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THE YOUNG WORKER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

(Formerly "Youth")



SONG OF YOUTH

Revolution's blood red banner
Is the flag neath which we fight;
It's our emblem in the struggle
Up from darkness into Light.

Youth of city, you whose Hammer
Wrought the wonders of this ago,
Cross it with the age-old Sickle.
Farmers—they are also slaves.

Onward march! No time to ponder.
Gather forces as you go.
Youth must take the lead hereafter
For the aged are all too slow.

Onward march! For time is passing
Strike a blow with every step
At the heart of Cap'talism
Till we have the Soviet.

C. Revilo.

The Dawn's in the East

We reprint herewith the report on the First Congress of the Revolutionary Youth of the Far East from the "Correspondence of the Young International". It behooves us to watch the developments in that part of the world after this. Who knows what may take place there. —Ed.

The revolutionary movement in the countries of the Far East is one of the youngest movements of the awakening oppressed peoples of the world. In China and Corea the movement is about 13 years old, while the nationalist movement in Mongolia and the Communist movement in China and Corea have only been started a few years ago. Despite all this, however, the youth is playing, more than anywhere else in the world, a great role in the movement of liberation of the peoples of the East.

The first congress of the revolutionary organisations and Communist Parties of the Far East has been convoked by the Communist International in conscious opposition to the Washington Conference of the imperialist buccaneer states. Half of the delegates were at the same time delegates to the First Conference of the revolutionary youth of the Far East, which was called by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. In close and fraternal collaboration with the adult fighters, the youth of the Far East took part in the Conference of the revolutionary organisations and Communist Parties. It was cooperating there on the basis of the general lines of the struggles against Imperialism in the Far East. The delegates of the youth's organisations had also a seat in the presidium of the conference of the adults and took an active part in the debates.

Immediately after the adjournment of the great conference, the Conference of the youth was opened to discuss three important questions. The participation of the youth in the general struggle, the fulfilment of their special tasks, and their participation in the international movement of the youth.

The revolutionary movement in the Far East is growing rapidly. Not only the Communist Parties and the proletarian elements, but also the oppressed peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia are turning their eyes to the leader of the world revolution, the Communist International, and when the Communist International convoked the Conference, the best and most worthy representatives of this young revolutionary movement travelled all the way to Moscow, in despite of all persecutions and difficulties. An example of the tremendous difficulties encountered, is the story of a delegate from Corea, whose house was raided by the Japanese police, in order to arrest and shoot him as a Communist. He escaped through the chimney, was arrested once more on his way together with two comrades, killed the policeman and walked all the way to Soviet Russia over 800 miles.

As can be gathered from the figures of the credential commission, the majority of the delegates — the most active amongst them — were students and intellectuals. But they are intellectuals who live in the greatest poverty and must earn their daily bread after school hours in printing plants and factories. These students have sacrificed their entire life, their possible career within the bourgeois society, their material well-being which they might have expected, in order to devote themselves to the revolutionary movement, to serve the proletariat. One could compare the sentiment

of the young Chinese intellectual revolutionaries with that of the Russian students in the past decade; that of the Japanese (within the Japanese delegation there were more students than in any other); with those scarce intellectuals, as for instance John Reed, who joined the American revolutionary working class movement, and that of the Corean with the best of the Jewish revolutionaries who have understood that the liberation of their people is only possible through the emancipation of the world proletariat. The Mongolian League resembles most in its work and fighting spirit the Russian League, because it also participates in the government and supplies the soldiers and officers for the revolutionary republican army of the people. The manner in which the Russian League is attempting to solve the questions of cultural education of its members, the campaign against the church and the question of military training and armament, were of the greatest interest for the delegates from Mongolia.

From this can be gathered the lively spirit, the zeal and enthusiasm of the delegates of the first youth Conference of the Far East.

The first session of the Conference was opened on January 30th by a welcome speech of Comrade Shatzkin on behalf of the Young Communist International which was greeted with stormy applause. A real international presidium was unanimously elected composed of the following comrades: Mayakata (Japan), Li-ll-Gu (Corea), Non-Cho-Sju (China), Bujan-Nemechu (Mongolia), Simpson (Java), Li-Tshon-Suk (A Corean delegate of the girls of the Far East), Shueler and Shatzkin (Executive Committee of the Young Communist International). As secretaries of the Conference were elected: Dallin (Far Eastern secretariat of the Y. C. I.), Grodiansky (Russia), and Tsch-Kin (Corea). A hearty welcome to the young guard of the movement of the Far East was the speech of Comrade Bela Kun on behalf of the Communist International.

