

YOUTH IN THE WORLD WAR

By

V. MOTYLEVA

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KARL LIEBKNECHT

Speaking at a Demonstration in Berlin During the War.

"This war, which none of the peoples interested wanted, was not declared in the interest of the Germans or of any other people. It is an imperialist war . . . for domination of the world markets, for political domination of important quarters of the globe, and for the benefit of bankers and manufacturers . . . This is not a defensive war . . . The only durable peace will be peace based on the solidarity of the working masses and liberty. The Socialists of all countries must work for such peace even during the war . . . Away with the hypocrisy of the civil truce—Forward to the class struggle! Forward to the international class struggle for the emancipation of the working class and against war!"

THE YOUTH IN THE WORLD WAR

By T. MOTYLEVA

I

THE FRUITS OF "VICTORY"

The twentieth anniversary of the World War in which most of the countries of the world had been involved and which had lasted over four years at a cost of ten million human lives has just passed.

This year a generation of young men and women who practically do not remember the war, since their conscious life had not begun before the war was over, will have come of age. This generation does not remember the terrible calamities, the misery, the starvation, the intense exploitation which the war brought to the toilers of all the belligerent countries. They remember but vaguely how the workers' families whose only breadwinner left for the front fared in those days. They hardly remember how people had to keep alive on the miserable rations of indigestible "war" bread and dry vegetables. They do not remember how the workers had to give their last pennies to the bourgeois governments as a "voluntary subscription" to war loans. They do not remember the life of those days full of fear of aerial bombardment, of an invasion of their own or the enemy's troops accompanied by expulsions and requisitions. They do not remember the anguished searches for the names of dear ones in the lists of killed or lost.

This generation which has never been at the front does not know what it means to be eaten up by gases, to be pierced by bayonets or to feel the steel of the surgeon's knife. It does

not know what it means to march to death under the thunder of guns, through smoke, surrounded by gases, in mud and rain, without knowing what one is fighting for, for what one has to starve and die.

However, this generation which does not remember the World War now learns by its own experience that the war has brought the toilers neither bread nor work. Twenty years ago the fathers of this generation—the present veterans of war—went to the front in the hope that this war, according to the promises held out to them would secure a better future for their country and a better life for their children. However, the children of those warriors now learn by their own experience what this promised better life really amounts to: the young unemployed are denied unemployed benefit, the youths are “voluntarily” flocking to the labor camps, the wages of the young workers are reduced, the students of the schools and universities have lost all hopes of ever applying their acquired knowledge.

The World War has brought tremendous profits to the capitalists. It has enriched the speculating shopkeepers, who, taking advantage of the famine which had set in during the war, sold foodstuffs at exorbitant prices. The war has enriched the armament manufacturers who have not only made huge profits on the war orders of the governments, but have also supplied the enemy with arms when it was profitable to them. In each country the war has enriched the capitalists at the expense of the starving toilers while the capitalists in the conquering countries enriched themselves besides at the expense of the conquered nations. However, the war demanded tremendous sacrifices from the workers, peasants, the toiling middle classes of both the victors and vanquished countries. But those who have borne these sacrifices in the belief that this first World War would be the last one, are terribly disillusioned. The World War has not removed the causes which engender war,

but on the contrary, has intensified them. In 1934 the danger of a new war is just as acute as it was in the first half of 1914.

The boundaries of the various countries are even now too narrow for their capitalists who cannot find markets for their manufacturers. The masses of both workers and peasants are so poor, so ruined by capitalist exploitation, that they are unable to purchase the product of their own labor. The capitalists look for suitable foreign lands which they could exploit, lands where they could obtain cheap raw material and sell their commodities at a profit. Again they prepare for an armed struggle in order once more to effect a repartition of the world among themselves. They strive to extend their frontiers at the expense of their neighbors. They make preparations for settling their differences as to the division of China, the frontiers of Germany, the fate of Austria, of the Saar district, and of the South American countries, by the force of arms. They would like to find a way out of the crisis by appropriating, if possible, part of the huge territory of the Socialist Soviet Union. They intend to get rid of the hungry army of unemployed by means of war.

With these objects in view, the capitalists of all countries, and in the first place, the fascist governments of Germany and Japan, and along with them democratic England, subordinate all their policies and their entire national economy to imperialist annexationist aims. In every country they have fortified their frontiers, have developed motor transport and aviation, have built railways and macadamized roads, in order that at the necessary moment, they may rapidly transport troops across them. They direct the creative thoughts of the scientists not to inventions which are useful to humanity, but to the perfection of the most cruel weapons of destruction. They force inventors in the engineering line to think not of lightening human labor with the help of machinery, but of mechanizing armies, of improving the capacity and the range of guns. They compel

chemists to think not of how to utilize science for the benefit of industry, agriculture and public catering, but how to utilize poisonous gases in war and how to poison a whole city by the means of one bomb. They compel bacteriologists to think not of how to combat bacteria which cause disease, but how to spread plague germs in the rear of the enemy during war.

Anticipating that in the future war all distinction between front and rear, combatants and non-combatants, will be wiped out, that a belligerent country will form one continuous front and that tremendous numbers of people will be involved in military operations, the capitalists endeavor to give military training not only to men, but also to women, not only to adults, but also to minors. They strive to divert the legitimate hatred of the toilers for the exploiters and turn it into a senseless hatred of one nation to another, of one race to another. They try to persuade the unemployed and the starving that the fascist dictatorship and the imperialist war will give them work and bread. In the papers, in the books, in theatres, in the cinemas, they paint war in attractive colors and praise military bravery, but hide from the toilers the horrors of the future war. They strengthen the police, they create semi-military fascist detachments, preparing a strong organization of violence which should be ready to act upon the outbreak of war and suppress the struggle of the masses against the war.

In a number of countries warfare has already begun. The seizure of Manchuria and part of Northern China by Japan, the campaign which the Chinese militarists, supported by the biggest imperialist powers, conduct against the Chinese Soviet Republic, the war which French imperialism wages in Morocco, the war in South America—all these events signify the eve of a new world war.

The youth will play a great part in the new world war. In all wars the bulk of the armies is made up of youth. Youths will also have to take the place of the older workers, leaving

for the front. That is why the German, Italian and the other fascists try to win the youth by flattery and by lying promises; they try to recruit the youth into the various fascist organizations. They believe that the youth, which upon leaving school had to go straight to the labor exchanges, the youth which failed to find work, failed to find an outlet for its energies, will readily proceed to the war, prompted by a strong desire for action, fight and heroism. That is why the German, Italian and all the fascists try to recruit the toiling youth into the various fascist organizations, which are busy preparing for war. Japanese imperialism is compelling about a million and a half young people below eighteen years of age to undergo military training at a forced pace. Polish imperialists compel school boys under sixteen years to go through military training. The countries which call themselves democratic are not behind the fascist countries in the militarization of the youth. Recently, Petain, the French war minister, addressing the young unemployed, enjoined them to enroll voluntarily in the army. In all the labor camps a couple of hours is devoted to military drill and reactionary nationalist propaganda.

The bourgeoisie considers that the generation of young men who had not experienced the horrors of the last war and have no hopes of obtaining work in the present, who have no opportunities of taking up a profession and a place in life will allow themselves to be duped by the fascist lies, will allow themselves to be made use of in the interests of imperialist robbery.

This generation which has no recollection of the war, should, therefore, on the twentieth anniversary of the World War take to heart not only the effect of the war on the toilers, who allowed themselves to be driven to the front, but also the lessons of the fight for the termination of the war once it had broken out, a fight which was fought by the young workers and peasants who, though realizing the full horror of the war, had proved unable to prevent it in time.

II

HERDING THE YOUTH INTO WAR

How is it that the young toilers of Germany, France, England, Russia and the other countries involved in the World War proved unable to resist mobilization and allowed themselves to be used by the capitalists as cannon fodder?

It would not be surprising if the well fed sons of the landlords and the capitalists threw themselves enthusiastically into the war in order to win profits for their fathers. But it was just these young men that were least of all in a hurry to proceed to the first lines of the front. Moreover, all kinds of privileges and exemptions, as well as safe officers' jobs at headquarters and in the rear were granted to these young men. Those who really bore the brunt of the war at the front were young workers, peasants, petty employees and students from poor families.

A considerable number of these young soldiers went to the front convinced that the war was useful and necessary. The ruling classes succeeded in persuading millions of toilers that the war was useful to them too. The sermons in the churches, the teaching in the schools, the stuff in the papers, the declamations and songs in the theatres—all centered round the necessity to go to war. Upon the outbreak of the war the timid voices of some of the opponents of the war were immediately stifled by the military censorship and by the threat of prison.

In each country the youth was taught to believe that its nation was superior to all the other nations of the world. In each country the youth was told: "We have been attacked and we have to defend ourselves." In France the youth which was driven to the front was told that it was defending the Republic

against reactionary German imperialism, but nothing was said about republican France fighting in alliance with the reactionary monarchy of the Russian Tsar. The Russian soldiers driven into the war were told that they were "defending the oppressed Slavonic brethren" but nothing was said about the nationalities, oppressed by tsardom, for whom Russia was a real prison. The British soldiers were told that they were defending Belgium against the attack of the Germans, but nothing was said about the ruthless oppression in the colonies by British imperialists.

Many young toilers succumbed to this crude lie. They would never have gone to the front had they known that they were helping to enhance the profits of their own exploiters, helping them to grab foreign lands by violence and to subjugate foreign peoples. They went in the sincere belief that they were fighting for freedom and right.

