particularly in the Sectoral Councils (SC) and the Ideological Committees.

► **The cadres responsible for the ideological work, as well as the Ideological Committees, play a key role in enhancing the ideological element in the respective organs of KNE.** The experience of the Ideological Committees within the Region and the Regional Organizations proves that, when they operate on a steady basis, they contribute decisively so that the leading organ can fulfil its role more comprehensively. A prerequisite for this is the staffing of the ideological committees with cadres that have a basic theoretical basis, and, above all, that the ideological responsables don't have any other assigned tasks, which would prevent them from fulfilling their responsibilities.

**13** **Since the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of our Organization, there have been rich intra-organizational discussions-lessons in the BOs and the organs of KNE** – on capitalist crisis and exploitation, on the imperialist war, etc. – offering ideological and political support for the everyday action of the Organizations. The unevenness between the Organizations regarding the conditions for the completion of these central cycle courses should be sought in the preparation and support of this work by the leading organs. This is confirmed by the fact that, at every chance, the discussions in the BOs of KNE were revolving not only round the need but also the willingness to improve the organizational ideological-educational work within our ranks.

In combination with the collective discussion, a constant Marxist self-education is needed to overcome existing difficulties – such as the ideological and political level of the organs and BOs – in utilizing our elaborations. In this daily effort, we need to have a steady focus on finding personal time for self-education, based on a concrete schedule and a plan in order to improve our weaknesses. In order to be able to consult the basic elaborations of the Party, the KOMEPE, the works of the founders of Marxism (K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin), a necessary precondition is for each member of KNE to have their own archive, their own Marxist library, of which they can constantly make use whenever they stumble over an issue in their daily activity and struggle. These ideas apply in general and can be better understood when issues of contemporary ideological-political confrontation are included in daily discussions.

The intra-organizational educational systems (schools) of KNE multiplied since

the previous Congress, while an effort was made to enhance the content and forms of teaching. However, we shouldn't become complacent about the level of discussions, or even about the organizational aspects of the ideological schools, which in some cases have receded. An important factor halting the progress of the schools was the period of restrictive measures during the pandemic, during which many of them were objectively discontinued or postponed. The results of those gaps are yet to be fully expressed and we'll face them more intensely in the staffing of both the leading organs and the intra-organizational educational systems. The considerable effort made over the last year hasn't reached the limit of our potential, even though more ideological schools were organized compared to previous years.

**D. OUR IDEAS AND ACTION SHALL BE THE BASE FOR US TO HAVE A BROADER IMPACT, BY UTILIZING ALL CHANNELS, THE INTERESTS AND THE OVERALL LIFE OF THE YOUTH**

**14** The 'Odigitis' magazine ought to become an integral part of our political guidance and action. The 'Odigitis', during its 54-year history alongside KNE, has managed to remain the only youth magazine, the first in terms of circulation amongst university students, school-students, and the youth in general, written by young people for young people and distributed from young people to young people. There have been some positive steps so that the content of the 'Odigitis' magazine can serve the need to elaborate arguments and popularize the Party's positions and policies within the youth; outline the experience we gain; steer the action and promote the positions and observations on the issues we want to discuss with the younger generations, which will create a knowledge base. Nevertheless, mainly the Editorial Committee of the 'Odigitis', but also all the Committees of the Central Council and the leading organs of KNE can greatly contribute to the planning and improvement of the material, the issues and the forms we choose to highlight based on both social experience and how they are perceived by younger people; they can contribute to the more apt and steady work for the preparation of special editions that will be published together with the magazine.

However, the problem we identify with the 'Odigitis' magazine isn't mostly about its content. It's primarily a political guidance issue. Since the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress to this day, the CC and its Bureau have discussed issues concerning the better utilization and increase in the circulation of the 'Odigitis'. There is a fall in the circulation of the KNE magazine; we haven't managed yet to return to the pre-pandemic levels, which – even then – were falling behind the level of demands.

At the same time, getting and studying the 'Rizospastis' newspaper is of great importance when it comes to communist formation and the quality of the political guidance work of the organs. We still assess that there is a retreat in the bond of the cadres and the members of KNE with the 'Rizospastis'. However, especially during the period of the restrictive measures, the cadres gained new, vivid experience of the irreplaceable role of the 'Rizospastis' in the political guidance, enlightenment and action of all KNE members. It must be fully understood that this experience isn't only about exceptional circumstances, but about the everyday life of a young communist.

We should gain a cohesive perception that the efforts to boost the circulation of the guiding organ of the CC of KNE don't stumble over the – already established – view that 'the print media are dwindling' but over the fact that the 'Odigitis' doesn't become an integral part of the work of the KNE members themselves. This is a prerequisite to improve the Organization's ability to galvanize all its members into action and offer respective assistance in acquiring knowledge about the developments, popularization and propaganda. After all, the problem remains even after launching the new modern website and setting up the 'Odigitis' social media accounts – a decision that was rightly made and implemented over the past four years. Moreover, the 'Odigitis' magazine is weakly used, compared to the actual needs, in creating, alongside every BO of KNE, cells of friends of KNE, of people who rally around us on various fronts of struggle.

Until the next Congress of KNE, a goal that we single out is for all of us to be engaged more decisively in the battle to better utilize and increase the 'Odigitis' circulation so that it corresponds to the overall steps that KNE makes in its work, but also to make those steps even more solid.

**15** **Since the previous Congress, through the re-structuring of the Propaganda Committee of the CC of KNE, we have improved our intervention on the Internet and social media.** Our position on collective rather than individual use of social media has contributed to the improvement of our organized intervention.

With planning and escalation, we have tried new forms, such as the Podcasts of KNE, thematic videos on the imperialist war in Ukraine, online campaigns, online concerts of KNE on the occasion of the Polytechnic Uprising, against the anti-terrorism law in arts, etc. Overall, we have made better use of the Internet, by launching the new and updated websites of KNE and the 'Odigitis' magazine, better utilizing the Organization's YouTube channel and producing multifaceted online materials.

We support the need for a multifaceted intervention on the Internet by the mass organizations of the movement to promote their activity and initiatives and strengthen – not replace – the collective action and organization where the youth lives, studies and works. Besides, international experience has shown that, in crucial phases of the class struggle, the utilization of such forms will not be possible.

What is confirmed by our intervention on the Internet is that it's the lively action of the KKE and KNE, and the workers' and people's movement that fuels the intervention on the Internet and social media and not the other way round.

As communists, it's our duty to utilize the possibilities that the new technologies offer in order to make the political proposal of the Party and the theses of KNE more widely known. The Internet offers such possibilities. This intervention, however, cannot replace the daily interaction in the workplaces, the popular neighbourhoods, the places where the youth gathers and where real bonds of struggle and collective action can be forged.

**16** **Culture and art have always been an important front of focus and intervention for KNE.** We can make our intervention even more insightful and multifaceted.

The excellence of the KKE in the front of Culture is widely recognized, both historically and in its elaboration on a number of issues. It has contemporary positions on and demands for Culture and the role it can play in society, for artistic education, and for artists. It organizes scientific congresses and major and important artistic productions.



The content of cultural creation influences the development of young people's consciousness and lifestyle. It constitutes a channel for reproducing and developing dominant ideas, messages and models.

We are particularly opposed to the art that sanctifies the world of capitalist competition, seeking to lodge in the young people's consciousness even its most rotten characteristics, such as racism, drug culture, the aim for easy – and by all means – enrichment, the commodification of the human body and sexuality, a subject that should concern us more, exploring the social-political conditions in which it develops.

In addition to these cultural by-products, there is also the aesthetically sophisticated cultural production through online platforms, cultural institutions of business groups and other organizations, which aims to co-opt any social reflection of the youth and turn it into outlets convenient for the social system. By portraying the rotten capitalist world in the most dystopian colours, it fosters the feeling that it's an all-powerful system that we're unable to change it. Thus – sometimes under a confrontational guise – it orientates towards improvements through individual actions and movements, individual or group initiative and morality or escape to introspection, imaginary worlds, etc. Not to mention anti-communism, which is presented sometimes crudely and other times more subtly, to exclude any genuinely radical way out.

Opposed to this situation, there is – even today – socially useful work. There is still a considerable concern, as well as sensitivity, about major social issues, and opposition to the impact of the capitalist system on society. This is also confirmed by the system's attempt to censor and even suppress such content, such as the passing of the EU's anti-terrorism law in arts in our country during the pandemic. The great reaction of the young people in the face of such events, and their need to engage in the art that speaks of their problems and worries confirm the importance of improving the intervention of KNE in all these matters.

KNE is taking considerable steps towards a more stable integration of Culture into the mass political intervention in the youth. These include the establishment and operation of new Culture and Youth Creation Centres in more areas, the utilization of more cultural aspects in our activity, cultural productions, high-level cultural groups in many forms of art, and the promotion of our own view on contemporary art.

The collective life and action in KNE must spark an interest in and foster a stable relationship with literature and all forms of art associated with the great struggles of our people, the vanguard contribution and the sacrifice of the communists in Greece and throughout the world. In this way, we comprehensively win over the young people to join the organized struggle; we educate them to have an unwavering attitude in every phase of their lives, we help them develop a multifaceted, creative and well-rounded personality with critical thinking, emotions and will, and strengthen the conscious commitment to the cause for which we are fighting. For tenacity, endurance, courage, daring, optimism, admiration and trust in the working class to grow. These characteristics aren't separate or disconnected from the daily struggle, but instead, consolidate its compass and inspire it. We see that militancy and desire to take action grow after well-worked and quality cultural initiatives we take. Therefore, it's an important duty for KNE to preserve, spread and promote art when the system today deliberately distorts its content and presents it as supposedly old and outdated.

The next step for KNE's intervention in this front is for all leading organs to be engaged in culture on a steady basis, to foster more broadly the educational and

cultural interest, encourage the effort to create artistic work and regard it both as a means of education and assimilation in KNE and as a field of confrontation. In this direction, we need to hold discussions on the exchange of experience and reflection on a regular basis, such as the nationwide meeting of cadres responsible for culture in Region Organizations, which took place during these four years.

All KNE Organizations can develop a plan with cultural initiatives, set up such groups and stage productions, highlight demands for this need in areas where the youth lives and is educated, and increase the ties and discussions with young artists. The Culture Committee of the Central Council can contribute more decisively and concretely to the channelling of such content and forms into the work of the Organizations.

**17** **We forge ahead, with the bar set high, for even more successful and mass Festivals of KNE-‘Odigitis’.** The Festival of KNE-‘Odigitis’ is the biggest political and cultural event of the youth. It’s the greatest activity of KNE throughout the year and an important internationalist event. Every year it puts its own stamp on the conditions in which it takes place. The thousands of people and youth who come to the Festival know first-hand what the KKE and KNE are and what they are fighting for. It’s also a point of reference for the hundreds of artists who participate throughout this journey.

The Festival of KNE-‘Odigitis’ has made its own history. We’re now approaching its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The path to this celebration, which will culminate in the organization of the 50<sup>th</sup> Festival of KNE-‘Odigitis’ in 2024 can live up to our institution. The history of the Festival embodies the history of KNE; the steps it climbs to fulfil its role and purpose, that is, to be the vanguard youth organization of the KKE. We’ll highlight all the moments of this journey and the valuable conclusions and experiences drawn for today’s members of KNE, the new generation of communists. We will honour this journey by doing our part to make the path of celebration the path of attaining the high goals we set for our Congress.

The Festival of KNE not only hasn’t wilted over time, but on the contrary, it has shown endurance and is constantly improving, because it’s made of genuine materials: our values and ideals, the cause we are fighting for, and the character and operation of our Organisation, KNE. Throughout its life, all these features were that made the Festival of KNE-‘Odigitis’ a success for all ages and generations, taking place with persistence and determination, regardless of the challenges encountered in each period. It’s an inspiration for the members and friends of KNE, who learn about the history of the KKE, the communist and labour movement, our worldview, and our contemporary elaborations on all aspects of the young people’s lives and angst. Throughout the journey of the red city, qualities that reflect the character of our Organisation prevail: a sense of collectivity in the responsibility of its preparation, organization and operation, the conscious desire to contribute, and a disciplined attitude towards all tasks.