The secretary of the Russian Young Communist League an ex-sailor of the Baltic fleet, Comrade Smorodin, delivered with his thundering youthful voice a fiery address. Following this the representatives of the four delegations (China, Japan, Corea and Mongolia) addressed greetings to the representatives of the other Leagues and to the Communist youth of Russia and of the whole world.

The agenda was as follows:

1. The Young Communist International and its relationship to the youth movement of the Far East.
2. Reports of the different countries.
3. The tasks of the revolutionary youth movement in the Far East.
4. Manifesto.

Comrade Shueler took the floor as first speaker on the point: The international proletarian youth movement and their cooperation with the movement in the Far East. At the same time detailed written material on the Western youth movement was distributed among the delegates. After the report was unanimously accepted, the following declaration was adopted: "The toiling youth of the Far East enters at its first convention in a close fraternal union with the working youth of the West. We, the young proletarians

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The YOUNG WORKER

(Formerly YOUTH)

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Our League Established

The temporary organization period of the Young Workers League is over. We are now established. The representatives of the largest and most influential leagues all over the country, at a regularly constituted convention, put their stamp of approval on the work that had been done during the preliminary stage of organization. They placed themselves squarely on record for a Revolutionary organization. They wanted a League of Action. They adopted a realistic program, and they determined that it shall not remain a mere ornament.

The new N. E. C. has already begun putting into effect those things which are so essential for the welfare and growth of an organization. An extensive campaign thru open-air meetings in all cities where Leagues exist has been planned. Furthermore, appropriate leaflets will be issued every month for general distribution. Pamphlets are being prepared. Literature of all kinds will be issued. A nation-wide tour by some prominent comrade is being arranged. The educational work will be given special attention.

The "Young Worker" will be issued regularly, and will be made better and more interesting with each issue.

The Y. W. L. of A. is a fact—a fact that becomes larger, stronger, and more effective every day. From now on we must work harder than ever before to make of our League a Mass Movement;

one that can rightfully and truthfully champion and fight for and in the interest of the exploited working class youth of America.

"American Freedom"

Here is another instance of American "freedom" in the public schools. The students in the High Schools of the city of New York, before they can receive their diplomas and be considered as regular graduates, must first sign a pledge that they are and always will be upholders and defenders of the government of the United States as at present constituted. This is "great stuff". Not only do the powers of the capitalist state muzzle the teachers who desire to express opinions of their own; but they also force the young students to sign away their right to independent thinking. Every day brings to the front additional evidence as to the open dictatorship that the master class uses in perpetuating their power. How long will it be before the YOUNG, workers and students, will realize this fact, and organize to abolish, once and for all, a system that binds the workers both physically and mentally?

Child Labor

Once more the master class has the right and privilege of grinding out its millions of dollars from the sweat and blood of the Children. The Supreme Court, at all times a hand-maid of big business, considers it perfectly proper for the capitalists to use children, no matter how young, as objects of exploitation.

To be sure, Child Labor has been going on all the time, but now it becomes quite a proper and righteous matter. While millions of men wander about without means of support for themselves or their families, CHILDREN,—mere infants in many cases—are being taken into the mines, mills, and factories. This is another move of capitalism to push the workers deeper into slavery. Wage reductions, unemployment, the Open Shop—to them has been added Child Labor as another weapon of the employers against the workers.

We must wage a vigorous and intensive campaign, in conjunction with every working class organization, against this latest move. The workers are on the defensive. We, the YOUNG, are the particular victims at this time, but worst of all, it is not only we, but the whole working class that must suffer as a result of this.

Join in the Fight against Child Labor. Rouse the workers, young and old. There are but two roads ahead: Capitalist Slavery or Working Class Freedom.

Are We Trying to Break the Unions?

The question has been raised in various parts of the country as to the policy of the YWL regarding the labor unions. To be sure, our position is stated in unmistakable terms in our Program. The many resolutions pledging support to the organized workers, as adopted at our first national convention likewise confirm this.

The officialdom of the A. F. of L., to be sure, is doing all that it can to make it seem as tho the activity of the revolutionists within the unions is for the purpose of "destroying" the unions. The capitalist class and its hirelings join in this tirade against the "reds", and our good friends in the Socialist Party have in many instances gone to the support of Gompers & Co. as against the militants.

A short time ago we received a letter from our comrades in Coketon, W. Va. that a certain individual there was spreading the rumor that the YWL had broken up a local of the United Mine Workers of America. The following letter to this person abovementioned, makes clear just what the YWL is doing insofar as unions are concerned, and can be considered as a reply to any others who raise the same question, or who try to spread false statements as to our attitude, in this field of work.