Others went because they believed that the war would improve their condition. They believed that after the war their country would become stronger and richer and then it would be easier for them to live. They failed to understand that war was profitable only for a small clique of capitalists, but not for the workers and peasants who shed their blood on the battle field.

Others again were indifferent as to what was going to happen after the war. They believed that the war would be a short one, and in the worst case, would be over in three or four months; was it worth while quarelling over such a small matter? They were ordered to go to the front, that meant that they must go. All the same, they would be back home before Christmas.

However, not all the young soldiers went to the front with the belief that it was necessary to fight. Many went to the front because they did not know what they could do to avoid killing their brothers and risk their own lives. Before the war

many a young worker, peasant or student must have thought to himself:

"I am against violence. I want to live and work and wish that other people may live and work likewise. I do not want to kill anyone and do not wish to be killed myself. If a war breaks out I will simply refuse to go, I will refuse to handle a rifle."

However, when the war began it all turned out differently. To refuse to handle a rifle was not so simple and not so safe, and many young toilers had to go to the front against their own will. They did not know which way to turn the rifle so that the accursed war might be stopped. They did not know with whom to conclude an alliance for a fight against the war. There was nobody to tell them how to act. Even before the war, many of the young toilers gave thought to the question of how to alter life so that injustice might be abolished; how to change life so that all might live well; how to abolish poverty, starvation and misery and how to change the world so that there should be no more oppression and violence, and no more war. It seemed then that the most clear answers to these questions were given to the youth by the Social-Democratic Parties. These parties were formed many years before the beginning of the World War. They were mass workers' organizations, which set themselves the aim of destroying the capitalist system and of establishing a socialist society, where there would be no oppression and no exploitation, and where everybody would work. In order to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, and to establish a new, free society, Social-Democracy considered it necessary to unite the working class internationally. All the Social-Democratic Parties were therefore affiliated to the Second International.

Repudiation of imperialist war clearly followed from the Social-Democratic views, since such wars served the interests of the enemy and oppressor of the workers. As far back as 1907, the

Second International at its Stuttgart Congress passed a decision indicating how socialists were to act in the case of war:

"In the event of the outbreak of war, it is absolutely necessary to fight for its rapid termination, and strain every effort to utilize the war caused by the economic and political crisis in order to rouse the people and thus hasten the end of the domination of the capitalist class."

This decision was confirmed by the international Socialist congresses in Copenhagen in 1910 and in Basle in 1912. Such decisions were also adopted by the Social-Democratic youth organizations, which, in 1907, united into an international organization. In the first days after the declaration of war, the young socialists of the European countries expected that their leaders would give the signal for action and show the young opponents of the war how to act. But it turned out differently.

Even before the war there was a struggle between two tendencies in most of the parties of the Second International: the reformist tendency considered it possible to come to an arrangement with the ruling classes, while the revolutionary tendency was in favor of an irreconcilable class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The Social-Democrats of the revolutionary wing were of the opinion that so long as the bourgeoisie was in power the proletariat had no fatherland and therefore, was not to defend it. The decision of the Stuttgart Congress was adopted precisely at the request of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg, the Socialists who adhered to the revolutionary section of the Second International. The Social-Democrats of the reformist wing, and the so-called center, who wavered between the revolutionaries and the reformists, at one time paid lip service to the necessity of fighting against the war (avoiding, however, to indicate the way in which this fight was to be carried on) and at another declared that they would defend the Fatherland if it were attacked.

It was in the nature of things that the reformists who were adherents of the idea of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, betrayed the proletarian International, since proletarian internationalism is opposed to the idea that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie of any particular country have common interests, and on the contrary maintains that the interests of the proletarians of all countries are at one against the bourgeoisie of all countries. Only the revolutionary socialists, who consistently repudiated any collaboration with the bourgeoisie, could, right to the end, remain internationalists and opponents of the fratricidal war.

Even before the declaration of war, the leadership in all the Social-Democratic Parties, except the Russian, was in the hands of the reformists. The bourgeoisie succeeded in splitting the ranks of the working class, in training a section of highly skilled and highly paid workers who supported the reformists and who believed that after all it was not so bad to live under capitalism and one could get on without the class struggle. The bourgeoisie succeeded in attracting to its side the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties by bribing them with lucrative posts in government institutions, and seats in parliaments and municipalities. The leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties became ever more and more isolated from the masses and accustomed to collaboration with the ruling classes.

The union of the reformists with the bourgeoisie gradually became more close. At the beginning of the war the leaders of most of the Parties of the Second International openly took their stand on the side of the imperialists of their own country. Not only did they refuse to declare their solidarity with the proletariat of the other countries, but actively helped the capitalists to mobilize the people for war.

The parliamentary representatives of the Social-Democratic Party in co-operation with the bourgeois deputies voted in favor of war credits, in favor of giving to the bourgeoisie large sums

of the people's money for carrying on the war. The most prominent Social-Democrats in France and Belgium, like Guesde, Sembat and Vandervelde entered the bourgeois governments and began to take part in the management of the affairs of their countries, acting exactly like bourgeois ministers. Their example was followed later by the Social-Democratic leaders of other countries. The Social-Democratic writers, journalists and agitators, did all they could in order to justify the treachery of the labor leaders to the cause of the working class. Following in the footsteps of the bourgeois patriots, they repeated in various keys: "We were attacked and must defend ourselves."

In justification of their treachery the Social-Democrats of France declared that "unless German militarism was removed, there was no possibility of achieving socialism."

The Social-Democrats of Austro-Hungary cried mendaciously: "Let us go to war in order to liberate the slaves of the Russian Tsar!"

The Social-Democrats of the belligerent countries openly appealed to the toilers for reconciliation with the ruling classes. "The whole German nation must be united in the war!" cried Scheidemann, the prominent German Social-Democrat.

The leaders of the Young Socialist International acted in the same manner. The Belgian Socialist, De Man, one of the founders of the Young Socialist International, immediately after the declaration of war became a rabid militarist and went to the front as a volunteer. Ludwig Frank, the leader of the German Social-Democratic youth, acted likewise. After he was killed at the front, *Arbeiter Jugend*, (Working Youth) the organ of the Social-Democratic youth, used this occasion to appeal to the youth to follow his example. And indeed, 783 young Social-Democrats responded to this appeal and voluntarily joined Kaiser Wilhelm's army.

The leaders of the Social-Democratic youth organizations exercised all their influence on the youth in order to secure its sup-

port for the war measures of the bourgeois governments. At the beginning of August 1914 the same *Arbeiter Jugend* appealed to the youth of minor age voluntarily to join the sanitary detachments and help gathering the harvest, so that their older brothers might be released from agricultural work and taken into the army by the war ministry of the Kaiser. When the German war ministry organized youth detachments for defense with the object of giving military training to youths below military age, a number of leading workers of the German Socialist Youth urged the youth to join these detachments.

While the leaders of the socialist youth in the belligerent countries strained all their efforts to help the imperialists, the leaders of the youth International found it proper to desist from all and every activity for the duration of the war. The secretary of the Young Socialist International, the Austrian Danneberg, posted the following notice on the door of the International Youth Secretariat: "Temporarily closed on account of the World War."

What were the young socialists to do?

Some of them said: "Since our leaders who jointly with us, were going to fight against the war, now tell us that it is necessary to join the army, then surely this must be a different kind of war, a just war. It is therefore necessary to follow the example of De Man and Ludwig Frank." Others following the example of Danneberg, funkled, and decided that for the duration of the war it was advisable to give up socialism and do nothing. "It is not worth while joining the war as a volunteer, since this is dangerous, but neither is it worth while fighting against the war, since this too is dangerous. And besides, the leaders do not seem to do it either." This was their train of thought.

True, the example of the leaders was not convincing for all the young socialists. Many of them realized that neither those who at the behest of the imperialists went to the front, nor those

who helped the imperialists to carry on the war by refusing to fight against it, were right. However, the treachery of the leaders came so unexpectedly and was so glaring that even those who were convinced that both the Ludwig Franks and the Dannebergs were wrong, felt helpless, lost and deluded. They expected that the leaders would call them to fight against the war but instead they now appealed to them to take part in the war or at least, to do nothing that would hinder it.

A few years ago, a certain French writer collected autobiographies of twenty-five French workers, who at the declaration of the war belonged to the young generation. Every one of them explained in a different way why, in 1914, he went to the front. All these reminiscences show that the young rank and file workers did not wish to go to the war but in spite of that joined the army because they didn't know what to do.

George V, a miner, says in his reminiscences: "I had to go to the front against my will like many others. And not before I learned to know all the trenches from the North down to Alsace did I realize with my young brains what war implied and why we were compelled to kill our neighbors!"

George P, a plasterer, relates: "Before the war I belonged to the Socialist Youth. I was active, but my views were not quite formed. At the outbreak of the war I bowed before the decision of the reformist leaders, believing that this was a war for right and justice."

Morris F, a metal worker, relates: "The war broke out. At the bottom of my heart I expected that something serious would happen. . . . I presumed that the working class would revolt against the abomination of the war, but I was terribly disillusioned and I began to doubt the Socialist Party when I saw that it had not the courage to take responsibilities in this matter. I was called to the colors and had to go to defend my country. It was not a pleasant prospect. . . ."

The young workers in the other belligerent countries could tell the same narrative. Those who went to the war with a feeling of disgust as well as those who remained in the rear and had to bear all the burdens of wartime, were conscious that the war was an unjust war and that they must put an end to it. The question was how this was to be done.