Since the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of KNE, some of the most mass and successful Festivals of recent years have taken place, adapting also to the pandemic conditions. The Festival of KNE was the only festival that was held during that period while respecting all the necessary health protection measures. We underline the effort made with the hundreds of school and university student festivals to intensify the nationwide activity of KNE and set the pace for the culmination of its events.

We undertake the task of improving the Festival of KNE-‘Odigitis’ as the most mass, political and cultural activity of KNE, for an even more insightful and effective intervention in the youth.

We can further improve the content and forms of all the stages and stands, of every corner of the Festivals in general. It's necessary to elaborate the content of all our events so that it's incisive, insightful, and revealing in order to contribute to drawing wider young forces and detaching them from the bourgeois ideology and politics. We can be more daring and innovative regarding the means we use, the interaction we achieve, the apt promotion of what we do, and the layout and the way we take advantage of all participants. It's possible to set up more groups that will work within the Committees of the Central Council for the various needs of the Festival and contribute with their opinion, knowledge, and know-how to its improvement.

When setting up the artistic programme, it's important to renew the bond of the KKE and KNE with hundreds of artists and come into contact with emerging or established ones, and stimulate youth creativity in combination with the Culture and Youth Creation Centres. We stress the fact that the youth is introduced to great artists and their work through the Festival of KNE-'Odigitis'. Overall, the legacy of the Festival of KNE-'Odigitis' in our country's culture and art is of great importance.

Each stop of the Festival of KNE-'Odigitis' throughout Greece should be improved accordingly. It should have each time an elaborated, apt and appealing programme, high expectations, and unfold throughout the year through a multifaceted activity. Activities on various fronts, such as culture and sport, can even stand out in the journey of the Festival, thus embracing the increased potential and needs that we identify in our intervention.

All the Committees of the CC are responsible for the improvement of our Festival, although the main responsibility lies with the Festival Committee and the Culture Committee of the CC. Likewise, the leading organs in the rest of Greece shoulder the responsibility for their Festivals.

**18 For the Culture and Youth Creation Centres of KNE to spark creativity.** The network of the Culture and Youth Creation Centres of KNE has been expanded since the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress of our Organisation. Today, there are the Centre in Athens, which operates under the responsibility of the CC, the Centres in Piraeus, Kaisariani and Menidi regions in Attica, and the Centres in the cities of Thessaloniki, Kalamata and Patras.

We make an effort to develop a rich programme at the Centres throughout the year, including courses and multifaceted events. Every year, hundreds of students, teachers and visitors come to the Culture Centres of KNE. The participation of young people in them is rising. The accumulated experience confirms that every aspect regarding the operation of the Centres is important so that they can play their role as a space of KNE, a reflection of our Organisation. The Culture Centres provide a home for the cultural groups of KNE and the artistic productions we create. This is an important substructure, which has contributed to the political activity of KNE. We seek for the Culture and Youth Creation Centre in Athens, which operates under the responsibility of the CC, to enrich the intervention of the KNE Organizations consistently throughout the year, through the cultural groups it sets and the productions it houses.

However, we should always bear in mind that, by establishing each Centre, we assume the responsibility for the preservation of their character and their improvement and recognition in every region. We need to put in a constant effort and dedication to ensure that every Centre meets the objectives we set by establishing them, their operation is constantly improving and the impact they

leave even greater. It has been proven that if the engagement with every Centre and the issues concerning them falter, the positive elements they have achieved will quickly regress and their impact will wane.

As long as we provide targeted political guidance involvement, we are one step closer to achieving the goal we had set from the beginning, i.e., to make each Centre a beehive of creation, and a meeting point for the members and friends of KNE. We can develop these elements even further, integrate the Centres into the daily life of the members and friends of KNE, and enrich the forms we utilize for expression and creation. The next step for the Culture Centres of KNE is to forge close bonds with the people of each region and achieve a greater impact. On this basis, we seek to establish new Culture Centres in more areas. There are positive examples of the channels of communication that the Centres open up with mass organizations and associations, with the youth and the people of the region where they are located. The impact of each Centre concerns, in a broader sense, the possibility of promoting the positions of the KKE and KNE on all the issues concerning the youth and the popular families, promoting demands regarding fronts of struggle, organizing the reaction and solidarity before major popular problems, ultimately being a ray of light to the needs of the youth in the region, especially the need for Culture.

## **19** **The intervention of KNE in the sports front**

We identify as a major weakness the fact that our intervention in Physical Education and the front of sports is weak, fragmentary, and disconnected from the overall planning of our activity regarding the youth. This work needs to acquire the organizational characteristics of monitoring, planning, and the allocation of specific responsibilities so that we can get to grips with the problems, moods and the correlation prevailing there.

Our intervention in the front of sports must be regarded as an integral part of our organized intervention in the movement, as an aspect that can strengthen the intervention in the places where young people gather. The field of sports is and always has been a mass field. Physical education is an integral part of the all-round development and shaping of a young person today. Apart from the confrontation with the policy that turns sports from right into a commodity, a hobby, or a luxury for some, we are confronting the norms of competition, individualism, the dog-eat-dog view, in addition to other by-products of commodified sport, such as doping, gambling, the commodification of athletes, and the promotion of a specific sporting lifestyle, encouraged by the sports industry.

The resolution of the Extended Conference of the CC on the activity of the members of KNE in sports is an important asset. The organs and the cadres should focus on the all-round and persistent support to the comrades involved in sports. Especially for those comrades involved at a high level, the guidance is even more demanding. The intervention of KNE in the sports union may lie at first with the comrade actually involved in sports, but the support, bonding and introduction must be the focus of the Base Organization as a whole. For example, a sports club in a neighbourhood is a hallmark for young people and the action planning of the area-based BOs must include the intervention there.

New possibilities are opening up to organize sports activities for school-students, university students, trade unions and generally in the youth movement. The downgrading of Physical Education in educational institutions has led, among other things, to the abandonment of school championships, the deterioration and even the inadequate infrastructure of many sports premises, school and university facilities.

We need to take a more decisive lead in the mass organizations of the movement, school-student councils, and student and trade unions, to establish school-student, university student and other championships that will be held throughout the year, promoting the demands and objectives of the movement's struggle. There is little, but positive experience utilizing the existing and recognized need of young people for organized sports, which now is largely met by business initiatives.

**20** **Through collective struggle against the destruction and degradation of the environment by the policy of capital.** The struggle for a quality of life based on all the needs of the younger generation, and for the qualitative improvement of the health of the people and the youth is inseparable from the struggle for improving the quality of the environment in which we live.

The importance of our intervention in the protection of the environment from the destructive consequences of uncontrolled capitalist action is confirmed. We reveal the real causes of the environmental problem and confront the false generalization of 'non-intervention in the environment' within the student unions, school-student councils and school-student coordination committees, through the coordination with other mass organizations, such as trade unions, and by organizing militant initiatives at a neighbourhood level.

The militant expression of the young people's concern for the protection of the environment and life against disasters is objectively opposed to the effort to conceal the real culprit, and engage the young people in the opponent's plans, by targeting them in the name of 'individual responsibility'.

The members of the KKE and KNE literary threw themselves into the fire to save lives, properties and forests when the bourgeois state proved to be selectively incapable to protect them. We took the lead in mobilizations, acts of solidarity and militant activities in areas affected by natural disasters (i.e., Evia, Mati, Mandra, etc.), in areas where the bourgeoisie and its state are promoting plans for the deterioration of life and the environment, such as the expansion of the landfill in West Attica, the oil tanks of death in Piraeus, the incineration by cement factories in Thessaloniki and Volos in Northern Greece, and the sowing of wind and photovoltaic parks in the mountains, seas and historic monuments of our country based on profit alone. The elaboration of frameworks of struggle, crucial issues, and demands in the young people's mass movement is a precondition so that the struggle for the improvement and the effective protection of our environment can highlight the struggle for a society that will ensure foresight, planning, control and that the impact of productive activity on the environment shall be optimized in favour of the society and all its needs.

**21** **A young wave of resistance against drugs and addictions.** KNE is firmly committed to the struggle against all drugs and addictions (alcoholism, gambling, internet), which are multifactorial social phenomena whose causes are emerging and reproduced within the exploitative system. The attitude towards addictions and drugs expresses the attitude towards man and whether they are placed at the centre or the margins of social life. We acknowledge the active role and the power of every young person to fight in an organized way for their lives and dreams.

We're consistently taking action against all drugs because they affect and alter consciousness. They are a phenomenon of extreme social alienation, in addition to their destructive effects on basic brain functions. We systematically reveal the

huge economic interests behind drug trafficking. In recent years, a whole plan has been developed for the liberalization of all drugs, with cannabis first in line. At state and European Union level, the adoption of bills for the liberalization of medical cannabis cultivation stands out, which leads to uncontrolled cultivation and easier trade for any use. At the same time, there is a decisive blow to prevention, by reinforcing the dangerous and unsuccessful policy of ‘damage reduction’ that all bourgeois parties follow. At a global level, the legalization of recreational use is peddled with tragic consequences for young people’s lives and psychological makeup, while increasing the profits of business groups. Our country also is in a new phase regarding these plans.

Our engagement in the front of drugs through the form of campaigns can be addressed only if they’re regarded as a social phenomenon directly related to a young person’s stance within a social context. Through the impact of our action, we aim to form a strong current of self-confidence and young resistance against drug use and the lifestyle that comes with it. This is the basis for improving the confrontation in the struggle against their plans, drug culture, and the effort to exonerate one or the other form of addiction.

We play a leading role in the mass youth organizations, by firmly orienting them towards a multifaceted activity in collaboration with the National Youth Council against Drugs (ESYN), and also with prevention centres and substance-free treatment programmes that KNE has been supporting for years.

**22** **KNE: a deeply internationalist Youth Organization.** In the four years since its 12<sup>th</sup> Congress, KNE has made considerable efforts to work towards the goal set by the KKE for the International Communist Movement (ICM) and contribute to its revolutionary regroupment in coordination with other Communist Parties (CPs). KNE bore important responsibilities for the development and coordination of the struggle of the Communist Youth Organizations (CYOs), promoting rich bilateral relations with dozens of Organizations all over the world, utilizing the experience gained from the struggle of CPs and CYOs against the bourgeois and opportunist intervention in the youth. It’s an effort of great importance alongside the Party, aiming to revive the ICM through the impetuous entry of millions of young communists around the world into the revolutionary struggle, educated with our worldview and the experience of the vanguard action where the young people work, study and live.

KNE has gained considerable prestige amongst the CYOs in previous years and has contributed to:

- ▶ Giving impetus to the Meetings of the European Communist Youth Organizations (MECYO), which constitute an important space for the exchange of experience, the development and coordination of the joint struggle of the CYOs on the European continent.
- ▶ Organizing International Ideological Seminars (2019, 2021), the International School for Young Communists (2022), thematic meetings for the exchange of experience from the action of the CYOs in the universities of Europe and Latin America, and from the action of the CYOs in the unprecedented conditions of the first phase of the pandemic (2020). KNE participated in Congresses and activities of other CYOs, while dozens of foreign delegations took part in events, such as the Festivals of KNE-‘Odigitis’ in Greece, aiming the contacts and discussions to be sincere and in-depth on all issues concerning the life and activity of the CYOs, avoiding formalities.

► Issuing and signing Joint Statements of CYOs on serious current issues, including the statement at the beginning of the imperialist war in Ukraine, which was drafted by the KKE, the Communist Party of the Workers of Spain, the Communist Party of Mexico, and the Communist Party of Turkey, and signed by a total of 43 CPs and 30 CYOs.

► Sparking off mass and coordinated – to a certain extent – demonstrations internationally against NATO and the EU. Notable cases were the demonstration against the NATO Summit in Madrid (2022), with the participation of Youth Organizations from various countries around the world, and the joint activities and statements of 25 European CYOs in the run-up to the European elections (2019) under the title: ‘For the reinforcement of the struggle against capitalism and the EU, for the Europe of the peoples, of Socialism!’