My dear sir:

My attention has been called to the fact that you have stated that the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE has disrupted or broken up a local of the United Mine Workers of America in Tunnelton, W. Va. I do not know from what source you derived this information—but let me state that no matter where it originated, it is a falsehood made out of the whole cloth.

I sincerely trust that you, as a worker, would not willingly or knowingly strive to spread misinformation regarding an organization whose sole purpose is to organize and educate the young workers so that they may obtain a better chance to live; so that they, in conjunction with the adult workers will unite into a vast, compact organization that will sweep away the barriers that hold the masses of the people in poverty, ignorance, and disease.

AS A WORKER; AS ONE WHO HELPS TO PRODUCE THE WEALTH OF THE WORLD, you should be fundamentally interested in the movement of the working class. If you belong to the U. M. W. of A., or any other labor union, that in itself is proof of the fact that you realize the importance of organization by the workers themselves to gain better conditions of work, less hours, and

more pay. (If you are not a member of any such organization, then you have no right whatsoever to criticize any action undertaken by our organization for or against the unions—as you, yourself, have not enough understanding and class-consciousness to be a fellow-worker in the struggles of the workers for their betterment.) However, I am proceeding on the assumption that you are a union man.

The official policy of the YWL of A. is to help in building up the labor unions. It urges every one of its members to get into the unions—and **not for the purpose of breaking them up** but rather to make them more militant, more aggressive, more effective weapons in the struggle of the workers against the bosses. The YWL of A. is especially interested in getting the **young** into the unions, for it realizes that they are more mercilessly exploited than the older workers, and that they are less competent to undertake action to better their own conditions. We want to impress upon the adult workers who are already organized in the unions that they must remove all barriers that prevent the young from joining them.

I want you to do a little more thinking and investigating before you make such indiscreet statements regarding the YWL or any other organization.

Your place is in our movement, not outside of it. You should be one of those striving to make the workers conscious of their intolerable position in present day society. You should be fighting shoulder to shoulder with the thousands of other young workers within this organization to bring the message of Solidarity and united action of the workers to the minds of the millions of young wage slaves who as yet are but the means of increasing the exploitation of the entire working class.

Think it over. Think twice. Then act. Line up with the young of your class against the capitalist class. Help in the fight—don't stand by the way-side throwing mud or critisizing.

Trusting that it will not be long before I shall hear that you are working with the Young Workers League, both to build up the unions as well as to educate the young workers, and to prepare them for the abolition of wage-slavery, and the institution in its place of a WORKERS REPUBLIC—where only these who render useful service to society shall have the right to eat, I am,

Yours for Working Class Emancipation,
Sec. Y. W. L. of A.

The Young Worker and the Unions

An Interview with WM. Z. FOSTER

The following interview took place between Harry Gannes, and William Z. Foster, head of the Trade Union Educational League, and editor of the Labor Herald, in the office of the Trade Union Educational League at Chicago. The questions asked and answered reported down verbatim:

QUESTION (By Gannes): What proportion of the young workers in industry are organized in unions of any kind?

ANSWER (By Foster): That is difficult to state. But it is safe to say that it is a very small percentage, outside of the printing trades, the clothing trades, mining industry, and a few others. The young workers are, for practical purposes, entirely unorganized economically.

Q. Have efforts been made in the past, to your knowledge, to organize the youth in those industries in which they are exclusively employed, as for instance: Mail order houses, department stores, certain sections of the stock yards, telegraph companies, etc?

A. Not to speak of. The trade union movement has never had an organized young workers movement. It has had women's movements, and colored workers' sections; but not so far as I know a young workers' movement. Wherever an industry has been organized, like the packing industry for example the young workers were taken in along with the older ones if they reached the age limit set by the organization. But that was a hindrance to their complete organization as many came below the age limit set by the union. Those that fell beneath the age limits were usually neglected altogether, and no manner of appeal made to them educationally or otherwise.

Q. In other words, they were overlooked and left to shift by themselves?

A. Yes, they were. That is the sad part of it.

Q. Have there been any efforts made to educate and instruct the youth of the working class along trade union lines. I mean have there been any campaigns carried on, either by the unions or any other organizations, designed to awaken to working class youth to the need for economic organization?