III

THE SOLDIERS FRATERNIZE

The first months of the war had brought many tortures and disillusionments, even to those of the young soldiers who were in favor of the war. The soldiers had to sit in the trenches in dirt, suffer starvation, cold, and the rude humiliating treatment of the officers without knowing how many more months or years this war was going to last. And involuntarily the idea sprang to the mind of many of the young soldiers:

"Just in front of me, in the trenches of the enemy there is a worker or a peasant like myself with a rifle. He, like myself, hoped when he went to the war, that within a few months, he would be back home, but instead he has to freeze in the trenches. I am made to hate him and he is made to hate me, whereas his position in the trenches is just as bad as mine, and his family at home fares just as badly as mine. He, the same as myself, is tired from the intolerable life at the front, from the abuse of the officers and is exhausted by bad and scanty food. Why should he shoot me or I shoot him? . . ."

These ideas occupied the minds of the soldiers with particular insistence on Christmas eve of 1914. True, by that time many of the soldiers, and particularly the young ones, began to see clearly that religion did not serve the cause of peace and of the brotherhood of nations. On the contrary, the priests of all religions called on the people to go to war, vindicated the war, declaring it to be a just and holy war and blessed the arms of murder. Nevertheless, that day which they were accustomed to celebrate, many of the soldiers, even the free thinkers,

wished to spend in peace. On that day they wished to put the rifle aside.

From the reminiscences and letters of many of the participants of the war, we know that in the last days of December 1914, for the first time war operations ceased for at least a couple of hours.

Here is, for example, a letter by a Scotch non-commissioned officer in the British *Times*, dated January 2, 1915:

"We were in the trenches, and the Germans began to make merry on Christmas eve, shouting at us to come out and meet them. They sang songs (very well); our men answered by singing 'Who Were You With Last Night?' and of course 'Tipperary' (very badly). I was horrified at discovering some of our men actually had gone out, imbued more with the idea of seeing the German trenches than anything else; they met half-way, and there ensued the giving of cigarettes and receiving of cigars and they arranged (the private soldiers of one army and the private soldiers of the other) a forty-eight hours' armistice.

"Christmas day was very misty and out came those Germans to wish us 'A Happy Day'; we went out, told them we were at war with them, and that really they must play the game and pretend to fight; they went back, but again attempted to come towards us, so we fired over their heads, they fired a shot back to show they understood, and the rest of the day passed quietly in this part of the line, but in others a good deal of fraternization went on."

A former French soldier of the Twenty-Fifth Regiment who two years ago wrote his recollections for the French *L'Humanite*, describes:

"December 1914. Section Mon-Sapin-Soupir at the front held by the Second Company of the Twenty-Fifth Regiment.

"One fine morning we heard a few calls in French. In front of our trenches at a distance of ten metres, a German soldier appeared. While one of our people significantly exchanged

handshakes with the German, French and German soldiers came out from the trenches of either side, exchanged friendly handshakes. This fraternization continued the whole day.

"In order to stop any further attempts at fraternization, strict orders were issued threatening anyone guilty of such an attempt with court martial. In spite of that, on our section of the front, all the time while we held it, there was no fighting, there was a tacit armistice concluded between ourselves and the German soldiers. Only the guns never ceased roaring, reminding us of the war."

Thus the first, so far only accidental and unorganized, attempts were made to establish the brotherly union of the soldiers of the belligerent countries with the object of stopping the war.

IV

KARL LIEBKNECHT'S GREAT FIGHT

At the same time in the rear, despite the treachery of the leaders, the few young toilers who did not succumb to the intoxication of the general war spirit, began to look for means and ways of fighting against the accursed war. It was difficult for these toilers to find one another and prepare concerted action. In the first months of the war, every opponent of the war felt himself isolated, helpless, and dared not express his opinions openly.

Not before a few months had elapsed from the beginning of the war, did the glad tidings of the first open action against the imperialist war spread in the belligerent countries. It was Karl Liebknecht's speech in the German Reichstag.

Karl Liebknecht was one of the most gifted representatives of the young generation of German Social-Democrats and one of the organizers of the Young Socialist International. As far back as 1907, at the first International Congress of the Socialist Youth in Stuttgart, he outlined the tasks of the youth in its fight against militarism and war danger. He pointed out that in order to fight successfully against war, the socialists had to win the soldiers on their side, the socialists had to make the proletarians in soldiers' uniforms understand that war, while being profitable to the capitalists, is a great calamity for the toilers. Liebknecht realized that the bulk of the army is composed of the toiling youth, and therefore, it was particularly important to carry on the propaganda of socialism and anti-militarism among the youth. He used to say: "Those who have the youth, have the army."

"Quite so," the socialist reformists agreed, "but are we not educating the youth in a socialist spirit? We organize lectures, excursions, concerts, literary evenings, why then carry on special anti-militarist propaganda? Why force the youth to engage in politics so early?"

"No," Liebknecht's adherents replied to the reformists, "this won't do; in order that the youth may fight against war, it is necessary to prepare it in times of peace. We must explain to the youth beforehand that wars, however terrible they may be, will exist as long as capitalism exists. It must be explained to the youth that the fight against militarism and war is part of the emancipationist movement of the proletariat. It is necessary that the young workers and young soldiers understand that they are brothers of one class. The socialist youth must work among the soldiers, they must carry the socialist teachings into the barracks so that we meet the war forearmed."

This is how the revolutionary minority of the German Social-Democracy, led by Liebknecht, argued with the reformists in the years preceding the war.

At the outbreak of the war, Liebknecht was a member of the Reichstag. It pained him to see how his comrades openly betrayed the cause of the working class. On the fourth of August, 1914, when the Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag voted in favor of the war credits, he was not yet resolved to come out single-handed against the rest. Instead of voting against the war credits, he left the hall while the vote was taken. However, a few months later, on December 2, when the German Reichstag had to grant new war credits, Liebknecht declared courageously that he refused to vote for them and made the following statement:

"This war, which none of the peoples involved in it willed, is not in the interests of the German or any other nation, it is an imperialist war, a fight of the capitalists for the monopoly of the world market.

"Like the British and French slogan, 'Against Imperialism', the German slogan: 'Against Tsarism' was utilized to press the noble instincts, the revolutionary traditions and aspirations of the peoples into the service of hatred stirred up among peoples against each other. Germany which is partly responsible for the crime of the existence of tsardom, and up to the present serves as an example of political backwardness, is not fit to play the role of the liberator of peoples. The liberation of the Russian, as well as of the German people is the cause of these peoples themselves. . . . We must demand an immediate peace, a peace which should not be humiliating to any of the parties, a peace without annexations."

Liebknecht's courageous speech roused a storm of indignation not only among the bourgeois members of the Reichstag, but also among the Social-Democratic deputies. Most of Lieb-knecht's former friends turned their backs upon him. The Social-Democratic leaders accused him of treachery to the country, and of violating party discipline. Lieb-knecht's speech was not published in any of the papers and was not even included in the minutes of the proceedings of the Reichstag. However, the news of Lieb-knecht's speech rapidly spread throughout the country, instilling courage and energy into thousands of the opponents of the war.

The German government found a way of getting rid of the recalcitrant member of the Reichstag: they sent him to the front. But with the first months of 1915 a few of his nearest comrades, fired by his example, began to work in the spirit of his views. First of all they distributed thousands of copies of his speech. Lieb-knecht, the oldest leader of the Socialist Youth, gave them the first example how to act.

Before the young socialists there was yet another example of the revolutionary struggle against war—the example of the Russian Bolsheviks, who represented the revolutionary party of the proletariat of Russia. The Bolsheviks fought against the oppression of the Russian autocracy in the immensely difficult

conditions of illegality and constant persecution. While the West-European Social-Democrats of the pre-war time had long ago forgotten what it meant to be deprived of the possibility of openly calling a meeting, had forgotten what it meant to be subjected to persecution, the Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats, the Bolsheviks, were in the course of many years accustomed to carry on their work, constantly risking their freedom and life. The Bolshevik Party was a small party. Only those who were resolved consistently to fight to the end for the emancipation of the toilers joined this party and held fast to it. Therefore, when the war began, the Bolsheviks showed no waverings. They saw clearly that the country which was dominated by the Tsar was not worth fighting for. They were the most consistent of all the opponents of the war.

When the first vote on the war credits was taken in the Duma the Bolshevik members declared themselves against the vote. From the very first days of the war the five Bolshevik members of the Duma toured the workers' districts, convened illegal meetings of the workers and called upon the masses to fight against the autocracy and the imperialist war. In the spring of 1915 they were arrested and exiled to Siberia.

At that time a number of the most prominent Bolsheviks who were too well known to the tsarist police and could no longer work in Russia, emigrated abroad and lived in various European countries. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, together with a small group of comrades was in Switzerland from which place he maintained constant touch with the Party organizations working in Russia. The underground work of the Bolsheviks in Russia was conducted according to the directions of Lenin and his closest colleagues, Stalin and Sverdlov, who, during the war, were in exile in Siberia.

In the first months of the war Lenin began to establish contacts with those few European socialists who remained true to the class struggle and to anti-militarism. The Russian Bolshevik

emigrants under the leadership of Lenin and with the help of some Swiss socialists began to make preparations for the creation of a new International union of the socialists who opposed the war, an International that should take the place of the Second International which was collapsing in consequence of the treachery of its leaders.

Lenin attached great importance to the youth. He was convinced that it was precisely the youth which would be able to take its place in the front ranks of the fighters for socialism, against the imperialist war. He very often met young Swiss socialists, helped them with comradely advice and closely followed their work.

The peculiar position of Switzerland as a neutral country, aiding the belligerent countries as well as the activity of the Russian Bolshevik emigrants residing in it, had made Switzerland the center of the International youth movement against the imperialist war.