► Extending and deepening the ideological-political bonds amongst the CYOs, mutual aid and support in crucial moments against the repression of the bourgeois states, and the sharpening of anti-communism. A notable example is the number of joint statements and initiatives with the Communist Youth of Turkey (TKG) (summer camps of the two Organizations, positions and mobilizations in the student movement, joint statements on the Refugee issue and other issues, such as the earthquake in October 2020 that left victims in Samos and Izmir, etc.), based on the high level of cooperation achieved by the KKE and the CP of Turkey (TKP), paving the way for further coordination within the ICM, and constituting a great legacy for the future. Initiatives cultivating in the young people’s minds of the two countries that they share common problems and, most importantly, common interests. They can live in peace and prosperity under the workers’ power, which will abolish capitalist competition for the pursuit of profit, in both countries.

► Expressing mass solidarity on a global scale with the communists and the peoples of Cuba, Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Ukraine, Russia, Serbia, Turkey, Kazakhstan, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Venezuela, Mexico, etc., with the victims of the imperialist war, and the millions of refugees all over the world.

► Establishing the character of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) as an international, anti-imperialist youth organization, whose struggle aims at the true opponent, namely the monopolies, their governments, the international imperialist alliances, such as the EU and NATO, and goes against imperialist wars and their causes. An important step was taken during the 20<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of WFDY (2019), where KNE, together with other CYOs, foiled the attempt to align WFDY with bourgeois plans, governments, and imperialist centres, maintaining an ideological front against misconceptions about imperialism, especially those that dissociate its military warlike aggressiveness from its economic essence, and putting forward the position that the joint struggle of the CYOs is the breeding ground for the development and deepening of the content of the WFDY’s struggle in contemporary and complex developments.

We are determined to continue our contribution to the duty of the revolutionary regroupment of the ICM. In this direction, the international activity of KNE must:

► Continue to support the Party’s major efforts for the revolutionary regroupment of the ICM, for the creation of a communist pole that will fight for the revolutionary regroupment and unity of the communist movement, armed with our worldview, Marxism-Leninism.

► Maintain the communication and the establishment of firm bilateral relations with CYOs worldwide, and study their situation to contribute through its positions to the ideological and political confrontation against the bourgeois and opportunist intervention. To achieve this, it's important to continue and enhance the translation work, support the international websites of the Party, and have a steady flow of articles on the positions and action of the KKE and KNE in other languages.

► Continue the efforts for the development and coordination of the joint struggle of the CYOs for closer cooperation, especially with the CYOs that share the same cause and strive daily to forge bonds with the young people of working class-popular background, act in the youth movements and integrate the everyday struggle for the young generation's problems into the struggle for workers' power, socialism - communism.

### **E. KNE ACTS MILITANTLY IN SCHOOLS, UNIVERSITIES, VOCATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOLS, AMONGST YOUNG WORKERS AND UNEMPLOYED SO THAT MORE YOUNG FORCES CONTRIBUTE TO THE REGROUPMENT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, THE SOCIAL ALLIANCE AGAINST MONOPOLIES AND CAPITALISM**

**23** This is the way and the hope to fulfil the dreams and needs of the majority of the youth who come from, belong to or approach the working class. The youth is not a particular class or stratum, but an integral part of the socio-class structure. Its distinctive traits, such as excitement, drive, and a questioning mind can fuel the class struggles with important qualities. Besides, the very present and future of the youth of working-class and popular families depend on the course of class struggle, the victory of the working class and the overthrow of capitalism. From this standpoint, we confront various 'new movements' coming from the past, supported and utilized by the system in opposition to the organized movement, entrapping youthful radicalism into the framework of the system.

KNE plays a leading role in the development, endurance, continuity and radical orientation of the struggles of the youth; to strengthen the alignment of the student and school-student movement with the class-oriented labour movement, and the trust in the values of struggle, collective action, and solidarity. These are the traits we seek to be acquired even from the school years against the effort of the ruling class to prepare the new workforce on the terms they want. What is needed is a multifaceted activity in the places of education, the utilization of the experience from work sectors, struggles, etc. incisively and with frequent visits from trade unionists to lecture theatres.

Our goal is to contribute with more young forces to the course of development of a movement with nationwide coordination and unified demands in an anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist direction, against the EU and NATO; a movement that will gain achievements and pave the way for the total confrontation with the bourgeoisie and its power.

It's the responsibility of the members and cadres of KNE to contribute with their action so that the young workers, as part of the country's working class, the young people of a working class and popular background that today study



and tomorrow will work as salaried workers or self-employed, will fight in an organized way, by giving mass characteristics to the trade unions, PAME, the student unions, MAS, the school-student community, the self-employed unions, the farmers' associations, and the associations and groups of the radical women's movement, OGE.

To develop a rich activity for the overall needs of the youth, such as culture, sport, creative use of leisure, holidays, quality housing, use of new technologies etc., fighting against their commercialization. We seek to integrate organically all the needs of the youth into the struggle and the demands of the labour and people's movement. For the organizations of the student and school-student-movement to work in conjunction with cultural, sports, and local associations, and develop a multifaceted activity that can contribute to rallying broader forces, and fostering militant examples and values.

KNE, with its action, also intervenes in young people with disabilities and chronic diseases, contributes to their inclusion in the struggle, and tries with its forces to make their demands a matter of the movement.

## **24** To contribute to the preparation of the new shift of the working class, and their impetuous participation in the labour movement

The young workers, under conditions of capitalist crisis and growth, face constantly low wages, flexible labour relations and new anti-labour laws added to the previous ones.

We need to focus on all the problems the new shift of the working class faces, their living and working conditions. The issues of housing, high prices in general, and lack of leisure are becoming more acute.

Over the past years, the number of those working while studying has increased, and the average age of young people entering the workforce has decreased considerably, while employer-led 'accidents' involving young workers are increasing. The rise in underage work amongst 15-18 years old reveals once again the barbarism of capitalism.

The members of KNE face the same problems with a militant attitude and optimism deriving from the power of collective struggle, genuine solidarity, and comradeship.

The Resolution of the 21<sup>st</sup> Congress of the KKE 'on the tasks of the Communists in the Working Class, the Labour-Trade Union Movement, and the Social Alliance' is a guide for the intervention of KNE in young workers.

We focus our attention on how KNE will contribute more decisively to the participation of young workers in the trade unions, which is still very low. The young people that join the production today are more distant from the achievements of the class struggles, the organization of a collective struggle, etc. Therefore, the action of the members of KNE in the unions and the labour movement requires the intensification of the discussion around questions, such as 'why should I fight for a Collective Agreement?', 'why should I join the union?', etc., which we often encounter in our effort for young workers to unionize and fight for their contemporary needs and solutions to acute problems in their workplaces.

The struggle for Collective Bargaining Agreements, with wage increases, safety measures, based on modern technological possibilities, reduction of working hours, etc., can embrace the angst of thousands of young people, and integrate new forces in the labour and trade union movement.

Through the active participation of all the members of KNE in the unions, their

militant consolidation in the workplaces, and their contribution to enriching the activity, demands, and forms of struggle of the unions aiming at increasing the number of the young workers joining them, the activity of the unions will also develop, shattering the perceptions that have been formed in the minds of the young people because of the employer-led and government-led trade unionism about the supposedly outdated role of the trade union movement and the unions. The lively and multifaceted activity for culture and sports can contribute to attracting young people to company-based and sectoral unions.

Lately, the action of members and friends of KNE has become relatively more distinct in workplaces, first-level company-based and sectoral unions, especially in sectors we have prioritized and have many young workers (Tourism and Hospitality, Commerce, Telecommunications), public hospitals and the sector of courier services. The members of KNE were at the forefront of the mobilizations, and the organization of solidarity actions, and established themselves as militants in the minds of more workers. An objective still to be achieved is the constant concern of the sectoral and area-based organs of KNE for the active participation of all the comrades in their unions, and the study and knowledge of the developments by the members of KNE in the sector they work in.

A lot of young people were inspired by the emblematic workers' struggles of this period. An effort was made, not only to make them known but to break fatalism in the workplace. These struggles, but even more so, the everyday discussions, the confrontation with the employers, and the participation of young people in the unions can foster a class character in the thought and collective activity of young workers. The struggles we waged during the lockdown in public hospitals, the hospitality, commerce, and industry sectors, have given a new impetus to the discussion on the power of organized workers. The role of PAME was more broadly recognized in the ranks of the youth as a rallying front of trade unions at the forefront of the struggle for the contemporary rights of young workers.

## **25** **Our work where the youth lives and works lays the foundation and strengthens the labour and trade union movement.**

The sectors that are based on and develop business activity within the urban fabric are mainly hospitality and retail trade, while in several neighbourhoods more sectors are also developing.

The orientation and intervention of our forces in the area-based organizations need to reinforce sectoral intervention in collaboration with sectoral organizations, by also including the acute problems in the neighbourhood that affect the youth and are related to all aspects of their lives. In this direction, what stands out is the need to focus our attention on the contribution from the members of KNE to the activity of the mass organizations operating in the neighbourhoods; the young workers and unemployed committees, the workers' and youth centres, the women's groups of OGE, the branches of ESYN, sports clubs and cultural associations.

Over the past years, in Attica, we have made an effort to develop a substructure and organize young workers and unemployed in the neighbourhoods. Such forms of organization, alongside the trade unions, can contribute essentially to the training in the organized struggle, and the formation of demands by a significant section of unemployed young people, on an endless job hunt, flexible labour relations, or in small businesses (hospitality, trade, etc.)

A struggle committee in the neighbourhood can arise from a burning issue or even as an expression of solidarity and can be recognized by and establish

itself in the broader masses. What is crucial, however, is the effort to formulate goals of struggle and a framework of demands, which respond to the needs of the young people the committee is addressing, and the specialization based on the neighbourhood and sectors that gather young people, taking into account the issues that concern them. There is a need to better elaborate the committee's forms of intervention and action that will combine militant demands and multi-formity. In any case, what is needed is patience, continuous review of the gained experience, and not giving up at the first sign of difficulty.

On these terms, a programme of action can be drawn up that will establish the committee, make it more widely known in the area and enable it to attract a broader range of people that are concerned and willing to mobilize.

It's crucial for each committee to have its own place in the neighbourhood, which will serve as a point of reference so that the people will know where the committee is located. This place shall be a base of activity, and events, a space for solidarity, offering free tutoring classes, which now are more necessary than ever, a place for recreation, culture, etc. In conjunction with the Labour Centres, where the class-oriented forces have the majority, we can achieve impressive results in the coming years.

**26** In previous years, more mass student and school-student struggles took place with the vanguard action of the members of KNE in all places of education and on all fronts. Mobilizations were organized for the protection of the people's health or against the imperialist war and the involvement of our country in it, multifaceted initiatives were held against fascism and state repression, and solidarity actions were organized in response to natural disasters and the victims of war. A militant activity was developed against the marginalization of people based on race, sex, and sexual orientation, and demands were put forward for the environment, free spaces, etc.

A new, improved correlation of forces is visible in the elections of school-student councils and student unions in universities and vocational training schools that we seek to establish and expand. We have formed a crucial substructure within the movement to wage the battle to change the current situation of retreat, expressed by the majority of young people being alienated from the mass organizations or influenced by reactionary notions fostered by the system and its forces within the movement.

We, the members of KNE, reveal and fight against the bourgeois strategy in education, promoted by all governments and the EU, focusing on the categorization of the educational structures (schools, universities, etc.), the direct intervention of the capital in the orientation of all educational levels, the expansion of the qualifications and skills market undermining the all-round education and degrees, and the intensification of business and contributory operation.

An important asset in the confrontation and the elaboration of the content of our intervention is the assimilation and utilization of the Party's elaborations on school, vocational education and training, and university. Besides, the work with the Party's proposal on Education is an asset for understanding the changes in the educational system; it contributes to the elaboration of a framework of struggle in the movement expressing the students' concerns and goals, highlights the potential for meeting their contemporary needs, and demonstrates that realism is fighting for their demands, and not the constant degradation of education and the business activity at universities.