A. Very little, if any. One of the weakest spots in the whole trade union program of this country is the fact that the education of the children of the workers has been abandoned completely to the capitalist class and its schools, newspapers, theaters and the other contraptions under its control. The trade unions, as such, have made little or no effort to

counteract the baneful effect and injuries of these sinister influences.

In most of the international journals there are sections devoted to the women, which, by the way are mostly made up of essays on fashions, but in dealing with the actual education of the children of the working class—that is virtually unknown, save among the clothing trades.

Q. What do you think of the Economic, or Industrial program of the Young Workers League of America as expressed in the Tentative Manifesto and Program; that is, what can you say as to its practicality and the results it may produce?

A. I think it is based upon correct principles. The general effect of it will be to rouse the young workers among the masses and to make practical battlers of them for the revolution. They will be able to put these ideas into practice. The very contact which they have with the masses will tend to clarify their program, to strip it of all impractical idealism and reduce it to concrete and practical realism.

Q. Should the Young Workers League of America concentrate its efforts on trade union or union work?

A. If it doesn't concentrate its efforts on trade union work, it should, at least, put the trade union proposition in a very important position, on its list of vital subjects, because one of the very first lessons that must be taught the workers as they enter industry is that they must belong to an economic organization and become active in it.

THE HOPE OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT IS THE YOUNG WORKERS. They are the most responsive to new ideas which must be applied as the result of the changing conditions in industry. No work is more important for the trade union movement than the education of its younger members.

Q. In what manner can the Young Workers League carry on its union work? Can you give us some practical pointers in this direction? We have some members within our organization who have had a lot of experience within the unions, but as an organization we are new but earnest in our endeavor to do constructive work in the unions.

A. Wherever the apprenticeship restrictions, or age limits do not prevent them, let your members get right into the unions; they should by all means belong to the economic organizations of the working class and function much in the same manner as the

older militants within the unions. But even where they are barred for one reason, or another, they can take an active part in the movement addressing meetings, writing for the union journals, visiting union meetings and circulating radical literature, speaking at strike demonstrations, and in a hundred other ways.

Q. Many of our members have expressed satisfaction with the work that is being carried on by the Trade Union Education League; some there are who urge that we endorse the League as an organization. Do you think that the Young Workers League of America should endorse the Trade Union Educational League?

A. Yes, I think so. The League is carrying on a wide-spread agitation among the unions at this time. It has incurred the wrath and most violent opposition on the part of the old reactionaries. You have noticed the recent attacks on the Trade Union Educational League and on myself that appeared in the capitalist press, and the Gompers episode wherein he bitterly scored the League's activities. This should be the signal for every radical and progressive organization to get behind it and give it their united support. Merely to mouth the ideal, or to uphold the program of working in the trade unions is not enough. The young workers should be told definitely that their place is in the ranks of the Trade Union Educational League, as union members — the principal organization carrying on that kind of activity in this country.

Q. You know that a large number of our members are already in the Trade Union Educational League, and that we count within our small numbers several union officials. Chicago leads in this work?

A. I am glad to hear that.

Q. What would you advise as practical steps to make one an efficient worker in the trade unions?

A. This can only be done by the young workers carrying on the drudgery and work of the movement. In times of stress and strike, they must be the leaders, the ones who run the risk of jail or worse. In every critical period of the organization, when the big questions come sharply before the movement, during wage disputes and at other stirring times, the young worker must be on the job, point out to the masses the meaning of the various forces at play. If the young worker is known as conscientious in his organization, it matters little how radical his program may be; it will receive a sympathetic hearing from the mass.

Besides this necessary every-day work, the young workers should thoroughly familiarize himself with the constitution, rules and customs of the labor movement so that in battling the reactionaries

he will be able to use to advantage his knowledge of the constitutions and regulations of those bodies.

I will tell you why this is important. One of the most serious failings on the part of the radicals and with conservative labor in the past is that they have had nothing but contempt for the constitution and other regulations of the unions with the result that the reactionaries have been able, in the name of discipline and law, to turn the masses against the radicals in a crisis.

The young worker should make it his definite goal to reach the strategic positions in the labor movement. There is where the thinking of the organizations is done; there is where its policies are controlled, and that is the point where every rebel should aim to occupy.

In ninety per cent of the unions of the United States, it is safe to say that the positions of secretary, president and so forth, that is, those that are unpaid, are going begging for men to fill them. The worker who shows any initiative whatsoever in the mass organizations will immediately acquire a large following, and will secure a ready hearing for his program. The young workers should jump into those openings and pave the way for proper action.