The young Swiss and Italian socialists (at that time Italy had not yet entered the war) were the first who conceived the idea of calling an international conference of the socialist youth who were against the war. They were joined by the organizations of the socialist youth of Holland and the Scandinavian countries. There were great difficulties in organizing such a conference. It was the first attempt of the socialists of various countries to resume the connections which were broken as a consequence of the collapse of the Second International. The socialist youth of the countries which did not take part in the war were able to send delegates to the conference. But the groups of German young socialists which in spite of their leaders, wished to work in the spirit of Liebknecht, could not be fully represented. It was very difficult for them to get across the frontier. Even those three delegates (from Stuttgart, Goppingen and Karlsruhe) who came to the conference had to appear under assumed names so as to avoid persecution on the

part of the German government. The leaders of the French socialist youth altogether refused to send delegates.

The Russian revolutionary Social-Democrats, the Bolsheviks, had no independent organization of the youth, but two Bolshevik emigrants were sent by Lenin and appeared at the conference.

The International Conference of the Socialist Youth was opened in the People's House at Berne on April 4, 1915. After the speeches delivered by the delegates from the various countries, in which they expressed the readiness of the organizations and groups represented by them to fight against imperialist war, the conference began to draft its resolutions. The main resolution drafted by the majority of the delegates contained the following:

"The present war is a result of the imperialist policy of the ruling classes of all the capitalist countries. . . . The war is in an irreconcilable contradiction with the interests of the working class, whose vital forces it destroys, whose organizations it deprives of the possibility to work and whose militancy it is hampering.

". . . For these reasons the International Socialist Conference of Youth calls for the immediate stopping of the war. It considers it the duty of the young comrades in the belligerent countries energetically to support the growing movement towards peace. The conference expects the youth organizations of the neutral countries actively to support this cause of peace."

The Russian Bolshevik delegates requested that the resolution should clearly define the means by which the struggle against the imperialist war was to be carried on, and point out that the fight against imperialist war cannot be successfully carried to a conclusion unless the war between the peoples is converted into a civil war of the toilers against the exploiters, a civil war which will overthrow the power of the capitalists and forever remove the cause engendering war, namely, capitalism. However, the majority of the delegates were not inclined to accept this amendment of the Bolsheviks. At that time many

of them were of the opinion that it was possible to persuade the bourgeoisie to disarm. This belief of the majority of the delegates to the Berne Conference that the bourgeoisie might voluntarily agree to conclude a just peace and renounce all further wars, was reflected in the resolution. Instead of pointing out *how* to fight against the war, the authors of the resolution limited themselves to an "appeal for the immediate stoppage of the war," and believed that this was sufficient. Thus, the Berne Conference gave no clear reply to the question of the means by which the struggle against the war was to be carried on. Nevertheless it laid the foundation for the union of those forces of the youth which desired to carry on such a struggle.

After the Berne Conference groups of young anti-militarists in various countries no longer felt themselves isolated and helpless.

They knew that they had friends who were of the same mind in a number of the belligerent and neutral countries.

Already in the Autumn of 1915 a number of organizations and groups of the socialist youth declared their adherence to the decision of the Berne Conference and entered into a correspondence with the secretariat which was elected by the International Conference and began its work in Switzerland. The International Secretariat's first work was to issue *The International of Youth*, an international anti-military magazine, which appeared in several languages.

The young anti-militarists who published and distributed *The International of Youth* were fully aware of the importance of the work and in spite of all the difficulties in their way never interrupted this work. From the very first issue the magazine was prohibited in all the belligerent countries but nevertheless, it was regularly smuggled through into these countries and widely distributed. The means necessary for the publication of this magazine were collected by the anti-militarists in the various countries with great difficulty. They collected contribu-

tions and formed an International Liebknecht Fund for the support of the international anti-war work. Besides the fight of the youth movement in the West-European countries and America, among the regular contributors to the magazine were such prominent socialists of the revolutionary wing as Liebknecht and Lenin. Lenin helped *The International of Youth* to make clear the main question which for a long time exercised the minds of the young anti-militarists of the various countries, namely, the question of disarmament. Under the influence of some of the Dutch, Scandinavian and Swiss delegates, the slogan of disarmament was adopted at the Berne Conference by a small majority as a correct and necessary means in the fight against war. However, even after the conference this question was a debatable one and *The International of Youth* opened its columns for a discussion upon it since the question was of great interest to the young socialists.

The adherents of disarmament argued in the following manner:

"We are against war because war means violence and cruelty. We are against any militarism, against any war. We must force our governments to disarm: when there will be no arms, there will be no violence and no war."

Lenin took part in this discussion in the columns of *The International of Youth*, criticizing in a comradely manner the adherents of disarmament. He proved that wars were the inevitable outcome of the capitalist order. The big imperialist countries have long ago divided the world between them and subordinated the weaker and more backward countries, but none of the capitalist countries can be satisfied with what they have, because production grows and they have to extend their markets. Each capitalist country tries to extend the markets for its goods by peaceful competition with other countries, but none of them wants to yield its place voluntarily to its com-

petitor. Hence imperialist wars and as long as capitalism exists, the bourgeoisie cannot renounce war. War will be abolished only after capitalism has been overthrown everywhere and the socialist order established through the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must not delude ourselves with the false hope that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily surrender its power to the socialist proletariat. Before the glorious goal of socialism is reached a number of most bitter battles will have to be fought by the toilers against the exploiters. And only after the victorious issue of these battles, after the liberation of the entire toiling humanity from oppression and exploitation, after the abolition of the classes will it be possible to effect general disarmament. Later, many of the young socialists enlightened by their own experience saw clearly that these ideas of Lenin were correct.

The bourgeoisie of all the belligerent countries cruelly persecuted everybody whose activity was directed to the stopping of the war. Meetings of young socialists who took their stand on the platform of the Berne Conference, the distribution of *The International of Youth* and of anti-military leaflets and even the correspondence with the International Secretariat in Switzerland had to be conducted in a strictly illegal manner, since the penalty for such "crimes" was prison. It was only with great difficulty that many of the young anti-militarists accustomed themselves to these new methods of work. During the war they realized at last what an extremely cunning and cruel enemy the bourgeoisie was and saw that unless they wished to give up the struggle altogether they had to adopt efficient illegal methods.

The first international anti-military action of the Socialist youth was the First International Youth Day on October 3, 1915, which was marked in a number of countries by youth demonstrations against the war.

In the neutral countries these demonstrations proceeded

legally and unhindered. In Denmark, for instance, demonstrations and meetings were held in forty cities and districts, at which 3,000 copies of *The International of Youth* and 30,000 leaflets were distributed and 1,200 francs collected for the Liebknecht Fund. In Norway twenty-five meetings were held at which 15,000 young workers were present. The biggest of these meetings was held in Oslo. Six thousand copies of *The International of Youth* were sold, 1,000 francs were collected for the Liebknecht Fund. A number of large demonstrations were held in Sweden, Switzerland and Holland.

In America more than fifty meetings and demonstrations were held. *The International of Youth* gave a description of some of these demonstrations:

"The socialist youth of New York decided that the best answer to the instigators of war was to call an international anti-war demonstration on the day following the military celebrations at Van Cortland Park. True, only a few hundred people took part in our demonstration, but all the young people present revealed a truly internationalist spirit and were ready to fight all and every variety of patriotism which sets the nations one against the other. . . . Similar meetings and demonstrations were held in Manhattan, Chicago and other cities."

It was much more difficult to carry through the International Youth Day in the belligerent countries. In Italy and Austria small meetings were held indoors, in France the reformist leadership of the organization of the socialist youth deliberately abstained from taking part in the International Youth Day. Only the opposition groups of the German Socialist youth succeeded in holding a number of meetings out of town in spite of the persecutions of the police and the resistance of the opportunist leadership. At these meetings militant resolutions were adopted calling upon the youth of all countries to fight against the imperialist war.

V

YOUTH OPPOSES THE WAR

Two of the big imperialist countries, the United States and Italy, did not join the World War at once, but after a certain time. From the very beginning of the war many sections of the Young Peoples Socialist League of America which after the war nearly in its entirety became a section of the Young Communist International, held many anti-war meetings and succeeded in holding the majority of its adherents under its sway and prevented them from being carried away by the chauvinism of the war.

The young American comrades who by their demonstrations and meetings have many a time proved that neither prison nor police persecution could frighten them, nevertheless, were not clear as to the methods of mass struggle which were to be adopted against the war besides meetings and demonstrations. At the congress, which was held in 1916 and was devoted to the question of fighting against the war, the Young Peoples Socialist League decided:

"If our country will nevertheless join the war, then every member of the League shall refuse military service."

In 1917 hundreds of active members of the League acted accordingly. When the American government ordered the mobilization they refused to go to war. Many of them were sentenced to long terms of prison. Before the United States entered the war the secretary of the Y.P.S.L. even addressed a letter to President Wilson in which he tried to persuade the head of the bourgeois government that war was unjust. Need-

less to say, the American government was not moved by this letter or by the refusal on the part of many of the young socialist to handle a rifle. In vain did the American young socialists place their hopes in the pretended noble-mindedness of the ruling class. In vain were all their hopes that by their respectful requests or by their refusal to handle arms the war might be stopped. They tried to persuade Wilson that it was not necessary to fight, but took no measures prior to the war to prepare the young toilers for mass anti-war action. And as a result, after the declaration of war the active members of the Young Socialist League found themselves isolated. They could not prevent the war, because in their fight against it, they relied on themselves and not on the masses. Thousands of young workers, who hesitated to take the risk of going to prison by refusing military service, went to the war. Since the young opponents of the war refused to go into the army and did not work among the soldiers there was no anti-war movement among the young soldiers at the beginning of the war, and there was nobody to tell them how to fight against the war.