We have improved our intervention regarding the way we address young people at different levels of education and how we utilize the individual particular qualities of each area to cultivate the need to organize ourselves and fight for our demands. For example, the school-students in Vocational Upper Secondary Schools (EPAL), or the students in Institutes of Vocational Training (IEK) aren't and shouldn't be treated as second-class students. Instead, we must foster in them the demand to learn about their field of studies properly and work with rights. We must see the dreams of first-year students for their scientific field as a basis for raising their expectations regarding their studies and not as an illusion. Respectively, we try not to hand over to the opponent concepts with a positive connotation in the young people's minds, such as 'innovation', and 'connection between studies and work', but reveal their true content in opposition to their instrumentalization by bourgeois propaganda.

We are concerned about what is taught to school-students and students and what the content of education is, which today is subordinated to the dominant bourgeois ideology. At its core is the aggressive defence of capitalism or its possibility for improvement, anti-communism, the projection of individualism as a life stance, and the glorification of subjectivism and irrationalism. This also applies to the confrontation carried out in schools over historic anniversaries, the content of school textbooks, university coursebooks, thematic interventions organized by the Ministry of Education, municipalities, etc. (on war, 'Europe Day', school bullying, etc.)

The ability of our forces to put up resistance to the bourgeois ideology permeating the content of education is linked to the effort of the Organizations of KNE to cultivate the class criterion, based on the knowledge of our worldview, Marxist education, the assimilation of our elaborations – while having different expectations depending on the age of our comrades, the years they have been members of KNE, or their level of studies – and the confirmation of truth through practice. This need is stronger in universities that have a special role in the production of bourgeois theories and ideological constructs.

## **27** **The school-student movement has made steps forward because of the vanguard action of the members and friends of KNE.**

The previous years were marked by the governmental management of the pandemic, with the schools being shut down for months and the lessons being carried out through tele-education. The school-students spent months locked up in their houses, without any sports or cultural activities, away from their friends, which, in combination with the ongoing legislative changes, the implementation of previous laws posing additional obstacles to the education of school-students coming from working-class and popular families, and the private tutoring schools becoming the norm for ever younger ages, determined the stance of a great section of school-students.

As long as reactionary, anti-educational policies are implemented and the school's educational mission is degraded, the school, a place that objectively unites hundreds of school-students every day, for hours and years, will become ossified, losing aspects of its vitality. For that reason, the need will be heightened for the members and friends of KNE to be at the forefront of expressing qualities of collectivity, solidarity and creativity, for the revitalization of everyday school life.

In autumn 2020, when schools first opened after months of lockdown, the most massive school-student demonstrations of the last decade took place,

with thousands of students mobilizing about the opening and operation of their schools with substantive protection measures, in conflict with the governmental management of the pandemic that left them basically unprotected. The school-student mobilizations expressed an overall discontent, and stood out for their considerable duration, their militancy, and their multiformity, under unprecedented conditions; they were generally supported by society and social automatism did not succeed. Especially the member-students of KNE and the Organizations of KNE as a whole played a decisive role both in the mass participation and the content of the struggle. Overall, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- ▶ Under conditions of intense ideological struggle, KNE can lead the creation of a combative mood with mass characteristics that will militantly express the concerns, anger and worries of school-students in opposition to the plan and arguments of the government and the rest bourgeois parties. The school-students defended their struggle against slander and repression, and against the attempt to make them support the government's work with arguments such as 'the government is trying', 'what else can it do?', 'the pandemic is something new', etc.

- ▶ A decisive role is played by the formation of apt, clear and suitable slogans and demands that, through a broad discussion amongst thousands of school-students, were adopted nationwide, expressing their heartbeat, such as: 'The masks cannot fade our voices - Education and Health for all school-students' and 'The mask is not the only protection - Fund the Education.'

- ▶ It's necessary to have a solid plan per school and region, with an escalation in the forms of struggle, distinguishing as the main elements the broad and collective discussion about the demands, the content and the forms of struggle through school assemblies, voting and by informing all students. In a nutshell, any form of struggle needs to be chosen and supported by the students themselves, to be their own. This is shown by the way the School-students' Coordinating Committee of Athens openly chose to hold discussions about the continuation of the struggle, give press conferences and communicate their next steps.

- ▶ It's necessary for the arguments, demands and slogans to have an appropriate escalation, trying to target the entire anti-people policy and the responsibility that all governments bear over the years. In this direction, the effort to include aspects such as 'our families' money goes to military equipment, like the Rafale, and to the NATO needs instead of our Education' left an impression on school-students and was, therefore, fought by the majority of the bourgeois media. The nature of the demands reflects, to a certain extent, contemporary needs in light of current developments. The effort of KNE and the KKE to work in schools with our programmatic view on school and the 2016 elaboration of the Party and KNE on 'The school we need today' is consistently reflected in the content of KNE's intervention. Thus, even in legislative changes, a criterion is created regarding the demands and stance about what school is truly modern today, what possibilities exist for us to make it happen, what prevents us from enjoying it, against whom our struggle should be directed.

These school-student struggles, in fact, contributed to cultivating in a relatively larger number of school-students the conviction that school-student councils need to elect school-students who are also fighters, students with passion, courage and knowledge to organize the school struggle, to take the lead, while retaining and strengthening, of course, traits prevailing in these age groups, such as drive and enthusiasm.

In the following years, such dynamics were expressed and remained in the school-student elections; based on these dynamics, KNE assumes the duty of contributing to the new steps that the school-student movement can take forward, even though the situation in the movement hasn't changed radically yet. The truth is that, in the majority of schools, the prevailing view is that 'the 5-member and 15-member councils play a decorative role' and that they 'should not take action or express an opinion on political issues'. In the last years, the interference of the headteachers in the school-student elections is getting enhanced and is increasingly raw, aiming to turn the student councils into their minions. The students face various obstacles in their action and more intense intimidation. Neither the ONNED's (Youth Organisation of New Democracy) campaign for changes in the operation and structure of the school-student councils ('The school that you want') – a discussion that had been opened up under the SYRIZA government as well – nor the attempt to have electronic voting for the appointment of school-student councils in certain schools are a coincidence.

At the same time, under the need to coordinate the individual actions of schools, the need to 'make our voices heard more loudly', dozens of Coordinating Committees at a municipality level, as well as online – due to the pandemic – coordination activities and discussions were set up for the first time. There is growing recognition of the School-students' Coordinating Committee of Athens at a national level; even the Ministry of Education was forced, for the first time during the 2020 mobilizations, to formally recognize it as a students' body.

**28** **The improvement in the content and operation of the school-student councils is a prerequisite for taking a major step forward in the organization and orientation of the school-student movement.** The entire political guidance and support need to be oriented towards promoting collective discussion in the 5-member and 15-member councils, and developing action by choosing the appropriate forms to express the school-students' moods, i.e. towards having a concrete intervention plan per class and school.

There are schools where our intervention so far is creating the potential to make a difference. The member-students of KNE, together with a significant number of school-students rallying with them, need to create a situation completely different to the one existing today in the majority of schools and student councils.

The core of the school-student movement is the school, the class and the school-student council, and as long as these are not in our focus, any – elaborated and otherwise successful – central initiative during the school year will wane. This requires us to overcome, in thought and practice, the notion that the school-student movement is only about occupying schools and marching. It's certainly about these as well and, as it turns out, it's crucial to be at the forefront, but there's more than that.

The guidance of the KNE members elected to school-student councils has an increased responsibility. Their influence is often wider than we can see. The support should focus on the effort for the member-students of KNE to establish themselves firmly as leaders in their schools and be active in all aspects. To train them on how they can develop joint action with their fellow students, how they can rally them around them. Our experience shows that, with the right help, they play the most decisive role in swiftly building strong Base Organizations of KNE in their schools. The creation and support of groups consisting of KNE

members elected to school-student councils and having increased duties within the school-student movement is a special and important duty.

It has been confirmed over the years that school-students are mobilizing for all aspects of their lives. That is why they have expressed their opposition to the war and their solidarity with the refugees, who are the victims of imperialist wars. That is why they are concerned about and reflect upon hooliganism and the recent murder of the 19-year-old Alkis due to sport-related violence in Thessaloniki. That is why the elaborated statement of the School-students' Coordinating Committee of Athens on the demands for prevention, support and protection against phenomena of violence and abuse of young girls was very well received. How school-students express their opinion and argue against the new laws on secondary education – i.e. the Exams Topic Repository and the Minimum Grade Requirement to be admitted to higher education – is telling: 'Our parents are losing their jobs; they spend a ton of money on bills; Webex has left us with educational gaps; all these require more private tutoring schools and money, and the government is choosing to make the examination system even more exhausting'.

The considerable success of initiatives that are not yet generalized, such as the 'School Art Festivals,' sports tournaments, local meetings or even the collection of school-students' signatures to address a school or neighbourhood issue, can and should be a guide for action.

**29** All of the above give an answer to the concern that has been rightly raised about the establishment, consolidation and expansion of the local Coordinating Committees and their role, especially regarding Committees in specific Municipalities of Attica and Thessaloniki and some cities in the rest of Greece.

Naturally, a more favourable ground for the creation of such structures of organizing the student movement is created in periods of larger school-student mobilizations, especially of a national character, often in response to an anti-education law. But then, the need to coordinate actions wanes. To a certain extent, this has an objective base.

There are, however, specific Coordinating Committees whose role has expanded in the process from 'coordinating actions because of a mobilization and for a limited time' to a more stable structure in the school-student movement, and they have acquired a, relatively, greater recognition.

Their common features are:

a. The continuous effort to expand the number of schools that they rally or influence. That is, next to the stable core of elected school-students and schools, there was an effort and a call for more elected school-students to participate from the councils of the same schools, and new schools, or even for entire school-student councils to participate. The effort for each school-student to undertake the duty of informing their school about the thoughts and ideas exchanged; for each one to have a specific duty depending on what needs to be done. To regularly issue an announcement or a poster, and participate in joint actions with local mass organizations. In this way, confusions are solved in practice, which are reasonably arising if a committee is dissolved every school year and re-established from scratch with the school-student elections, or when it's constantly renewed with new vanguard forces.

b. Addressing issues concerning everyday life and the overall needs of school-students, such as the lack of sports and recreational facilities, anti-fascist

and anti-racist activities, the lack of green spaces in deprived neighbourhoods, developments such as practical solidarity with the people during the 2021 destructive wildfires. In other words, the more the ground was laid for demands, discussion and multifaceted action around everything concerning the school-student community overall, the more the motivation grew for the school-students of a specific area to jointly and consistently mobilize.

We believe that, at this stage, it's necessary to enhance the action of KNE within the school-student movement, and especially amongst the school-students elected to the school-student councils and amongst that section of students who are mobilizing to consolidate and generalize the above, still limited, steps of organization, to further consolidate the nationwide expression of the school-student struggles by making use of crucial issues and developments, to form new ways of organizing the school-student movement, even on a nationwide scale.

**30** **The responsibility and contribution of KNE to the intervention in younger ages.** The Party and KNE have always shown particular concern for childhood, for the conditions under which children live and grow up in our country (poverty, high prices, exhausting and flexible working hours of their working parents, the situation at school, etc.), for the children of refugees and immigrants. We are particularly interested in educating the young generations with progressive, radical values and ideals against the rotten values of individualism and competition that prevail today.

As children get older, the stimuli they receive, and the influences from the social environment (school, EU programmes, the church, scouting programmes, the internet and social media, friends, TV, the music industry, etc.) increase. Overall, the system aims particularly at younger age groups in various, sometimes imaginative and attractive, ways. It is, in other words, a work of the opponent that we, as KNE, later encounter in our intervention in junior high schools. Indeed, in the last years of elementary school, it's not only the children's questions and concerns that impress, but also the answers they give. They are beginning to have a structured and solid view of the society in which they live and of the world around them.