Q. Which do you consider the most important for the young worker, revolutionary theory or practice?

A. It is difficult to say which is the most important. Both are vital. Hitherto, the greatest stress has been laid upon the theoretical aspects of the movement. But since the advent of the Russian Revolution, the question of practical application of theories is receiving more and more attention.

In my judgement, a revolutionist who is only a theoretician is of very little value. The thing that makes him really a factor — the one who really counts is the theoretician who has practical experience, and who daily puts his theories into use in the mass struggle. On the other hand, the practical worker in the movement who has no theoretical foundation for his activity is almost as bad off as the theoretician who has no practical experience in the class struggle, the real fight as it wages from day to day.

The ideal type of revolutionist, in my estimation, is the one who has a clear understanding of the class struggle and all the forces behind it, and at the same time possesses a practical understanding of the actual working of the mass labor movement.

Q. That, I think, is endeavored to be expressed in our motto: **Clarity and Action**. I think we are working in that direction. At least that is what I think the Young Workers League has in mind.

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Our First National Convention

By O. CARLSON

Well, comrades, it's history now. Our first national convention is a thing of the past. However, that doesn't mean that we are to forget about it. Quite to the contrary. It means the inauguration of a new era in the development of our young peoples movement,—and era of intensive work in creating a mighty mass movement of the revolutionary working class youth. Our organization is still very young as a Young Workers League, but within our ranks are to be found all of the ablest and best elements that were in the Young People's Socialist League in the days of 1917—18—19. These comrades have behind them a fund of experience, and this they have and will utilize in building up the Y. W. L. We have learned from the mistakes of former days, and will not repeat them again. The whole tenor of the Young Workers League Convention showed that, with few exceptions, the delegates present had come to the convention for constructive work, determined to weld together into a solid, compact organization all of the revolutionary youth organizations that had answered the convention call.

To be sure, the convention was scheduled to begin at 1 o'clock Saturday afternoon, May 13th. The usual delays took place, so it was 4.30 P. M. before the convention was officially convened by comrade O. Carlson, the secretary for the National Organization Committee. He briefly outlined the development of the movement up to the time of the convention, and pointed out a few of the major problems confronting the assembled delegation.

Temporary convention rules and order of business which had been prepared by the N. O. C. were read to the convention. Following this came the reading of greetings to the convention from various organizations.

It seems as tho the importance of a young peoples movement in this country is realized as well by the revolutionary youth in other parts of the world, for a communication had been received from the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International greeting our first national convention and wishing us every success in our work. The communication follows:

"Moscow, March 23, 1922.

"To the Central Committee of the Young Workers' League of America:

"We have received the material regarding your League and have studied it with closest attention.

We understand from this the powerful development in the movement of young workers in the United States, and the great activities carried on by the young socialist revolutionists who are guiding this movement.

"We shall gladly comply with your wishes to institute a regular correspondence thru which we shall be mutually informed, and shall in the future give you the desired information regarding various questions.

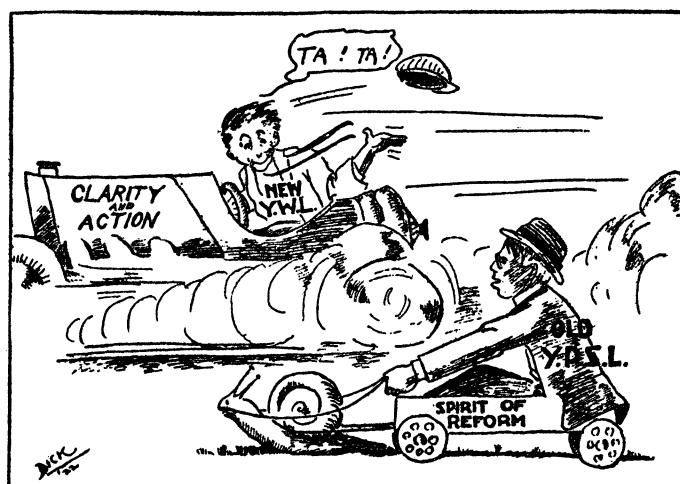
"In the name of the revolutionary young workers' movement of Europe and of other parts of the world who have banded together in the ranks of our organization, the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International enthusiastically greets the first convention of the socialist working youth of America which is laying the foundation of a new epoch in the history of the working youth.

"We assure you of the heartiest active interest and greatest attention of all our young comrades in other countries who are watching with the greatest intension the struggle of their brothers in the citadel of capitalism.

"We hope to hear more from you soon and especially to receive the reports of your national convention. We, in turn, shall furnish you the desired material in the near future.