The young American anti-militarists employed only legal methods and thus gave the government the opportunity of breaking up the Y.P.S.L. Immediately after America's entry in the war, all the leaders of the League who were capable of initiating a fight against the war were arrested, while the remnants who were not arrested went over to the reformists. Thus the ruling classes achieved their aim.

In the first months of the war the Italian socialist youth had several times, through its magazine, *Avanguardia*, appealed to all the toilers of the country to prepare for the fight against Italy's joining the war. The Italian youth realized that work in the army among the soldiers was the most important thing. In January 1915 the organization of the Socialist Youth issued a leaflet for the recruits in which it declared:

"War is a capitalist crime. You are to be trained to take part in the war in the interests of the greedy exploiters. Think well over the question—why this war?"

In May 1915, *i.e.*, on the eve of Italy's entry into the war, the Congress of the Italian Socialist Youth resolved that the fight against war was to be linked up with the fight for socialism against the exploiters. A number of young comrades at the Congress expressed themselves in favor of a general strike in case of war, but the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party was against this proposal and the youth could not carry out the general strike by its own forces. However, the worker youth took an active part in the powerful demonstrations of protest against the preparations made by the Italian government to join the World War.

The anti-militarist movement of the toiling masses was not strong enough to keep Italy out of the war. But the cruel persecutions of the police could not stop the toilers of Italy and in the first place the youth from carrying on an active fight against the war even after Italy had joined it. The Italian young socialists had established contacts in the army, distributing socialist papers and anti-war leaflets. The Italian revolutionary, Germanetto, in his reminiscences, *Memoirs of a Barber*, writes:

"The soldiers were forbidden to visit our barber shop under threat of punishment and immediate despatch to the front. Nevertheless, they came to us and told us what was going on in the barracks, read and paid their subscription to the papers. Our contacts with the soldiers remained unbroken and moreover we even succeeded in printing our Party material on the typewriters of the General Staff."

The young Italian comrades tried to master the methods of illegal work. With the help of young typographical workers leaflets intended for the front were printed illegally in ordinary printing shops without the knowledge of the owners. The leaf-

lets and the anti-war papers were distributed among the army through the young soldiers on leave, or through young worker recruits sent to the front who realized that in the army they could do more work by helping to maintain contacts with the soldiers than they would by refusing military service.

Thanks to the papers and leaflets which appealed to them to fight against the war, the soldiers began to understand what this war was about, whose interests it favored and how the fight against it was to be carried on. Likewise the meetings with young socialists have taught the soldiers on leave many a thing. And so in the first year of the war, we see a mass movement on foot among the Italian soldiers on leave against being sent to a second time to the front. At the end of 1915 *The International of Youth* wrote:

"In many cities of Liguria, Toscana, Lombardia and Piedmont, there were collisions between the police and the soldiers who refused to return to the front. At Ouix (Turin) there were revolts of soldiers who refused to return to the front. . . . At Aosta hundreds of soldiers who were ordered to the front offered resistance. They shouted 'Down with the war!' Some of them were arrested, others disappeared and scattered in the country while the rest removed to Switzerland with all their belongings. In Sachili (the province in Udine, an important railway junction) 2,000 soldiers on leave refused to return to the front and shouting 'Down with the war' overturned the railway cars. In the evening 500 soldiers passed by this place. When they learned what had happened they too joined the movement and with songs marched through the city. . . ."

A mass movement against being sent to the front is something different from an individual refusal to join the army. By their refusal to answer the call for mobilization the young American and Swiss opponents of the war could not hinder the war; since every one of them acted single-handed, it was not difficult for the bourgeoisie to settle with each of them separately. But

the mass movement in the Italian army had undoubtedly weakened its militancy. The young Italian socialists who joined the army and helped to set on foot this mass movement of the soldiers had done a great thing. There is no doubt that this movement among the soldiers hastened on the readiness of the Italian bourgeoisie to conclude peace. When the police discovered and arrested the first group of youth for printing leaflets, the entire bourgeois press was jubilant: a conspiracy had been broken up! Surely the underground activity of the fomenters of trouble which was disorganizing the army would now stop!

These hopes, however, did not materialize. The young Italian socialists did not lose heart. When the active young fighters against the war were sentenced to four and six years imprisonment for printing leaflets and anti-war propaganda, their place was taken by hundreds of others. The arrests and the sentences did not stop the movement. Right till the end of the war the Italian youth continued actively to take part in the workers' anti-war demonstrations and in print or by word of mouth to carry their propaganda among the workers and soldiers. After the war the young Italian anti-militarists formed the Italian Communist Union of Youth.

VI

THE LEGACY OF LIEBKNECHT

In Germany, after Liebknecht was sent to the front as a punishment for his action against the war, several groups of the youth, who were against the war, began to work in the spirit of Liebknecht. They began to fight not only against the war, but also against the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who had called upon the workers to go to the war, and in particular against Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, who later killed Liebknecht.

Many of the young German toilers were indignant over the nationalist war campaign of the *Arbeiter Jugend*, the organ of the reformist leadership of the Social-Democratic youth. A number of the groups of youth expressed their protest against the war, first of all by painting black the most obnoxious war articles in the *Arbeiter Jugend* before distributing the paper, or by stopping their subscriptions to it. Instead of the patriotic *Arbeiter Jugend* which endeavored to train the young toilers so as to make them suitable cannon fodder for the bourgeoisie, the anti-militarist groups of the youth began secretly to distribute *The International of Youth* as well as leaflets, published by the Spartacists, the adherents of Liebknecht who later founded the Communist Party of Germany. To this group of Spartacists (who called themselves after the name of Spartacus, the leader of the uprising of the slaves in ancient Rome) among others belonged Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin and Franz Mehring. As far as it was possible Liebknecht maintained contact with this group.

In their leaflets and manifestoes the Spartacus group explained to the toilers that the war was the business of the ex-

plotters and not of the toiling people; that the enemy whom the German toilers had to fight, were not the toilers of other countries, but German imperialism. In May, 1915, the Spartacists published a leaflet written by Liebknecht in which it was said:

"The chief enemy of the German people is in Germany itself. It is German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must fight this enemy in its own country, fight politically, jointly with the proletariat of the other countries, which fights its imperialists at home.

". . . How long will the imperialists abuse the patience of the people? Once more—have done with murder! Down with the instigators of war on both sides of the frontier! Let us put an end to this world slaughter!

"Proletarians of all countries, follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class struggle against the conspiracies of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against war, for peace in a socialist spirit! The chief enemy is in one's own country."

The Spartacists said: "So long as capitalism exists there will always be a danger of war." This meant that every toiler could help in the struggle against war by means of an every day struggle against the employers, against the capitalist State. The revolutionary youth, led by Liebknecht, began to work in the spirit of these ideas.

In the early spring of 1916, in the back room of a small restaurant in the city of Jena, a few young men and women met and listened attentively to what a comrade who seemed older than all the rest was telling them. The restaurant-keeper who had let the room was fully convinced that it was a conference of the "Union of Free German Excursionists." He never suspected that the young excursionists were really young socialist opponents of the war from various parts of Germany, and that the older comrade was Karl Liebknecht, member of the Reichstag

and now a common soldier of the German army.

Having taken leave for a few days, he left the front and took part in this meeting in order to assist the youth in organizing for the struggle against the war.

The Jena Conference united the opposition groups of the Social-Democratic youth. They definitely decided to break with the reformist leadership and become an independent organization for the class struggle of the toiling youth, to work jointly with the older comrades of the Spartakus Bund and illegally publish its anti-war papers.

A German comrade who worked in Berlin during the war relates the following:

"Our group like the other groups of the Spartacist youth energetically distributed anti-war papers and leaflets. We established contacts with the young workers and apprentices in all the factories and mills of our district, we had talks with them, trying to find out their attitude to the war. We would ask them: 'Do you want the war to end?' 'Yes,' they would answer. 'Then help us!' Through the apprentices we regularly distributed *The International of Youth*, the Spartacus letters and our papers and leaflets in the factories and mills. This was not an easy matter. A few of our comrades were caught and arrested. Some of them had to spend a couple of months in prison and some a year.

"On many occasions we succeeded in printing our leaflets in private printing shops whose owners sympathized with our cause. Sometimes the printing was undertaken by young typographical workers who had the possibility of entering the printing shop at night and there they printed our papers and leaflets; sometimes, where they were so trusted by their employers and masters that they were not watched, they would do it during working hours.

"Several times in the course of a year our group organized excursions out of town and invitations to take part in them were sent to the youth from various sport and tourist circles, such as the Young Friends of Nature, etc. At first only a few people came to such excursions, but later when we united

with other groups, we succeeded in bringing the number of participants in such excursions to 1000-1200 people. Some of these excursions were arranged in the forests where there were no police and nobody was watching us; our seemingly harmless excursion would then be transformed into a militant meeting with speeches and discussion on the subject 'Down with the Imperialist War.' Many of the young lovers of nature and sport returned from such an excursion, fully convinced opponents of the war, and afterwards gave us active help. In this way we gradually extended our influence on the youth."

The young Spartacists were not frightened by the difficulties of the work among the soldiers. At the meetings of the groups, some of the young comrades read aloud letters received from the front from brothers and friends. From these letters the groups learned to know about the prevailing mood among the soldiers, about their thoughts and the questions which were not clear to them. And political answers to these letters were drawn up collectively. New addresses of soldiers at the front were collected and numerous letters were sent in which family affairs were intermingled with an exposition of the latest Spartacist manifestoes.