As the KKE and KNE, we want children to get to love knowledge and understand that each person with their work and mind has the power to get to know and shape the world; we want them to see the value of solidarity and collective action; interpret the injustice they encounter – because unfortunately, they do encounter injustice one way or the other– and to unite with the many fighting for what is just. In recent years, with the Party having the main responsibility, we have made progress in elaborating issues to make them understandable and inspiring for younger children. This effort is reflected in the content of the bi-monthly children's magazine 'KokkinoAerostato' (*Red Hot-air balloon*) and other publications (e.g. 'And yet it moves...', '1922-2022. Discovering the traces of an uprooting'), the success of the children's camp during the anti-imperialist camps of KNE, the children's festivals and the corresponding stands at the Festivals of KNE-'Odigitis', developing a steady activity with the friends of the 'KokkinoAerostato' around the issues of the magazine at a neighbourhood level.

KNE can and should contribute more actively to the above-mentioned effort so that the members of KNE – school and university students and young workers – can truly become role models for the friends of the 'KokkinoAerostato' to aspire to; so that they get to know these children in every region, participate and help in their meetings as team leaders.



At the same time, the school-student BOs and the comrades responsible for them need to embrace the children of the 1<sup>st</sup> grade of junior high school (12 years old) in the schools where the member-students of KNE actually study and intervene. They need to be concerned about the issues of their schools and their lives in general; talk with them about school-student councils, school-student mobilizations, the School-student Festivals, etc.; develop trusting relationships with their fellow school-students in the lower classes of junior high school, before they join KNE, and prepare them for their recruitment.

The nationwide cohesive consolidation and improvement of the above work as we take steps forward for these groups to embrace even more youngsters, is a basic precondition for, and aspect of the effort to develop the ranks of KNE in junior high schools by also qualitatively improving the operation and content of the life and activity of the school-student BOs.

### **31 Higher expectations for the activity of the KNE members within the unions of vocational education students.**

Vocational education and training (Public and Private Institutes of Vocational Training-IEK, Vocational Schools-EPAS) is a multi-disciplinary field, in which a crucial section of the next shift of the working class is gathered. The assessment we made in the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress that this field will gather even more students has been confirmed in recent years (2020-2021: + 35% students in public IEKs, an upward trend in 2022-2023 as well).

The massification of vocational education and training schools is linked to the legislative interventions of governments in education over the past years (e.g. Minimum Grade Requirement, Law 4673/2020), which implement the EU guidelines for the enhancement of training and apprenticeship, lifelong learning, for the greater involvement of businesses (see Memoranda of Understanding between the Ministry of Education and employers' unions, the establishment of thematic and experimental Public IEKs, the establishment or elimination of specialities) in order to bring labour skills into line with the new needs of businesses aiming to boost their profitability.

These piecemeal reforms and their objective don't improve the lives of today's students and tomorrow's workers since young people are either constantly on the hunt for skills, on the unemployment line or working without rights, in flexible working conditions. 15-year-old students are getting thrown out of general education to work under miserable working conditions.

All of the above require a stronger ideological and political intervention by KNE aiming to open up the discussion and reflection on the current conditions of interconnection with sectors of the economy, the content of vocational education and training and the value of the degrees, highlighting, at the same time, the Party's proposal on school, higher and vocational education and training in general.

In the last elections of the Public-IEKs-Student Unions in Athens and Thessaloniki, a large increase in the participation of thousands of students was recorded, expressing their willingness to organize themselves for the problems they face. Over the next period, we need to turn our attention to how we can increase student participation in the life and activity of the unions, in the struggle for what they need in their studies and apprenticeship.

The vanguard action of the forces of KNE can contribute to that, focusing on each school and speciality and on every issue that concerns students during their studies – without underestimating their traineeship or apprenticeship, or their life

in general, e.g. free time, taking into account the fact that the majority of students have exigencies and expectations for the speciality they have chosen to study.

The above can be carried out through initiatives that strengthen collective discussion, such as holding General Assemblies, joint activities and information campaigns of the Unions-committees with workers' unions, women's associations, etc.; with additional steps forward in the elaboration of a framework of struggle and demands, the use of forms of struggle for the creation of new organizational structures in each school, as well as for the multifaceted activity of the Unions, committees, etc. At the same time, there is the possibility of setting up new Student Unions in Public IEKs in other cities, or reopening old ones in some other cities and making the Student Unions in Private IEKs more active.

In the EPAS of the Public Employment Service-DYPA (the former OAED-Manpower Employment Organization), during the student mobilizations against the downgrading of their degrees, we intervened on better terms in the unions in which we had elected representatives, and we managed to lay a foundation and create bonds with the 7-member councils or other vanguards students.

At the same time, there are several examples – from all over Greece – of students, working or studying in their respective fields, who participate in their first-level sectoral unions. This is a work with an outlook for the regroupment of the labour and trade union movement. These results were not coincidental, but the fruit of the intervention of the KNE members within the schools and of the overall intervention of the Party.

## **32** **A new correlation of forces within the university-student unions – new duties for the intervention of the members and friends of KNE and the militant regroupment of the student movement.**

Key steps have been made in our intervention in the student movement in Universities. First of all, the orientation and responsibility of the leading organs towards how we work within the movement has improved, as have the readiness and planning to take the initiative of action and the concern over how we promote the anti-capitalist line of struggle, how we elaborate a framework of struggle and how we intervene in collective processes such as General Assemblies.

These steps, under a state of flux, the unprecedented developments for students and the serious organizational and political problems of other political forces, are reflected, to a certain extent, in:

- ▶ The improvement of the correlation of forces in the bodies of the student unions, with the emergence of the “Panspoudastiki K.S.,” the list supported by KNE, as the first force in the student elections of 2022.
- ▶ The ability of our forces to be at the forefront of the students' militant outbursts under lockdown conditions, highlighting the need to ‘become students again’, and the opposition to the government measures for universities, as well as to the university police.
- ▶ Ensuring the initiative of action in the student movement nationwide, in large cities and at a union level, even in some student unions where we were the minority, as in the Medical Schools, the Schools of Physical Education and Sports Science, the Panteion University, the unions in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (AUTH), etc.
- ▶ The better orientation towards the creation of structures of student organization so that the stance on problems and obstacles to studies can be expressed in a

militant and collective way, such as setting up unions in Universities where there were none before, setting up committees of struggle or committees of struggle for students of the same year of studies, the women's group at the AUTH, etc., new forms of organization that life and the struggle itself give birth to as possibilities, such as the Coordinating Committee of the Fine Arts Schools.

► The effort to act together with more students who have no experience of struggle and no agreement or clarity on the direction the struggle should take.

The emergence of 'Panspoudastiki K.S.' as the first force in 118 student unions and 12 associations of student residences across the country creates new potential and responsibilities regarding the intervention of the members and friends of KNE in the militant regroupment of the student movement in order to put a halt to its constant course of retreat.

We don't underestimate the existing correlation of forces, which is still negative and is reflected in the consciousness and attitude of the majority of students, the state of dissolution or degeneration prevailing in many unions, the procedures with little participation, the damage done to the values of collectivity and struggle. That is why, at the centre of our efforts, we set the goal of improving the unions' operation and activity, as well as increasing students' participation in the procedures and the struggle for all their contemporary needs.

There is no other way if we wish to keep changing the correlation of forces; a process that will have turning points, ups and downs, and in any case, it'll depend on the overall course of development of the labour-popular and student movement, on the strengthening of KNE within universities, the reinforcement of the multifaceted ideological-political intervention in connection with each scientific field.

### **33 Rallying even more unions around the Students' Struggle Front (MAS) is the answer to the plans of total dissolution or co-optation of the student movement.**

During the next period, the struggle over the orientation and organization of the student movement will intensify, since the common aim of the rest of the political forces and mechanisms is to put a halt to the influence of the KKE and KNE on students, to undo the positive steps made towards changing the correlation of forces inside the unions, to prevent any positive processes in the struggle and the radicalization of consciousness.

The effort of the government, the state mechanism, and other political parties to interfere in the content and operation of the student movement has been intensified. They don't just wish for students to stay uninvolved or neutral, but to be active supporters of the dominant policy. The action and influence of the KKE and KNE set obstacles and are taken into account. Over the past years, the slander and suppression of the students' struggles led by the government, as well as the plans of social-democracy and opportunism to co-opt them into supporting a change in government have intensified. We are facing the state's interference in the operation of the unions, their substitution with student boards devoid of mass procedures or a militant character, as well as electronic voting and unified electoral lists. The EU spends a fortune on the operation of NGO-like volunteer student organizations so that students would be organized in support of its strategy. For this attack on the student movement to work, they cultivate depoliticization and apoliticism in the student unions; that struggles are ineffective and out-of-date; that students should worry only for their studies, overlooking which policy creates the problems they face.

For these plans to be foiled, it's necessary to increase participation in the Students' Struggle Front (MAS), since it expresses the radical and most militant section of the student movement. MAS is a pole rallying student unions and committees based on its framework of struggle, which is constantly being enriched. We need these mass organizations to join forces with the class-oriented labour movement and coordinate their action against the policies of all governments, the European Union, the capital, against imperialist plans and NATO, setting forth the demands for studies, work and life with contemporary rights.

The wider consolidation of MAS can be achieved through its vanguard action and the growing participation in the unions it rallies, overall by raising the level of students' organization; through the wider political discussion and adoption of the MAS framework of struggle by the students – a fact that shouldn't be taken for granted or be deemed guaranteed just because a union decided to participate in it. It can be achieved by seeking to coordinate and act together with unions that are still sceptical, by improving the correlation of forces in even more unions, and, where needed, creating new forms of organization.

The more favourable correlation of forces in more Administration Boards (AB), in which 'Panspoudastiki K.S.' emerged as the 1<sup>st</sup> force, the creation of more student committees in Faculties or years of study adopting aspects of the framework of struggle of MAS, pave the way for the rallying of more mass student organizations around it. The result of the student elections also offers a certain potential for the nationwide expression-organization of the student movement, for the reconstitution of the third-level National Student Union of Greece (EFEE), with the participation of representatives from all unions, without fraud or exclusions. In this way, open discussions and the political-ideological confrontation for the direction, demands and goals of the student movement shall be strengthened, and the two lines clashing against each other within the movement will become clearer – one promoting consensus and compromise with the dominant policy and the other fighting for rupture and overthrow, as expressed by the forces of KNE. Thus, opposing both the undermining activity of DAP (list supported by New Democracy) and the planning of social-democracy and opportunism for a harmless and vague 'anti-right wing' orientation within the EFEE.

**34** **Active and militant unions fighting for the needs of the majority are the key to the development of the student movement.** Our aim is for the unions to become lively centres of collectivity, especially those in which 'Panspoudastiki K.S.' is the 1<sup>st</sup> force, so that all students can express themselves and stand against everything suffocating them; so that no student will have to face difficulties alone. With a sense of responsibility and support towards our elected unionists, we lead the way for the right operation of the ABs, wide information campaigns, holding General Assemblies in which students will effectively participate, militant demands, solidarity but also for a multifaceted activity (regarding the graduates' future, the field of studies, cultural or sports issues, etc.). We ought to overcome the fragmentation now characterizing our efforts to increase participation in several unions, in which we are the first force.

Even in the ABs in which the correlation of forces still remains negative, a committee of struggle can be formed, or at least a group of vanguard or active students fighting alongside the members of KNE. Together we can take initiatives to revitalize the unions, in confrontation with the groupings holding the majority.

We have considerable potential to develop our ability to rally and mobilize more students around our line of struggle within the movement to the extent that the forces of KNE, fulfilling their responsibilities, play a vanguard role in:

- ▶ monitoring more consistently the developments at Universities and the respective sectors, having a more thorough knowledge of their area of responsibility and the impact of the changes that have taken place in it.

- ▶ being concerned with all aspects of the student's lives; the conditions and content of studies, education, degrees, and professional prospects, as well as with matters of science-research, recreation, sport, and culture, which help larger masses of students to mobilize, and sometimes help to highlight and claim students' contemporary needs. They also play a vanguard role in strengthening solidarity in an organized way, establishing it as a vital trait of the Students' Unions.

- ▶ developing organized discussions in the Student Unions on issues appearing in the curricula, by also waging ideological struggle over which interests should scientists serve, and providing information on issues regarding ongoing scientific developments.