"With International Youth Greetings,
E. C. of the Y. C. I. (Signed)
Otto Ungar."

The letter was received with great enthusiasm and prolonged applause by the delegates, who thus showed they really look to that organization as the



The New Takes the Place of the Old

leader and inspirer of the working class youth in its struggle to overthrow capitalism.

There were thirty uncontested regular delegates, and five fraternal delegates. Besides this there were 16 contested delegates, representing 7 city organizations of the YWL and one branch of the IYPSL.

Chicago had come with a delegation of five, and mighty fine representation, which showed that the comrades there were fully aware of the importance of the convention, and were determined to fight for the principles and tactics which they considered essential for the building up the Y. W. L. Philadelphia, one of the strongest Leagues, tho but recently organized, had four regular delegates. New York city had a contested delegation, but was finally allowed eight delegates. Representatives were also present from the Y. W. L.s of Reading, Pa.; Pittsburg, Pa.; Patterson, N. J.; Washington, D. C.; Minneapolis, Minn.; Boston, Mass.; Cleveland, Ohio; Gardner, Mass.; Coketon, W. Va.; Syracuse, N. Y.; Newark, N. J.; Providence, R. I.; Worcester, Mass.; the Marxian Educational League of Milwaukee, Wis.; the Labor Educational Society of Newark, N. J.; the I. Y. P. S. Ls of Rochester, N. Y.; Cicero, Ill.; Trenton, N. J.; Paterson, N. J.; Newark, N. J.; and Elizabeth, N. J.

The fraternal delegates were H. Davis from the State organization of the IYPSL of N. J.; D. Zeldon and A. Malino of the Workers Self Educational Center of New York City; B. Lipshitz of the United Toilers of America; and C. E. Ruthenberg of the Workers Party of America.

The greetings by the fraternal delegates was next on the order of business, following the election of comrade Martin Abern of Minneapolis as temporary chairman and George Oswald of Chicago as temporary secretary.

Comrade Lipshitz of the United Toilers urged the YWL to remain completely independent from any revolutionary political party, and then launched into an attack upon the Workers Party claiming that it was being dominated by centrists and opportunists, and could in no way be considered better than the Socialist Party.

The representative for the Workers Party, comrade C. E. Ruthenberg, who had just been released from prison after serving more than two years because of his Communist activities, received a mighty ovation from the convention as he took the platform. His speech was a masterly one. He told how the real work of creating a Communist Society really rested upon the younger generation, for, their task was to BUILD the new society, and that was a far more difficult task than to over-

throw capitalism. He showed how necessary it was to have close cooperation and unity between the revolutionary youth and the adult workers organization, and urged the convention to place itself under the political directives of the Workers Party of America.

The matter of the contested delegates was then considered, and by an overwhelming vote, the majority report of the credentials committee was upheld and the contested delegates whom they recommended be seated were made regular delegates at the convention. The report of the minority was very obviously a biased one, as it questioned the existence of Leagues such as those in Camden, St. Louis, and other places altho plenty of correspondence was offered to substantiate their existence.

Delegates representing the YWLs of Camden, N. J.; St. Louis, Mo.; Superior, Wis.; Waukegan, Ill.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Detroit, Mich.; and New York City; and the IYPSL of St. Louis, Mo. were seated.

When these matters had been disposed of—which took till the afternoon session on Sunday—the various committees were elected to prepare drafts for Manifesto and Program, Constitution, Resolutions, and Organization Promotion. Following this a report as to the activities of the National Organization Committee was given by comrade Carlson, which was accepted.

The last days session was devoted to considering the reports of the committees. The reporter for the committee on Manifesto and Program stated that the tentative draft that had been prepared by the N. O. C. and published in the March-April issue of the Young Worker had been accepted by the majority with but few changes. A minority report was given, which accepted the majority with the exception of three sections. The part most strenuously objected to by the minority was the section relating to our position to the Workers Party, which they desired to be stricken out, and to substitute in its place a clause proclaiming the absolute independence of the YWL from any Party, but stating that they would "support" all organizations claiming to adhere to the principles of the Third International. The Majority report was accepted.

A resolution on the relationship between the YWL and the WP was then introduced and carried. (This resolution appears in another part of the magazine.)

The Constitution that was accepted recognizes the principle of democratic centralization of authority. The National Executive Committee, elected at the convention, is the supreme body between con-

Who's "Red" -- and Why?