Various methods were adopted in the correspondence with the soldiers. The letters were drafted in such a way as to give no ground for suspicion to the military censorship. For instance, the military censor surely would not object if the soldier wrote home: "The officers treat us *well* . . . we try to *execute* all their orders." The relatives at home knew that all the words underlined in the letter were to be taken in an opposite sense.

Girls sent presents to the soldiers at the front. The military censorship in most cases never suspected that in a box of cigarettes, or of candy, an anti-war leaflet printed on thin paper was cleverly concealed. In those cases where the leaflets were discovered, the senders were not spared. A few girls under eighteen years had to pay with imprisonment for sending such parcels.

On May First, 1916, Liebknecht who took his leave from the

army was expected to arrive in Berlin. The Spartacists, young and grown-up, were preparing to celebrate the First of May by an anti-war demonstration. At that time the Berlin police succeeded in tracing some of the "suspect" private printing shops and was shadowing them. However, the Royal Court Printing office (Kaiserliche Hof Buchdruckerei) was of course, beyond suspicion, and was not watched. And it was in this printing shop that the Spartacists printed the First of May manifesto in good time in a few thousand copies. At seven o'clock in the evening the Potsdammer Platz was filled with thousands of Berlin proletarians, most of them young workers. Cries were heard: "Down with Imperialist War! Long Live the Social Revolution! Long Live Liebknecht! Down with the Government!" At 7:30 Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg appeared from the Potsdammer Station. They were greeted with the strains of the *International*. The police with drawn swords attempted to disperse the crowd. Karl Liebknecht, surrounded by the youth, shouted aloud: "Down with the war, down with the government!" The police pounced upon the comrades who surrounded Liebknecht, pushed them aside, arrested Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and many of the demonstrators and carried them off to the police station. Liebknecht was condemned to four years' prison. He was released in the autumn of 1918 by the November Revolution.

By that time the name of Liebknecht, the first champion of the West European workers' movement who dared to raised his voice against the imperialist war, because known to the youth of the entire world. On May 21 the youth carried through an International Day of Protest against the sentence pronounced upon Liebknecht and everywhere where the opportunity presented itself the young and adult workers gathered to demand the liberation of the leader of the revolutionary youth and the fearless fighter against the imperialist war. The First of May demonstra-

tion, Liebknecht's action and his arrest, were the signal for hundreds of demonstrations and meetings against the war and against the sentence passed upon Liebknecht throughout all Germany.

The German revolutionary youth, following Liebknecht's appeal, bore in mind that the enemy was in their own country, that the fight against war meant also a fight against their own exploiters. In 1916 when the first great strikes began in Germany the working youth took an active part in them.

In the spring of 1916 the government granted permission to the army command to issue so-called orders concerning savings in the regions occupied by them. These orders represented nothing else but compulsory subscription which the toilers had to make for military loans. The first of these orders was issued by the command of the Tenth Army, and concerned the working youth. According to this order, out of his wages every young worker was not to receive more than sixteen marks, while the remainder was to be retained for subscriptions to the loan. Thus, the young workers, who were not old enough to shed their blood in defense of the exploiters on the battle fields, had to pay the expenses of the war by their hard earned pennies. They were to deny themselves the last morsel of bread and with their scanty means were to support the cause for which their elder brothers were compelled to die.

The young workers of Brunswick, exhausted from ever increasing misery, decided to resist this new robbery. On the First of May, the young workers of Brunswick had struck. On the following day, the army command expressed its readiness to raise the margin of the wages paid to the young workers to 24 marks. However, the young workers were not satisfied with this concession, and decided to fight till complete victory. A few of the mills closed completely. Every day the young workers held mass meetings against the war and the war loans.

Shortly before this strike in Brunswick there was a rise in the prices of potatoes and other foodstuffs. The adult workers, enraged by the high prices, and the army command's plan of confiscating part of the wages of the young workers with which many of them had to support whole families, took an active part in the meetings of the youth, expressing their readiness to support them in their fight.

The local trade union leadership, reformist to a man, attempted to persuade the young workers to accept the concession made by the army command. However, the indignation of the workers in the city was so great that the trade union leadership had to bow to their will and in their turn threatened the military command with a general strike if this order was not abolished. On May 5 the young workers gained a complete victory. The order about compulsory savings was abolished. Similar strikes of the youth took place in Hanover, Magdeburg and other cities. The revolutionary youth was in the first ranks of the strike movement of the German proletariat, a movement which was particularly widespread in the last few years of the war. No police persecutions, no arrests and imprisonment could hold the youth back from fighting. By its propaganda in the army it helped to spread the revolutionary movement among the soldiers and sailors, who, in November, 1918, jointly with the workers in the rear had overthrown the empire of Wilhelm and thereby hastened the end of the war.

VII

STRENGTHENING THE ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

In Austro-Hungary, the neighboring country which was in alliance with imperialist Germany, the young workers who were under the influence of Liebknecht and the young Spartacists, actively fought against the war.

The revolutionary youth of Vienna devoted special attention to the work among army recruits. At first, there was a tendency among the young workers by hook or by crook to evade military service, the recruits were given advice as to what stories they were to tell the doctor at the medical inspection so that they might be released. Soon however, it became clear that this was not the way to fight against war. The groups of socialist youth which opposed the opportunist leadership and which really wished to fight against the war, began to adopt different methods in their work with the recruits; they organized talks on the subject: "What are you to do at the front?" These talks were delivered in approximately the following vein:

"You must remember that the officer is your enemy and that the worker in the rear is your friend. You must explain to your comrades in your regiment that it is not the country that you are sent to defend, but the capitalists' profits. The officers will tell you: 'Let us go to defend our families from the invasion of the enemy!' But you must understand and explain to your comrades that the worst enemy of your wives and children who are left in the rear are the capitalists in our country. The officers will tell you: 'The hardships of war-time are borne by the whole country!' But you think it over and suggest to your comrades to think it over and compare

the life of the bourgeoisie in wartime with our workers' life; it will then become clear to you, that it is we, the workers, who bear all the hardships of the war, while the capitalists are reaping more profits than ever they did in peacetime. The officers will tell you all sorts of terrible things about the enemy's army, about its cruelty. But you must understand and explain to the comrades, that the soldiers of the enemy are workers like yourselves and are as little responsible for the war as you are. In order to stop the war as soon as possible, it is necessary on every occasion to establish contact with the soldiers of the enemy and fraternize with them. However, in order that the fraternization should prove successful, and you should not be shot, it is necessary that many soldiers should take part in such fraternizations. If there will be many of you the officers will be powerless to do anything against you. Write to us from the front but write so that the military censorship is unable to detect anything. Learn to handle the leaflets carefully, learn how to hide them well, so that neither you nor we should come to trouble."

In this manner the Austrian youth established firm contacts with the army through the recruits and soldiers on leave. The disturbances in the Austrian army in 1918 were to a considerable degree the effect of the work of the revolutionary youth. The anti-war movement of the youth in Hungary began only in the last years of the war. At a patriotic demonstration in Budapest in the beginning of 1917, several students who shouted—"Down with the War!"—were arrested. They were members of the student circle, "Galileo Club," which was the first anti-war group of the youth in Hungary.

As long as the students were not connected with the workers or soldiers, they could do nothing but take isolated action at demonstrations; very infrequently they distributed leaflets, in which the demand for peace was not concrete and was not linked up with the necessity to carry on the class struggle against the enemy in one's own country.

Only after the January strike of 1918 in Budapest, which

stirred the revolutionary activity of the Hungarian workers, did the students establish connections with the working youth who were in opposition to the socialist organization of the youth.

In one of the districts of Budapest, where the Social-Democratic organization of the youth had broken with the reformist leadership and united with the student group, a strong group of revolutionary youth was formed. The movement spread to other workers' districts in Budapest. The leader of the movement was Otto Korvin, who later became one of the greatest fighters for Soviet Hungary and was hanged by the fascists. Korvin's group carried on anti-war propaganda in the factories, distributed leaflets against the war, and at the same time helped to organize the struggle for the demands of the youth and of the apprentices against flogging, against rough treatment and for an increase in wages.

With the help of a few Russian prisoners of war, who were at that time in Budapest, Korvin's group had secretly published and distributed leaflets. Through these leaflets in which the soldiers were called upon to turn their arms against their own oppressors and not against their foreign brothers, the group gained access to the barracks.

The movement under Korvin's leadership rapidly spread and counted among its followers a few hundred young Budapest workers. In the beginning of May 1918, after the youth had distributed a large number of leaflets on the first of May, the illegal organization of the youth was discovered and thirty-five of its active workers were arrested.

However, a few days later, a young man appeared at the police headquarters and declared:

"You have arrested a score or so of people for printing and distributing leaflets. They are absolutely innocent. It was I who did it."

"And who are you?"

"Emmerich Schallai, an employee. I have printed the leaflets."

In fact, Schallai was a rank and file member of the movement. However, he somehow succeeded in proving that he alone was the "guilty" person and most of the arrested comrades were liberated. The heroic self-sacrifice of Schallai had saved the organization. The anti-war movement of the youth continued, it grew into a Communist movement of the youth and later served as a firm support of the Soviet power in Hungary.

VIII

"DOWN WITH THE WAR!"

In France the reformist leadership of the socialist organization of the youth succeeded at first in maintaining its hold on the youth and keeping it out of the anti-war movement.

Only in 1916 under the influence of the Russian Bolshevik emigrants who were in France at that time, the ideas of internationalism began to spread among the French workers. Both the Bolshevik delegates to the Berne Conference, George Safarov and Inessa Armand, carried on revolutionary work in France during the war. Very often Lenin helped them with his advice and with his letters.