- ▶ intensifying the ideological-political confrontation with the other organized forces in the Universities (bourgeois, opportunist, anarchist forces) and the views that prevail and hinder participation in the movement, obscure who the real opponent is, trap the students' questioning within the limits of the realism of submission, ultimately leading some people who participate in the struggles to frustration and demobilization. A confrontation within the mass procedures over the goals of struggle and the orientation of the movement, combined with the comprehensive independent intervention of KNE. A confrontation that unifies the concerns and the struggle against the policy of the EU and the capital, in opposition to the wait-and-see attitude fostered or the compromise with the government allowances; in confrontation with the line of bourgeois government change.

- ▶ supporting every member of KNE, and, first of all, those elected in the ABs, so that they can enlighten, communicate with, organize and mobilize their fellow students.

- ▶ transforming every militant spark into a form of organization, e.g., committees by year of studies. The coordination of the action of the student unions should increase the responsibility of each union to inform and mobilize its members, not go past it.

- ▶ using various forms of the students' collective action: the coordination of the student residences' associations; the joint action with the trade unions in terms of common demands in addition to solidarity, for the organization of working students, among others. We support the newly founded unions in their efforts to gain wide recognition with the action they'll develop. We generalize the positive efforts to run scientific, sports, or cultural groups in more Student Unions.

- ▶ specializing our intervention in the faculties that have emerged from the former TEIs (*Technological Educational Institutes*) and in the new Faculties of applied sciences and technology that will be established. We are at the forefront of organizing the students and their struggle aiming to create unions where there aren't any.

**35** Over the past years, the KKE and KNE contributed to establishing in practice the fact that the rights of young soldiers don't stop at the gates of military camps, that 'the soldiers are children of the people and have political rights'. There have been hundreds of Questions by the KKE in the Greek Parliament, dozens of statements published by the KKE and KNE, handed over outside camps, several articles on these issues published in the 'Rizospastis' newspaper, the 'Odigitis' magazine, alt.gr.

The rightful protests of young soldiers, many of whom have been punished for their stance by the government, the Ministry and their Commands, have increased inside camps across the country. However, this wasn't enough to break their protests, which were supported by the mass organizations of the youth and the labour movement, generally of the popular families, who took action, demanded and defended the rights of the young people serving their compulsory military service. Besides, any achievements inside military camps improving, in some cases, the living conditions, were made precisely because soldiers stood up for their rights.

Over the past period, the positions of the KKE on the imperialist war had a significant impact on young soldiers, but also young officers and noncommissioned officers, future officers of the Armed Forces, being in the so-called Officers Training Schools today. All that despite the obstacles set by the bourgeois state, as well as the overall reactionary direction of the training and education of those serving in the state's hardcore, the Armed Forces. The dignified attitude adopted by soldiers participating in or saluting anti-imperialist, anti-war demonstrations, the denunciation of the policy that wants our country to participate in the bloodshed of the NATO imperialist plans, fill us with optimism and show that only through struggle and solidarity can soldiers truly protect their rights.

**36** The specialized intervention of KNE in young women permeates and concerns all aspects of the responsibility and competence of our guidance work. It concerns and permeates the intra-organizational life of KNE and the process of our forces' assimilation within them, but also the plan of KNE-building, especially in places with a strong female presence (specific faculties in Universities, certain specializations in Vocational Upper Secondary Schools (EPAL) - vocational training - apprenticeship, sectors like telecommunications and trade), through the ideological-political intervention of KNE in the youth and the activity of its members within the movement, through the confrontation with the elaborated plan of the opponent, the bourgeois and opportunist theories on the women's issue.

During the last four years, certain steps were made in the orientation of the guiding Organs of KNE towards the specialized intervention in young women, in the ability of the Organs and the cadres of KNE to address the difficulties faced by women comrades in the organized struggle in a more collective way and from a relatively better starting point in our everyday work.

These steps are a result of the effort made so that our Organs, first and foremost, can better assimilate our view on the equality and emancipation of women, on the class roots of women's inequality under its contemporary forms; an effort that intensified after the respective Resolution of the Central Council in 2020. Following that, this effort run through a more intense activity developed

by KNE through several publications, events and initiatives, organized both centrally and by Region Organizations.

There is rich experience gained through the initiatives and the elaborated material (statements, articles, framework of demands) that we have taken focused on girls in both schools and universities during the past two years, taking into account the age and social experience of the young people we address ourselves to. Despite the fragmentation characterizing these actions – taken mostly before important dates – it turns out that, as long as we fiercely promote our positions and demands, there is significant potential for us to affect the minds of the young people that concern us.

The steps made need to acquire cohesive, stable characteristics in all Organs of KNE and all Region Organizations in order to form criteria of a dialectical-materialist approach to complex social issues, such as the violence against women and interpersonal love relationships, shaped under the reactionary turn of capitalist society.

This orientation can contribute to the militant and apt ideological-political confrontation with irrationalism, the reactionary views and rotten values on the social position of women reproduced at school, University and workplaces.

It is a major guiding duty for us to count more steps in our work with the positions of the Party and KNE on the equality and emancipation of women, watching their development from a young age, so as to foster early on their self-confidence, a militant, communist attitude and endurance towards issues they face, or will face, concerning their personal life or even new situations they will encounter in the course of their lives, and especially in certain stages (job search, work under flexible forms of employment, starting a family, pressure by their family surroundings and love partner, financial or family difficulties, diseases). For example, the inclusion of a separate lesson in the Ideological Schools for the New Members of KNE is in the right direction.

The leading Organs should also have high in concern about how to build endurance for the women members and cadres of KNE and foster their steady participation throughout their intra-organizational life, as well as strengthen the care and preparation so that women will take on more and more responsibilities within the Organization, offering them even practical support. Especially women cadres, regardless of the type of their assignments, should develop a constant concern for the study and assimilation of our positions, monitor contemporary bourgeois and opportunist approaches and contribute to the ideological struggle. Their attitude should foster solidarity and comradeship, especially when women comrades face personal difficulties. Thus, they'll mature and along with them so will the Organs they form part of.

There is a need to strengthen, within the organization but also in the mass political intervention of KNE, the content of the struggle for the real emancipation of women, which is an integral part of the struggle for socialism-communism by using historical examples of women of the communist movement in our country and internationally. The emancipation of women is achieved through the struggle against reactionary forms of interpersonal relationships, for contemporary social needs, so that each and every young woman can be financially and socially independent.

**37** **Regarding the contribution of women members of KNE to the radical women's movement, in the associations and groups of the Federation of Greek Women (OGE). Infusing all movements with the women's issue.**

All women, members and friends of KNE, participate in the groups and associations of OGE and seek the participation of more young women in the radical women's movement. In this effort, we have faced confusion over the role of OGE, to which women it is addressed; confusions that have to do with the more general weakness of the organs to comprehend the necessity of a specialized intervention of KNE in young women. However, there has been some positive experience from the campaigns conducted by OGE in educational institutions and workplaces, and the effort to hold joint actions with student unions, which has cleared the way for us to meet even more women students.

The activity of OGE can contribute to galvanising into militant action the women rallied around it, to overcome the passive way of living due to difficulties arising throughout the course of a woman's life and are related to her work life, motherhood and other family obligations, but also due to the social prejudices encountered even within the movement, so that they can gain experience and confidence. OGE can be, for KNE as well, a channel of communicating with, meeting and recruiting women, as well as promoting women cadres.

One important goal to set is that the Bulletin (magazine) of OGE should be more widely utilized, read by the cadres and members of the Organization and distributed in places gathering many young people.

The lack of free time, the insecurity about the future, the inability of a young woman to plan her life, the dilemmas appearing in front of her, such as 'professional growth or family', the difficulties encountered by young couples when starting a common life (e.g. the housing issue), the intense concern over the reasons behind women's murders and the abortion bans in the USA or in certain EU countries, are aspects that preoccupy young women. Thus, we need to intervene with our positions and demands. Especially in the ranks of young working women, we should work under these three demands: job stability - job income - social services, factors on which their quality of life and leisure depend.

At the same time, the content of women's contemporary needs and their particular needs (e.g. medical examinations, health and safety measures in the place of studies etc.) ought to be fought for by the student movement and be added to the frameworks of demands; the joint action of student unions with OGE needs to further develop. At major Universities, where many female students are gathered, the Organs should consider creating groups of women, taking into account the discrimination experienced by them in every aspect of their lives and the militant demands for their contemporary needs regarding education, work, health, etc. In this way, women students, having increased awareness of several aspects of the unequal position of women but perhaps not participating actively in student unions, can be approached and develop militant action.

Throughout the previous period, we've gathered rich and positive experience from the development of militant action in the student and school-student movement regarding the phenomena of violence against women. The slogan with which we've worked 'Through our struggles, we build a shield of protection for every woman to change her life by fighting' can become a guide practical action for the next period.



## **F. WE IMPROVE OUR POLITICAL GUIDANCE WORK FOR STRONGER KNE ORGANIZATIONS EVERYWHERE**

### **38** **The Base Organisation (BO) of KNE is taking centre stage in all the battles**

All of the above should be the focus of all the organs of KNE and be discussed regularly; their promotion should be planned methodically and always with a focus on the needs of each BO and the area of its intervention.

Ensuring the creative involvement of all our forces is a crucial issue, by strengthening those qualities that inspire and galvanize into action. Qualities such as strengthening the ideological-political discussion, good preparation of the topics to be discussed, encouraging everyone to speak their mind, clarity on what we seek from each of our actions and how we'll achieve it, discussing the conclusions drawn from each battle, should be mastered through the operation of the BOs.

The BO life is not only about its meeting, but its everyday life too. At a time when the overall living conditions have become more difficult, the members of the BO act as one mind; they meet, discuss, learn from each other, develop relationships of comradely solidarity based on their joint effort, exercise their criticism and self-criticism, assign duties based on the needs, are getting informed about the action of the Party and KNE, exchange experiences and have fun together.

Special help and all-round support are needed for each member of KNE to actively participate in the activity of their BO, overcoming the arising difficulties. Factors such as unemployment, working conditions, changes in the working environment, working hours, financial problems, family pressure, personal difficulties and the effect on the psychological state undoubtedly have an impact on the members of KNE as well. Thus, special support and much greater involvement of the leading organs are required.

By support, we mean taking into account the particular problems that arise in order to foster a militant stance towards difficulties, without compromising or lowering our demands. Concrete and practical help to financial and social pressure can contribute in this direction, combined with the effort to foster perseverance in the struggle against the causes behind personal issues and impasses. Through such methodical and collective work one takes the power of the many and becomes a true militant. This is how our goal is better understood and can be translated into action and a basis for a steady course in organized life, with each one emerging victorious from their battle with the difficulties encountered in every phase of life.

Respectively, we need to take more effectively into account the issue of how comrades plan their everyday life at any age. Activities, hobbies and the effort to find free time need to be addressed as part of the political guidance work since they form part of a young person's social activity, and develop in our interaction with other young people. So, we need to ask ourselves how we build – also through the pastime of each comrade individually – the confidence in our Party and our worldview. Because the Party based on our worldview forms the basis and the substructure for us to have a clear view of all aspects of life. At the same time, the Party utilizes exactly all these aspects of life, including our pastime, in order for us to cultivate a militant personality.

Besides, achieving a steady course in organized life is a much more complex matter, which has to do with the impact of the overall action of both our Or-

ganization and the opponent. The course of the new members – emerging over the years from the increased recruitment rates in many Organizations – is to be found in a set of such factors.

The secretary and the bureau of the BOs play the key role in this task, while the daily contact with each member, the intimate knowledge and support for their lives, are decisive elements.

### **39** On the BOs of university students

With the Universities being closed for 1.5 years, great efforts were required in order not to weaken the formation and operation of the BOs of university students; to respond to the important challenges, such as the major renewal of the cadres, the need to renew our political influence and to address the slowdown in recruitment rates. With the outburst of the university student demonstrations and the opening up of the faculties, we had a significant increase in the recruitment rates at Universities, thus renewing our forces. However, the need to further develop our forces remains, and for our bonds with significantly more young people to gain greater depth and stability. Our goal remains for the building of a BO of KNE in every faculty and a BO of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> -year students in the faculties we prioritize.

