

finds itself involved, does not consist in the fact that proletarians must fight each other, but it begins only when they want to conquer each other. And as this will-to-victory is present in the majorities of the Socialist Party of all countries, all hopes for the revival of the International Socialist Bureau are absolutely vain.

We have tirelessly and resolutely opposed the will-to-victory of the Socialists of Germany and Austria, but never did we fool ourselves into thinking that the real Internationalists on the other side of the trenches would not have the same difficult task, for we knew that the workers of the countries of the Entente were likewise infected with the poison of this will-to-victory. We were constantly demanding that the Socialists of all countries should recognize their historic duty.

We drew attention to this vital problem of international action during the war, not in order to recriminate, not because we believe that the time has come to sit in judgment on the guilty ones, but because we are convinced that so long as the socialists of all countries have not become conscious of their sins during the war, the "Reorganization of the International," will only be the revival of a phantom. The great problem which the working class of the world has before it, is whether international solidarity can really become the deepest foundation of its action.

The deliberations after the decision which is now being taken in Berne will not impress anyone. And, just at this time, we remember with gratitude the Zimmerwald conferences which brought about unanimous agreement on the principle of "peace without annexations and indemnities," and which were the only conferences at which, during war, the duties of international solidarity were fulfilled.

The task which confronts the international proletariat is so enormous that it cannot permit itself, merely for the sake of petty tactical advantages, to control from its bourgeois enemies the truth of our defeat in this war.

Not until we have profited to the utmost by the lessons of the war, can we hope to be equal to our task.

With social-democratic greetings,

Friedrich Adler.

The International of Youth

By N. LENIN, in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, No. 2, December, 1916.

Under this title there has been appearing, in Switzerland, in the German language, since September 1, 1915, "a militant propagandist organ of the International Young People's Socialist League." Already six numbers of this paper have appeared, which are decidedly worthy of consideration and are, therefore, strongly recommended to all members of our party who have opportunities for contact with the foreign social-democratic parties and with the young people's organizations.

The majority of the official social-democratic parties of Europe now occupy a position of the most disgraceful and base social-chauvinism and opportunism. Such parties are: the German, French, the Fabians and the "Labor Party" of England, the Swedish, Dutch (Troelstra's party), Danish, Austrian, etc. In the Swiss party, aside from the secession (for the great good of the party) of the worst opportunists into a non-partisan "Grütli League," there still remain within the social-democratic party proper, a great number of opportunist, social-chauvinist, Kautskian leaders, who have a *tremendous* influence on the actions of the party.

In view of this state of affairs throughout Europe, the Young People's Socialist League is presented with a gigantic, very grateful, but also very difficult, task: the task of fighting *for* revolutionary internationalism, *for* real socialism, *against* the prevailing opportunism, which has gone over to the imperialistic bourgeoisie. In the "International of Youth" is printed a series of fine articles in defense of revolutionary internationalism, and the whole paper is permeated with a splendid spirit of hatred for the "defenders" of socialism, "defenders of their fatherland," in the present war, a fiery ambition to purgè the international workers' movement of the chauvinism and opportunism that are consuming it.

Of course, there is *now* no theoretical clearness and firmness in this organ of youth, and never will or can be, for the simple reason that this is the paper of searching, ebullient, stormy youth.

But toward the absence of theoretical clearness *in such* people we must take an entirely different stand from that which we assume toward the theoretical chowder in the heads, and the absence of revolutionary consistency in the hearts, of our "Organization Committee Men," "Social-revolutionists," Tolstoyans, Anarchists, Pan-Russian Kautskians ("Center"), etc. It is one thing for grown up men to confuse the minds of the proletariat, and yet to consider themselves the leaders and teachers of others: against them we must wage *relentless* warfare. It is quite another thing with these Young People's organizations, which openly declare that they are still learning, that it is their function to prepare workers for the Socialist Party. Such persons we must help in every possible way, we must approach their errors with all possible patience, attempting to rectify them gradually, and preferably by *conviction*, never by opposition. It often happens that those of the old, outlived generation *do not understand* how to approach, suitably, their youthful comrades, who necessarily must arrive at Socialism *differently*, not by *that* path, *not through the same forms, or under the same circumstances*, as their fathers. Among other things, therefore, we must insist on keeping the Young People's League independent *in organization, and not only* because the opportunists are afraid of this independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For without a complete independence of the young *it will be impossible* to make good Socialists out of them, or to prepare them for the task of *advancing* Socialism.