Despite the wish of the reformists, an opposition group of the youth was formed in the province of Seine (in the central part of France), which jointly with the Bolsheviks and the anti-militarist comrades from the socialist parties and the trade unions, had set to work. The Bolsheviks translated Lenin's pamphlets and Liebknecht's articles into French, and together with the French comrades, distributed them among the workers and soldiers. At the same time, independently of the Bolsheviks, small groups of young intellectuals, students and teachers, carried on anti-war propaganda. The works of prominent French writers directed against the war, such as *Under Fire* by Barbusse and articles by Romain Rolland had an enormous influence on the youth.

The French soldiers were more susceptible to anti-war propaganda. They, like the soldiers of the other armies, wished for a speedy end of the accursed war. Many of them were ready to follow the advice given in one of the most popular socialist

anti-war pamphlets which was distributed in the French army: "The socialists of all the belligerent countries must act in the way indicated by Liebknecht, namely, turn their arms against their own governments."

Raymond Poincare, the former president of the French Republic during the war, rightly nicknamed "Poincare-War," in his reminiscences, calls the year 1917, the "year of troubles." This year was really a year of troubles for the French bourgeoisie. Beginning with the spring, big strikes and mass demonstrations were held in Paris under the slogans "Down with the War" and "Send the Soldiers Home." The working youth took an active part in these strikes and demonstrations.

However, for the French bourgeoisie, still more terrible than this movement of the urban workers was the movement of the soldiers at the front. On May 29, 1917, Poincare enters in his diary:

"Signs of lack of discipline are increasing in the army. At Dormans, the soldiers shouted: 'Long Live the Revolution, Down with the War!' A whole company refused to come out of the trenches."

On May 30 Poincare writes: ". . . quite recently two regiments of the 30th and 129th Infantry have jointly decided 'To march upon Paris'. Measures were taken to disperse them. The news that at Dormans, the soldiers shouted, 'Down with the War, Long Live the Russian Revolution,' is being confirmed. Pacifist pamphlets are distributed at the stations." On June 2, Poincare regretfully writes in his diary:

". . . I learned from General Erbillion about new insurrections, this time in the 21st Corps. The soldiers refused to go to the trenches. Order is threatened everywhere."

On June 3 worse still:

"New regrettable incidents at the front. General Fournier informs that one division in the 21st Corps discussed the question whether it should agree to go to the trenches and resume the offensive. It decided to go to the trenches, but to remain on the defensive. Another division of the 7th Corps refused to go to the trenches."

The anti-war manifestations of the soldiers and sailors which caused so much worry to Poincare and the military command ended in the suppression of the insubordination. The soldiers were lacking leadership, the insurrections broke out spontaneously without preparation. A former soldier of the 46th Infantry Regiment in his recollections, tells us for instance how the soldiers instead of directing their arms against the officers, attempted to fight against the war without arms and in consequence had to obey their officers, and go into battle:

"We decided not to go whatever happened, and hid in the nearest forest. Some of us had arms, but after a discussion, we yielded to the eloquent and insistent soldiers and returned our rifles, hand grenades and machine guns to the barracks. The night passed. The officers tried to persuade us, but they were met with curses and hostile shouts, 'Down with the War,' 'Grant Us Our Leave,' and with the singing of the *International*.

"Morning came, the forest was surrounded by cavalry and, we were told, also by Senegalese, whom however, we did not see.

"A powerful limousine drove up, Colonel Lapoin stepped out and ordered us to go to the front line. The soldiers kept silent. They waited. We discussed our demands.

"We exchanged glances. We were unarmed. The other sections had gone to the front. The ring around us was growing narrower. We felt that at the slightest movement on our part we would be attacked. We were defeated and we surrendered without a fight. We agreed to proceed to Craconne."

The French soldiers who attempted to stop the war by dis-

obeying the officers were not united, they received no advice from anyone as to how they were to act. The leaders of the French Socialist Party during the war were the true aiders and abettors of Poincare. The soldiers could expect no help from them in the fight against war. The movement of the opposition groups of the socialists who opposed the war, was not strong enough to take the leadership in these insurrections of the soldiers. But, although each of these soldier insurrections was suppressed separately, they nevertheless compelled the French bourgeoisie to hasten with the conclusion of peace. Taken together, all these insurrections decidedly hastened the end of the war. And here great credit must be given to the French working youth which helped the older comrades to carry the revolutionary propaganda into the army.

IX

YOUTH IN THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

In tsarist Russia the movement of the youth against the war developed under special conditions. No independent organizations of the youth existed in Russia. The tsarist government considered the holding of meetings or the existence of workers' organizations, and particularly of youth organizations in Russia to be a criminal offense. The young workers and apprentices who were entirely at the mercy of the arbitrary rule of the master, had no right to form even the most harmless circles for self-education. Pupils and students had no right to hold meetings and were entirely at the mercy of reactionary teachers and professors, who were devoted to the tsar. The tsarist government considered circles and meetings as "sedition."

However, the working youth of tsarist Russia took a lively interest in politics, precisely because they were forbidden to take an interest in it, and because they hated the tsarist regime and strove to get rid of the system of exploitation and arbitrariness. Under the conditions of great oppression and police persecution the youth without forming an independent secret revolutionary organization, actively helped the general revolutionary movement and took part in it.

In the years preceding the war and during the war itself, the youth which wished to fight against the war and against the tsarist government rallied around the only revolutionary party of the Russian proletariat, namely, the Bolsheviks. While the reformist leaders of Social-Democracy in the European countries were preaching that "the youth was not to meddle in politics," the Bolsheviks, on the contrary, taught the youth to take an active part in the political struggle and gave the young comrades responsible work in the Party.

Thus, the fight of the Russian youth against the war was inseparable from the work and struggle of the Bolshevik Party.

We know Lenin's views on the war and we know how the Bolsheviks who were in exile in the various countries of Europe had helped the international movement of the youth in its fight against the war. The views held by Lenin were shared by the Bolsheviks who worked secretly in Russia. They considered that the fight against the imperialist war was at the same time a fight of the workers against the exploiters, against the enemy in one's own country. They considered that in order to fight properly against the war, it was necessary to carry on a fight to a finish against capitalism which engenders war.

The Bolsheviks realized that it was impossible to fight against the war or against tsardom and the capitalists and the landlords without working in the army. They well remembered the experience of the Revolution of 1905, when the tsarist government succeeded in suppressing the rising of the Moscow workers with the help of the army. They paid particular attention to work among the soldiers. They had a military organization which worked in still greater secrecy than the Party. The Bolsheviks sent their most tried and trusted comrades to work among the soldiers. During the war, the Bolshevik military organization indefatigably worked in the tsarist army, explaining to the soldiers the cause of the war, and pointing out to them the way in which the struggle against the imperialist war and against the tsarist government was to be carried on. At the same time the Bolsheviks worked in the mills and factories, organizing the workers for a struggle against the employers.

The first revolutionary manifestations of the soldiers and sailors began in 1915. The work of the Bolsheviks in explaining to the soldiers that the cause of the working class was their cause too, was not in vain. When the first strikes during the war began in Petrograd (now Leningrad) the soldiers in many cases

refused to act against the strikers. During the strike at Reno's works in Petrograd, the soldiers of the 181st Regiment which was quartered in the near vicinity, helped the workers to drive away the police. The military command removed the recalcitrant regiment to a suburb.

In February 1917 the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers overthrew the autocracy. The success of the February Revolution was decided by the Petrograd soldiers going over to the side of the workers: Immediately all the military stores of the capital fell into the hands of the insurrectionists who without great difficulty seized the arsenal. In most of the other cities of Russia, the army likewise took the side of the workers. The workers and soldiers overthrew the Tsar in the hope that this would stop the war. But after the February Revolution power was assumed by the bourgeois Provisional Government, which did not even think of stopping the war, but on the contrary, proclaimed the slogan, "War to a victorious end." It tried to persuade the workers and soldiers that now, after the tsarist oppression was overthrown, it was worth while continuing the war.

The Bolsheviks explained to the masses that even after the overthrow of the tsar, the war remained as it was, a predatory capitalist war which had to be stopped no matter what fine phrases the bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic hangers-on were using to cloak its imperialist nature. During the February Revolution mass elected organizations of the workers grew up throughout Russia. They were the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies. The Bolsheviks raised the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets," explaining to the toilers that only their own power, only the Soviet power, could put an end to the war. Gradually they began to prepare the toiling masses for the new revolution, for the overthrow of the Provisional Government and for the establishment of the government of the working class, *viz.*, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the period of March-October 1917 the Bolsheviks developed their agitation among the soldiers for a fight for a Soviet government and for putting an end to the war. They published soldiers' papers, *The Soldiers' Pravda*, *The Trench Pravda*, *The Worker and Soldier*, which in a plain, vivid language explained to the soldiers the Bolshevik views on the war. Stalin, one of the editors and organizers of the Bolshevik soldier press, is the present leader of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International.

The soldiers themselves wrote a great deal in these Bolshevik papers, which enjoyed great popularity at the front. Their letters showed how the will for peace grew in the Russian army.

For instance, the soldier, F. I. Ivanov wrote:

"Comrade soldiers in the rear, the officers tell us to get ready to resume the offensive. But how shall we resume the offensive, if in our company, out of 260 people, only 79 people are left? In the line, the distance between one soldier and another is 100 paces. How can we fight? Very soon, even those of us who are left will be killed and what for? Our boots are terribly heavy and we get rotten bread. Comrade soldiers, trust our letter, send all the capitalists here into the trenches, let them taste life at the front, so that they stop goading us into resuming the offensive."