We haven't yet managed to work with the modern elaborations of the KKE, to pass them into the DNA of our forces' action at universities, to make them an integral part of our political intervention, and ultimately to instil them into the angst, concerns and pursuits of young people. It's imperative to take faster steps in conditions when the opponent is upgrading and renewing their ideological armoury. A basic asset is the Party's position on the University of the contemporary needs and potential of our time.

We focus on the rich intra-organizational operation of the BOs around the following pillars:

- ▶ Enhancing the ideological-educational work in the ranks and the political circle of influence of the BOs, focusing on our proposal on University, the modern elaborations of the Party regarding the overall needs of the youth and the assimilation of our theory.
- ▶ Having broad enlightenment work to highlight the contemporary potential of science, the productive forces, first of all of the humans themselves, a potential which capitalism limits. Having higher specialization based on the content of studies and the respective discipline.
- ▶ Exposing the bourgeois argument about the neutrality of science and revealing the connection between education and economy; therefore we focus on shedding light to the essence of the restructuring in higher education and its closer link with the demands of the capital.
- ▶ Enhancing the dedicated Marxist theoretical support to university students having in mind that we're talking about tomorrow's young researchers and scientists. An issue that, of course, requires taking distinct measures – beyond the BOs they participate in – together with the Party in order to acquire scientific knowledge with revolutionary criteria.

We need to support on better terms the BOs to discuss, decide and act on all issues within their area of responsibility. This can be achieved by strengthening the ideological content of the BOs action in connection with the respective discipline and the demands of the confrontation, which are increased at universities.

At the same time, the BOs should objectively have a special contribution to the planning of our intervention in each student union with a good knowledge of their area of responsibility and by gauging the mood of university students. The BOs should discuss collectively the elaboration of the framework of struggle, choose the appropriate demands and key issues and contribute to our plan of waging struggles.

## **40** On the BOs of school-students

There's a positive experience from our intervention in schools as a continuation of the rich intra-organizational life of the school-student BOs – the meetings but also the personalized help to each member, especially when our members are dispersed in two or three schools, the specialization of our intervention according to whether our forces are in high school or vocational upper secondary school, the daily relationship built between the cadres responsible for the political-ideological guidance of the school-students and each of our member-students individually.

More steps can and should be taken so that the operation and content of the school-student BOs can make each student-comrade more capable to open discussions and galvanize into action in class, at school, within their groups of friends; to be capable to cope with the increasingly complex ideological struggle through the constructive feedback of arguments. The student-comrades are at an age when their attitudes and interests are getting consolidated; they reflect on various issues, they constantly and rightly have many questions; they engage in activities and settle into a routine; they have formed their own groups of friends. All these issues need to be the focus of our political guidance work and be addressed with patience in order to foster amongst our student-comrades the confidence that our Party has a view on every issue that concerns them; in order to cultivate within the ranks of KNE all aspects of a young communist's personality.

It's telling that the member-students of KNE believe that the 'best BO meeting' is the one dedicated to the preparation of the School-student Festivals, exactly because we try to include all the above aspects. From this standpoint, we still fall behind with the necessary implementation of the ideological courses in the school-student BOs, the discussions on articles of the 'Odigitis' magazine, and therefore with the way we encourage the student-comrades to study the Party and KNE press, and have them as their ideological and action guide.

The aim to have a BO in every school needs to be based on the guiding help we provide for our comrades to jointly act with their fellow students at their school and class; for groups of school-students to be set up everywhere and act as one with the school-student BOs and the members of KNE at school; for us to form a circle of influence including youngsters that, understandably, have a different starting point in their way of thinking. Our guidance work needs to be focused on how we work with this circle of influence so that it steadily approaches KNE; how we'll improve in detecting the issues on which we need to focus when talking with these youngsters; what we propose to them to read and in which activities we advise them to participate; how we make them to bond with KNE and the student-comrades. These are issues that enrich the discussion in the school-student BOs, and shouldn't be addressed separately. Respectively, we need to introduce special measures to prioritize our work and organisation-building in Vocational Upper Secondary Schools (EPAL).

## **41** On the work sector-based BOs

The activity of the sector-based BOs of KNE during the pandemic under the slogan ‘Let the unsung heroes step into the limelight’ shows that our organized forces have the potential to intervene en masse in workplaces and sectors where the working youth is gathered. This intervention can be unfolded to the extent that the leading organs formulate their own plan of intervention and initiatives, which takes into account all aspects of the youth’s lives and problems.

An example and the result of this activity is the noticeable increase in our organized forces amongst the delivery workers. When we elaborated the demands and fully got to grips with the situation in the sector and clashed with the employer in various workplaces, mainly about work ‘accidents’, the response from the workers was positive. The members of KNE were at the forefront along with the forces of the Party of creating sectoral or company-based unions amongst the delivery workers.

At the same time, the need to address difficulties encountered in our intervention, the planning of the BOs, meeting new workers in workplaces and sectors where remote working has been established, such as telecommunications-IT, finance etc., became more prominent.

It’s confirmed that a significant number of young workers are fighting alongside KNE, and, over the next period, they’ll play an important role in party building in the sectors. They’re young people who went on strike, clashed with their employers, and are active in their unions – although with inconsistencies – and thus we must focus on convincing them to join KNE. They’re young people who recognize the action of communists within the labour and trade-union movement as a force that can develop and guide the struggles. Many of these young people remain friends of KNE for many years. Under the responsibility of the Central Council, there’s a delay in the recruitment of young workers due to a lack of stable engagement on the part of the organs or the non-decisive tackling of additional difficulties in recruiting a worker in KNE compared to a school or university student.

Our goal is to build strong BOs of KNE in large workplaces and sectors that gather a great number of young workers, such as Tourism and Hospitality, by prioritizing big-chain companies, commerce, Telecommunications-IT, etc.

## **42** On the BOs in apprenticeship-training schools and Merchant Marine Academies

The goal since the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress for us to take a big step in the building of BOs in the apprenticeship-training schools and the Merchant Marine Academies was not achieved, although the potential we have shaped, especially in the movement, is better compared to previous years. There are still few vocational education and training BOs, mainly in large urban centres, while in the rest of Greece our forces are integrated into mixed BOs, either area or sector-based ones. Joint planning with the Party for the prospect of party building in important sectors is crucial. We can ensure steps in party building to the extent that we intensify the effort to elaborate the content of our intervention in schools, by taking into account all aspects affecting and raising concerns to students; by utilizing the elaborations of the Party, i.e. on technical and vocational education; by increasing the intervention of sectoral trade-unions and implementing a more targeted building plan in these schools. Also, we need to stop underestimating aspects of the political guidance of these BOs and the content of independent intervention of KNE in these areas. These BOs are much weaker than the BOs at universities and schools, even though they’re in the same age group, with similar support requirements.

There are particularities in the Merchant Marine Academies: management of schools by the Coast Guard, educational trips (embarkation) and so on. A good deployment of forces is needed by the Region Organizations with a comrade that will be responsible to support our work inside the academies with an intervention and building planning.

## **43** On the area-based BOs

The content and the activity of the area-based and rural BOs are more complex and they were our main focus in all recent Congresses of KNE. Besides contributing to the work in school-students, workplaces, party planning and general political work, the multifaceted intervention in neighbourhoods needs to be more decisively strengthened, both by KNE independently and in the movement. For example, the experience drawn from dozens of KNE 'hangout spots' where we held events, campaigns and propaganda gatherings, with music, material etc., shows that almost everywhere we met young people who know KNE but not the area-based BO.

The individual intervention of the members in area-based BOs needs to be supplemented with an action programme of well-prepared initiatives. These initiatives need to become an important event for each respective area and, through propaganda, mass actions and any means possible, to become widely known and spark the interest of the young people in the region.

The connection and exchange between the content of our work and the issues raised by the Party in the municipalities and regions through the councillors of the 'People's Rally' (the list under which KKE participates in municipal and regional elections) remain weak. These issues are discussed and concern the people at the municipality level, but not a lot of them know if and what we say about them. Meanwhile, the other forces work more steadily around these issues.

A critical matter is how to increase the capability of the area-based BOs in the development of struggles, joint action with more young people, and the creation of a substructure in the movement. In this direction, it's necessary to focus on the contribution of the BOs to the activity of mass organizations operating in neighbourhoods, and not only to the individual support of the workers, who are members of area-based BOs, to their unions. We are talking about mass organizations such as the Young Workers and Unemployed Committees, the OGE (Federation of Greek Women) groups/associations, the National Youth Council against Drugs (ESYN) branches, and the sports and cultural associations. We have a fragmentary experience which, however, is of great importance for the above, under the particular responsibility of the comrades elected to the administrative councils of the above organizations demonstrating a sense of devotion. With the right support, we can meet a lot of new people, influence and expand our circle through our activity in these mass organizations. There are members who already participate especially in sports-cultural groups and have a circle of influence there. However, we haven't managed yet for this work to be fully formed under the responsibility of the leading organs, and to be guided and combined with the effort to rally and expand the circle of influence of the BOs.

In any case, specific guiding help is needed due to the fact that these BOs consist of KNE members of all ages, who are in different phases of life. This is where the oldest members of KNE are gathered; thus support measures are needed for them to become members of the KKE, a task which, at the same time, is an ideological-political issue with special requirements. Also, to a great extent, this is where young couples living together and planning their future gather; thus

special and practical support is required. Also, the area-based BOs are where several members of KNE are integrated after their studies with experience from the university BOs; thus it's necessary to master a method of supporting and helping them adapt to new duties and different issues faced by the area-based BOs. These BOs are also responsible for coordinating the members of KNE from sector-based and university-student organizations in their intervention in an area, the circulation of 'Rizospastis', etc. These BOs need even better prioritization, due to the size of the area of responsibility. The deployment of forces and the need to coordinate our work with the Party BOs are more demanding, in addition to the coordination with various fronts, e.g. councillors, teachers, parents, workplaces, etc.

## **44** **On the KNE Organizations Abroad**

Although the rate of emigration of young people abroad has slowed down, compared to the years of the previous great capitalist crisis in our country, there are still many Greek young people living in other countries. Indicatively, there are approximately 60,000 young Greeks in Germany, many of whom are working in industry, hospitals and transport. Thousands of university students from Greece study at Universities in Germany, as well as in the UK, France, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Scandinavian countries and elsewhere.

The norm for Greek emigrants – as for the workers and the youth in general across the EU – tends to be to spend the winters in freezing small houses, to save on food and even on the necessary commute to work and place of studies.

We fight against the anachronistic – for the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and especially for countries with such levels of labour productivity – belief that views endless working hours and the inability of young people to cover basic needs as a 'better life', simply because some of them may – in some cases – be able to put some money aside.

In the broader context of this difficult situation, the establishment and constant activity of KNE Organizations abroad, alongside the respective KKE Organizations, is a significant achievement. The positive results obtained in the various fights KNE gives alongside the Party abroad (in the action that KNE members develop within the movement of the country they live, in the electoral battles, the fund-raising campaigns of the KKE, etc.) offer yet more irrefutable proof that under no circumstances does the overall negative correlation of forces mean we are unable to act. Having, to a certain extent, consolidated our presence and recognition by a number of young people – as in the case of the two-day camp of KNE in Germany, which has been taking place for 14 years now – and without underestimating the particular demands our intervention abroad has – especially among second and third-generation Greek immigrants, and particularly amongst school-students and young workers – we consider that, in the following years, our political activity can become stronger and have measurable results in terms of party building, as well as in terms of further enriching the ideological and political confrontation with conclusions significant for our struggle in Greece. We should examine what further steps we need to take towards enhancing the political guidance we provide to KNE organizations abroad under the new conditions formed regarding young people's migration, taking into account the experience of the respective Party Organizations.

After all, Greek emigrants don't see the KKE and KNE only before the elections – what is happening basically with the other parties. They already know KNE and the KKE through the struggles they wage daily within each country's labour-popular movement, and the migrants' associations, communities and committees. Moreover, we should highlight and honour in practice the milestones of

class struggle in Europe, introducing to the young people the remaining monuments of the communist movement, the Great Anti-fascist Victory of the Peoples and the Red Army that grace big European cities.