By MARTIN ABERN

"The American worker is not class-conscious; he's hopeless; the foreign worker is the one who understands that he is a wage-slave and why he is one". Such remarks, or similar ones, have no doubt been heard by many. And the "radical" or "revolutionist" who utters these words feels that he has said all there is to be said on the subject, and he is discouraged and hopeless over the future of the workers. "The American workers will never wake up, anyhow, so what is the use of wasting our energy?" And discouraged by the apathy of the American workers, many of these "revolutionists," leave the revolutionary movement, and thereafter content themselves with criticism of the movement, what ever be its value, or with an "I told you so" attitude.

Now let us grant, for argument's sake, that the European worker is class-conscious and that the American worker is capitalistically minded. Like in many other things, there is truth in the statement, yet it is not entirely true. If the American worker is not conscious of his class interests, it is not sufficient merely to say so, but it is necessary to know why this is so. To declare that "he won't wake up", is to say, virtually, that the American worker is so differently constituted that under political, economic, social, etc. factors similar to those of the European workers, he will not react towards them in a manner indentical with the foreign workers. Certainly such a belief would appear as ridiculous and puerile to the merest tyro in social theories. So let us dismiss that proposition from our discussion.

We must view conditions and ideas historically and objectively. We cannot separate a particular phenomenon from those that surround and effect it and then fancy that we can understand that phenomenon correctly. We must proceed from a certain set of facts, correlate them properly to arrive at a sound conclusion.

Is not the American worker class conscious and if not, is there no hope that he will become so? And if the foreign workers are class conscious, why are they so?

In the American Revolutionary wars of 1776 and 1812, the American bourgeoisie class freed itself from the British ruling class, and in particular, from the British commercial and trading land owning interests. And freed from interference by the

British land-owning and trading class, the rising American bourgeoisie started out on the road of developing American capitalism and establishing firm political and economic power for themselves. Unlike the bourgeoisie of the European countries, the American commercial interests did not have to engage in a struggle for power with a feudal ruling class. Easily overcoming the Indians, with the aid, before American independence was obtained, of European powers, and, of course, the small working class colonists, the American bourgeoisie could set themselves to the task of developing and exploiting the vast virgin natural resources of America. But wage-labor was, comparatively, scarce. Hence, the worker could demand a high wage, relatively. Moreover, lands were wide and many. Where there is plentiful free land to be exploited, the worker can not be gotten so easily to work for another for wages. Rather, he goes "back to the land" himself. And so with these lands and the natural resources upon and within them fairly begging to be used, the workers were at first "independent". There was, in a sense, equality of economic opportunity for all. This was the period when the developing bourgeoisie required that individual enterprise and initiative. And despite the fact that the constitution so cleverly framed, by the "fathers of our country", that it meant a continual concentration of the wealth, land, and resources into fewer and fewer hands, and that, actually, it handed over political power firmly into the hands of the capitalist class, still the economic conditions of the time resulted in the workers receiving some semblance of civil and political rights. In that way arose that American "spirit of independence", "every man has an equal chance in this country" and those other perfumed nostrums. The psychology of the oppressed was not very strong, if there was any at all, in the American worker. These men had come "to God's country", to "freedom's country" from monachically ruled Europe. In this "land of golden opportunity", could a class consciousness among the workers prevail? Not very strongly at that time.

Now let us take the European worker immigrating to America in recent years. Why does he think differently, comparatively, from the native wage-slave? And is he, therefore, to be accepted as the thinking worker and the American as the eternal ninny? When the foreign worker comes to these

shores, he comes with an inheritance. For hundreds of years back, the class conflict idea has been strongly ingrained in him. This struggle has been real, cruel, tyrannical. From the days of slavery, the hundreds of years of feudal enslavement, and then the deadly system of capitalism, the European worker has felt the lash, the club, the bullet, the scourge of poverty, an ever-increasing misery. One does not have to tell him that there is a class struggle; he has felt its stings and torments too keenly for that. Power for the working class is his aim. And when he comes to America, he retains his class-consciousness. He is not easily fooled by the sham forms of democracy. He can not help but think in terms of the class struggle, of an exploited worker. And because circumstances—his terrible struggles for hundreds of years—have made him understand and to think unlike the American worker who has lived for years under other political and economic conditions, does he deserve any special commendation therefore and the American worker, on the contrary, derision and contempt? No to both. As before, the proper answer or question is not: he is, but why is he?