The soldier, George Gladyshev, in his letter described how the Russian soldiers fraternized with the German army:

"On Easter Day, at nine o'clock in the morning, the enemy began to shout: 'Russ, don't shoot.' We climbed out of the trenches, we embraced, shook hands, treated one another, we treated them with bread and they treated us with cigarettes and cigars. They spoke about peace, saying that they have been wishing for it for ever so long a time and we also spoke to them. They all looked pale and emaciated; they receive only one and a half pounds of bread for two days. They say that they are the miserable remnants from the French and

British fronts. After that day, I feel like shouting, 'Down with the War, Long live international eternal peace!' We don't want to annex lands, while thousands of acres of the landlords' lands are lying waste."

The letter of the soldier Tatarov gives an example, how under the influence of the Bolsheviks, the soldiers gradually began to learn how to act in order to put an end to the hated war. Tatarov wrote in *The Soldiers' Pravda*:

"Two days ago I succeeded in having a chat with one of the soldiers of the Austrian army. He told me that their soldiers think the same as we do, and although their emperor assures everyone that he will hold out, the people want to destroy the capitalists and stop the war. Before I arrived in my regiment, the soldiers were incited by the bourgeois officers against Comrade Lenin. The officers told them that Lenin and his Leninists urged the people to acts of robbery and murder and the soldiers believed them. But I began to explain to them the ideas of Comrade Lenin and then all the soldiers in our regiment came over to my side and realized that in order to bring the war to an end it was necessary to destroy the government of the bourgeoisie."

Thousands of such Tatarovs, mostly young people, became the carriers of the Bolshevik ideas in the army. They prepared their comrades in the barracks for the overthrow of the bourgeois government and for ending the war in a revolutionary manner. The first legal organizations and circles of the youth made their appearance after the February revolution. A strong organization of the youth, which was against the war and sympathized with the Bolsheviks, was formed in Moscow in the summer of 1917. This organization was the first in Russia to organize an anti-war demonstration of the youth on International Youth Day. On October 15, a few thousand young workers gathered in one of the central squares of Moscow, displaying placards with inscriptions "Down with the war," and "All Power

to the Soviets." After a short meeting, a resolution was adopted to the following effect: "We demand that an All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies should immediately assume power and take steps to conclude an armistice on all the fronts and a general democratic peace."

This wish of the Moscow working youth was very soon to materialize. On November 7, 1917* the Russian workers and soldiers overthrew the Provisional Government. The power passed into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Peasants', and Soldiers' Deputies. The first step of the new government was the offer of peace to all the belligerent countries. The Soviet Government in Russia was the first government which proposed to put an end to the World War. Russia was the first country which ended the war. This became possible because the Russian workers and peasants who were longing for the end of the war, took the power into their own hands, because the Russian soldiers who were longing for the end of the war had turned their arms against the enemy in their own country, against the landlords and the capitalists.

The working and peasant youth of Russia took an active part in the Revolution of November 7. It helped the Soviet Government to defend the conquests of the revolution against the foreign imperialists and the armed forces of the Russian reaction, who wished to re-establish tsarism in Russia. During the imperialist war the youth was loath to fight and wanted peace. But during the revolution and the civil war against the bourgeois landlords, counter-revolution, and foreign imperialists, the best forces of the working youth of Russia joined the Red Army and fearlessly fought on all the fronts because the youth was

* This revolution is called the October Revolution, because it broke out on October 25, old style calendar.

against the re-establishment of tsarism, against the re-establishment of the old servitude, against new imperialist wars.

Now, twenty years after the World War, the youth of the Soviet Union is the only youth in the world which knows not the scourge of unemployment, which is free to choose any profession it likes and before which the road is open to learning and knowledge and to any independent organizing or creative work. On the day of the twentieth anniversary of the World War, the Soviet generation which this year turned twenty—the young worker who, at one and the same time is studying and working in the factory and will soon become an engineer; the young girl in the collective farm who drives a tractor and is creating for herself a well-to-do and cultural life; the student who is preparing to take up a responsible post in the socialist national economy—all of them remembered with gratitude their older brothers who in the Bolshevik underground, in the battles of the October Revolution and at the fronts of the Civil War have, by their heroic independent struggle, won for the Soviet youth of the present day a free and happy life.

X

THE FIGHT AGAINST WAR IS A FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM

The description of the struggle of the youth against the imperialist war of 1914-18 which we have given above does not offer an exhaustive picture of what the youth did in order the sooner to stop the imperialist slaughter and overthrow the power of those who had engineered it. But even that little which we give here shows how great was the work done by the generation of the fathers and elder brothers of the present youth in the struggles against the war.

During the first imperialist war the young anti-imperialists were in the front ranks of the fighters against the war. Throughout the four years of the war they have worked indefatigably without shunning the difficulties of the underground, without fear of prison or court-martial. And their work and struggle was not in vain.

True, the movement of the toiling masses against the war began rather late. Before the war many of the toilers believed that it was sufficient for the Social-Democratic Parties and the other organizations who called themselves friends of peace to adopt good resolutions against the war and the work was done. They never thought that these parties would immediately upon the outbreak of war not only refuse to fight against it, but even go over to the side of their exploiters, the capitalists. But this is exactly what happened. The imperialist war and the treachery of Social-Democracy took the toilers and the working youth unawares.

During the first world war the anti-war movement of the youth did not assume sufficiently broad dimensions, since the

youth which fought against the war represented an insignificant minority even inside the Social-Democratic youth organizations. The fight against the imperialist war was hampered yet by the fact that most of the young opponents of the war were not very clear about the methods and aims of the fight. Only the Russian Bolsheviks realized in good time that unless the proletariat and all the toilers of the various countries stopped fighting one another and joined in a common struggle against the exploiters the imperialist war and war in general could not be stopped in the interests of the toilers. *This meant that the imperialist war had to be turned into a civil war.*

The example of the Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the great October Revolution which established the Soviet power in Russia, gave a powerful impetus to the mass movement of the toilers in all the belligerent countries against the imperialist war and capitalists in their own country. Thus, the October Revolution decidedly hastened the end of the World War.

The October Revolution has laid the foundation upon which the new Third International was created by Lenin with the help of all the parties and groups which, during the war raised the standard of revolutionary internationalism and began the fight against the imperialist war. Out of the unions and groups of the youth whose active work we described above grew the Young Communist International. Thus, a leadership has crystallized itself for the toilers in general and the youth in particular in their struggle against a new imperialist war.

In the coming new world war the young generation will undoubtedly again be in the front ranks of the fighters against the imperialist incendiaries who foment war. And then, the experience of the anti-militarist movement of the youth in the period of 1914-18 will prove very useful.

The conditions of the struggle now will be different and incomparably more difficult. In the course of the past twenty years the ruling classes have learned many a lesson. They have

adopted new methods in the struggle against the labor movement, methods more cunning and more cruel. They are making wide use of the methods of torture, murder, espionage and provocation against the revolutionary workers. They have learned to dupe the toilers with still greater cunning than they did during the first world war. They are abolishing all the elementary rights of the toilers even now in peace time in the same manner as they did during the World War. Fascism with all its horrors is only the preparation of an imperialist rear for an imperialist war.

In its military preparations, the bourgeoisie, as heretofore, is utilizing the active support of the Social-Democratic Parties and the unions of the youth as well as their internationals, the Second International and the Young Socialist International which, in the case of a new war, will again use all their influence on the toilers, young and adults, for the purpose of sending them to the slaughter in defence of the bourgeois fatherland.

However, it is not only the bourgeoisie that has learned a lesson in the course of the past twenty years. The workers, peasants and employees, all the toilers and the exploited have learned too. They now have great experience in illegal struggle against fascism and they possess now what they lacked in 1914, namely, Communist Parties, affiliated to the Comintern, as well as Communist unions of youth affiliated to the Young Communist International, the successors to and the continuers of the cause of Lenin and Liebknecht.

In many countries, the Communists and the young Communists have even in these days given proof of their readiness and ability to fight most heroically against the danger of a new world war. By their work in the army, the Japanese Communists have succeeded in hampering the Japanese imperialists in their annexationist operations in Manchuria and North China. The French Communists and young Communists have fought and are

fighting energetically against the war waged by French imperialism in Morocco. By their anti-fascist struggle carried on unceasingly in spite of the savage terror, the German Communist Party and the Communist youth are creating serious difficulties for German fascism, which is preparing for war. However, the strongest and most reliable bulwark of the toilers of the whole world in their struggle against the imperialist war is the Soviet Union, the tremendous powerful country which fights and never will cease fighting for the cause of peace, the country which by its peace policy, up till now succeeded in delaying the beginning of a new war.

In the future world war two fronts will clash with one another—the front of the imperialist fomenters of war, who more or less openly have adopted fascist methods in relation to the toilers and the front of the toilers who are opposed to imperialism and imperialist wars, the front at the head of which is the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics with a population of 170,000,000. It is the duty of every toiler in the world resolutely, unequivocally and actively to join the international front of the toilers who are opposed to the war. For this purpose one must not wait until the new world war begins. One must fight against this war even before it has begun. This means that it is necessary to expose the secret military preparations of the bourgeoisie, to prevent the transport of arms into the countries where an imperialist war is being carried on now. This means that it is necessary to spread among the youth in the factories and mills, at the employment agencies, in the universities and in the villages and mainly in the barracks the true facts about the future war. Such fearless everyday struggle means preparing for the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, preparing for the establishment of the power of the workers on the ruins of the power of the bourgeoisie, preparing for the establishment of an order where there will be no classes and no wars, namely, the establishment of the socialist order.

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