## **45 All the above-mentioned tasks require the overall enhancement of our political guidance work, which is a prerequisite to accomplish them.**

In this new phase that we are going through, equipped with the experience gathered over the previous years we are examining, it's imperative to squarely confront any weaknesses and delays in our political guidance work.

We single out the need for the CC and the Regional Bureaus to provide the Sectoral Councils, the secretaries and the bureaus of Base Organizations with more assistance. We single out some basic steps which can now be consolidated thanks to our efforts:

- ▶ The regular meetings and methodical work in each Sectoral Council. This is an important aspect regarding the steady monitoring and assessment of the efforts each Organization makes, and the creative perseverance in achieving consistent elements in our work with the 'Rizospastis' newspaper, the 'Odigitis' magazine, and the organization dues.

- ▶ The concern for the steady development of apt initiatives and activity, aiming at the majority of young people. We need to be aware of the fact that we are still doing little compared to what our intervention requires. There is a positive experience from our effort to organize apt initiatives; form a content of intervention that will reinforce the Organization; provide the necessary preparation time; measure positive results when it comes to meeting, establishing contact with, and recruiting young people. On this basis, we should focus on how we work with what our activity yields.

- ▶ The better preparation of the discussion in the organs contributes to our attempt to make it more concrete, lively and apt, and helps us overcome in practice any problems related to the mere transmission of political reports to a series of organs in a way that doesn't address each Organization's needs, or a mere listing of goals, without making an effort to specialize them according to each area and discuss them concretely.

For example, preparation helps to make clear what the central issue that we have to deal with each time is, so that the cadres' attention and thoughts may be focused on it. We should try to increase collective engagement in the preparation of a political report: the exchange of thoughts among the organ members, cadre meetings and the voicing of opinions by the BOs. Through proper preparation and study, we should make use of the Party's elaborations to check our arguments and form the content of an event or of a framework of struggle. The indicators of our work or other elements arising from our efforts should be examined in a concrete way. The control and assessment of our work should be organized in a more concrete way, identifying elements and trying to propose possible solutions in the political report, so as not to cycle through difficulties. There is experience of the above-mentioned elements, which play a role in making steps as to how we approach each meeting.

- ▶ The help and persistence on how we allocate the tasks between the organs regarding a series of areas of work that contribute to our operation. Gaining experience, monitoring and developing a sense of responsibility for each area of work, beginning with the duties of those responsible for the finance work, the ideological work, the Party press, as well as others, like culture and sports.

► Good coordination with the Party Organizations for the development of joint planning. The Party Organizations can contribute with their experience and provide full support to the political guidance.

In this framework, we can single out the responsibility and the role of the Secretary of the leading organ. The Secretary sets the tone and plays a decisive role in creating a spirit of political guidance and handling arising issues that permeates each organ's work. They need to constantly foster collectivity and the exchange of opinions between the cadres, so that they may, on the one hand, be aware of their weaknesses and consult the members of each responsible organ, and, at the same time, foster common collective thinking, monitor the planning and its implementation, and enhance the substantive functioning of each organ's areas of work.

The above traits cannot be mastered in theory but only through effort. Our efficiency will be enhanced to the extent in which we become better and incorporate these elements in the Sectoral Council's work.

## **46 We ensure that there is a constant concern for the planned development and support of new cadres, following the course of each member of the Organization with the necessary care.**

The planning of a new comrade's designation to the organs for the first time needs to be examined in time and concerns the comrade's overall preparation through the systems of intra-organizational education and the attempt to assign to them missions of responsibility.

The considerable mobility within our ranks tasks us to perceive the designation of new cadres as a process that has to be handled with greater perceptiveness, boldness and long-term planning. This requires greater alertness, in order to confidently assign duties to a comrade during the period of their preparation or during the monitoring of their course, as well as to spot particular abilities or aptitudes they may have.

However, we need to turn our attention to how good habits are encouraged as fundamental criteria that have to be cultivated in the cadre force. Particular attention must be paid to the necessary care for the first-time designation of cadres of a working-class background.

The central points guiding the first-time designation of cadres – which must be cultivated, first and foremost, through the personal example of the members of the CC and its Bureau – and, based on which, the political-ideological maturation needs to be monitored, are the following:

- Aiming to gain personal experience in forming their personal circle of influence, as well as in the movement. Individual effort for the development of the Organization through recruitment.
- The constant effort to mobilize the members and cadres for whose guidance they are responsible, contributing to the development of their own personal activity.
- The constant care for their ideological-political maturation by attending courses of intra-organizational education, in conjunction with the constant pursuit of self-education by studying Marxist books.
- Forming the habit of studying and utilizing the 'Rizospastis' newspaper and the 'Odigitis' magazine on a daily basis.
- The steady and methodical effort to follow and assimilate the Party's elaborations, the train of thought based on the programme of the Party.



- ▶ The development of a spirit of political guidance that does not compromise with difficulties, handling all responsibilities creatively, breaking the routine and the mere transmission of guidelines and the superficial assessment of results.
- ▶ Concern for the overall course and action of their BOs, creating a spirit of comradeship and communist solidarity amongst all members of KNE through their personal example as well.
- ▶ Creating an atmosphere that encourages selflessness, endurance, conscious discipline and faith in our ideals and revolutionary goal. Forming a modest and firm character, a selfless and unwavering stance towards personal and other difficulties, and the stressful conditions created by the contemporary way of life.
- ▶ Compliance with the Statutes of KNE and its principles of operation as the youth organization of the KKE; fighting against generalities and ambiguities, as well as against the discrepancy between words and actions.
- ▶ Vigilance against the opponent's various mechanisms and planning in our area of intervention; fearlessness and boldness in the face of the class enemy and their mechanisms.
- ▶ The constant effort to attain the above-mentioned traits with no sense of self-adequacy. The high sense of responsibility and a self-critical stance towards their personal work.

## **47** Assessment of the CC's work

The Central Council which was elected in the 12<sup>th</sup> Congress guided the Organization well on the basis of the decisions reached in the Congress and of the Party's decisions. The positive elements, but also the weaknesses in the overall course of KNE reflect the Central Council's action.

With the decisive support of the Party, it played a leading role under the new conditions that were created during these years, both during the peak of the pandemic and during the restrictive measures, making the necessary adaptations. In the CC's meetings and decisions, an effort was made to specialize the Party's strategy and policy in the youth, based on the particular issues in each place of activity – school-students, university and VET students, and young workers. In particular, we focused on our effort to have KNE enter a phase of impetuous organizational development, play a leading role in youth struggles, and improve the correlation of forces within its movements. At the same time, there were constant discussions and support through a series of lectures and thematic meetings, so that the Organization would be able to cope with the ideological and political struggle and the new arising elements.

The CC, under the particular responsibility of its Bureau, needs to improve the following:

- a. It's necessary for the CC and its members to be closer to the Base Organizations, discussing and supporting the activity of KNE members in their area of activity and the particular demands that arise there. It's necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the difficulties that the comrades and cadres face in their activities and lives. For example, even in organizations at universities, a great number of Organ members work and study at the same time. Concern and collective discussions about issues of political guidance need to be heightened, and in conjunction with more planned and effective work, practical spirit, and solid ideological and political support of the organs, they should lead to concrete organizational measures fitting each BO.

b. It's necessary to consistently examine how to improve the ability of KNE to provide all its members with a well-rounded education so that they can face any conditions or transitional phases in their lives. We should exhaust all possibilities so that the reasons that may lead to frustration and demobilization from organized life may be addressed through the organization. This is an ideological-political issue that requires a constant effort to assimilate the Party's programmatic elaborations, our view on socialism, the conclusions that our Party has collectively drawn from the history of the revolutionary labour movement, as well as the more recent experience – from the 2012-2015 period, for example – of our refusal to participate in or tolerate bourgeois governments, a fact that isn't known to everyone, at least not everyone has experienced it. However, it also has to do with developing good habits concerning the principles on which a revolutionary organization is structured and operates; the participation and contribution to the intra-organizational operation, and the regular study and utilization of the Party press, the 'Rizospastis' and the 'Odigitis', etc.

c. The CC could have dealt more decisively with delays in certain Organizations or fronts of intervention, providing them with the corresponding support. We shouldn't hide behind the unevenness and the particular demands of an Organization, an area etc. whether we are taking steps forward in our political guidance, and in overcoming weaknesses by using both positive and negative experience creatively. The aim isn't just for the results of our work to be uniform, but also for elements of political guidance to be attained more uniformly.

d. Despite the effort made over the last period of time, our intervention in vocational training and apprenticeship wasn't strengthened as much as was necessary, and the special conference on the intervention of KNE in this area, as had been decided upon, was not held. We need to bear in mind that this is now a place with an ever-greater concentration of young people that directly concerns the new shift of the working class of our country. It's imperative for our intervention to be enriched, in terms of both content and planning, with a more comprehensive framework of ideological and political action and intervention in the movement, for the very content of the BOs to be enhanced, and for better collaboration with the Party organizations. The same holds for the work sectors employing masses of young people.

e. The permanent issue of the first-time designation of cadres, and their proper allocation requires better preparation, study, and collective discussion. Especially when it comes to the CC's committees, the effort made since the previous Congress to enhance the intervention of KNE regarding the youth's contemporary needs, all aspects of their lives, and the creation of new committees and task groups of the CC have highlighted the need for them to be more adequately staffed, operate more collectively and have a better allocation of duties.

**48** **The guiding support and strengthening of the Committees and groups of the Central Council are a prerequisite for the CC itself to be able to manage the specialized political guidance and enrichment of the action of KNE in several crucial fronts of struggle and duties. They have an impact on the influence and pervasiveness of the activity of KNE.**

There is a need for more consistent guiding support of the Committees regarding the content of their work, as well as for the planned designation of the comrades that will staff them. Often changes should be avoided, since, due to the nature of their work, time and experience are necessary for the elaboration, study, involvement and familiarization with the issues. This doesn't mean that the cadres should be cut off

from the activity of their Organizations on account of their deployment in a central activity. The goal is to form strong and capable supportive staff at the side of the CC.

Positive experience arises from the work of the committees in their effort to popularize and elaborate issues in conjunction with the departments of the Central Committee, which has given impetus to our intervention and, at the same time, to our publishing activity.

We should especially reflect upon the further development of the content, the areas of work of the committees, as well as the forms their activity will take. For instance, such examples are setting up an auxiliary group for Vocational Training and Apprenticeship or even an auxiliary group for the Economy and the Environment. Another positive step was the setting up and operation of the University Student Committee.

We need to support the effort of the committees to expand the forms in which they work and draw material and input with meetings, campaigns, activities, participation in the action of the organization or exchange of experience amongst them.

## **49 The fund-raising work is a prerequisite for the overall improvement of our operation and action.**

Throughout this time, KNE has been constantly making considerable efforts to raise funds at the side of the Party and with its support. However, there is no room for complacency.

In 2020, with the implementation of the reactionary law about the parties' finances, a fine was imposed on the Party because it refused to reveal to state authorities the names and details of those who support it, that is, of its members and the thousands of toiling people that support it from their meagre earnings.

The certain ever-increasing obstacles placed by the opponent and all bourgeois political forces to the Party's finances, the utilization of vulgar anti-communism and lies against our finances as well, and, most of all, our declared goal to always ensure our financial independence in any circumstances – and especially in difficult times for the people and the youth, when even greater looting of the people's income is about to take place – render imperative the more substantive engagement of the leading organs, and first and foremost of the CC itself, with fund-raising work.

The great battle of our Party's regular fund-raising campaign is a serious challenge for KNE. To succeed, the members and cadres of KNE selflessly wage the battle every year, calling on thousands of people, and increasing their contribution to the Party in material terms as well. This experience from the fund-raising campaign period needs to be established throughout the whole year. Any unevenness existing amongst the Organizations, and significant delays in the statutory duty of collecting dues from KNE members need to be overcome.

Finally, there must be some improvement in the planning and implementation of the measures taken, so that important political-cultural initiatives of KNE, particularly such as the Festival of KNE-'Odigitis', will be financially successful as well.

**The Central Council of KNE,  
29 September 2022**

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**Notes**

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## Notes

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