As the political, economic and social conditions change, a corresponding change in the mental processes or ways of thinking will result in the America worker. After the Civil War, American capitalism developed at an enormous rate. Means of transportation and communication increased swiftly. Railroads spread themselves everywhere, the telegraph made communication simple. Iron ore production jumped tremendously. Steel and iron were needed in ever greater quantities. Inventions in all lines of production came about. Lands were no longer as free to the mass of the population as in former years. Their's was coming to be plainly the lot of the wage-slave. And with this change in economic circumstances, there was something of a change in the American workers. The formation of the Knights of Labor is an indication of the changing thought in the American worker. He began to feel the need of organization. And crude tho the conception of organization was, that he had, still, it was encouraging. Men develop with conditions, not ahead of them. And old ideologies are not destroyed at once, even tho the economic and political factors producing those ideas in the past, have been destroyed. Some rubbish yet manages to cling after the garbage can has been emptied. In this wise, could we show the steady development of the consciousness of the American worker in the various periods of capitalist development. But that would take too long and is unnecessary for our purpose.

Let us just now briefly view the World War, the

epoch of imperialism and with it the rise of America to one of the greatest, if not the greatest, imperialist power in the world. Has the American worker learned anything thereby? Yes, tho during the war, he failed miserably again. The press jingoism was too strong for him—yet. He retained the illusions of democracy—yet. This was still the "land of freedom". Ideas drilled into him so many years back, ideas which no longer fitted the clothes of American capitalism, clung to him. The past weighs heavily upon all.

But the needs of imperialism compel it to strip from its back even those cheap colored clothes spotted with perfume, which give imperialism, to the worker, the "odor of sanctity". Imperialist capitalism strips bare. The veils of "democracy" are tossed aside one by one. This painted beauty is now revealed in all her ugliness and dripping sore spots. The poisons were seeping thru the clothes all the while. Her foulness becoming obvious, she no longer makes pretenses as to beauty and cleanliness. Snarling, this naked beast, capitalism, now strikes out openly at those worshippers, the workers, who would now destroy this shattered idol... Conscription, "work or fight", criminal syndicalism and espionage laws, the destruction of virtually all "civil rights". So this is "democracy"! Glad to know what you are. Charmed to be rid of you..... Unemployment, open shop, longer hours, starvation wages, use of the soldiers, gunmen and thugs against striking workers, anti-strike laws and Industrial arbitration laws—so this is what we "fought the war for democracy" for!—well, well, a little warring for ourselves might not be out of place now. Thank you for the lesson you taught us.

The reaction to all of that is taking place in the minds of the American worker. Inarticulate quite often, not exactly sure of what is needed, groping here and there, stumbling, but nevertheless going forward, the American worker, is sometimes slowly, sometimes swiftly, learning that there is a class struggle. And he is learning in the daily battles how best to fight and whom to fight. Capitalism and the capitalist state, he is finding out, are his enemies. These must be overcome if hell is not to be his eternal working place. The European workers learned the lessons from experiences, from daily struggle. And the American worker is doing likewise. He learns no less swiftly than the foreign worker. The foreign worker had hundreds of years start on him, but the intense exploitation and oppression of American capitalism results in the American worker making some rapid jumps and runs.

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Awake, Young Workers!

By I. GINSBERG

The idea of organization among the proletarian youth has taken firm hold in many districts of the Workers Party of America. It is one of the most important undertakings in the program of that party.

The laboring youth have evinced the desire to organize in preparation for the conflict which is slowly but surely coming—the battle for the emancipation of the toilers of the world. They realize the great work of the future. They know that the heavy burden of responsibility will be placed upon their shoulders when the old fighters have passed. As true sons and daughters of the proletariat they are flocking to the colors and into our ranks. The shining light of freedom has found its way into their lives. The great hope for emancipation is rising; and the dream of the toiler is soon to be realized.

The realization of capitalist oppression has dawned upon these young workers with full force and the fire of rebellion is raging fiercely in their young breasts. They know what are the aims and strivings of the vassals of Mammon, and they bring about the accomplishment of their aims. They realize that they have been the human tools of these bloodsuckers, who enjoy their luxury and comfort at the expense of the dwarfed bodies of the young.

The capitalist is the mortal enemy of the proletarian youth. He has darkened the rightful brightness of their lives. He has sapped their vitality and cast them into hovels of vice and disease. He has taken from them the greatest blessing of nature—FREEDOM. He has gained his glittering gold over their wearied flesh and blood.

But wrong cannot exist forever. Injustice and the perpetrators of it come to the usual end. Too long have the toilers of the world been under the yoke of tyranny! Too long have they been chained to the post of slavery! The time for action has come. The working class youth must organize into an impregnable army of fighters to break the might and oppression of their common enemy.

Youth of the Proletariat Awake!

Awake and strike the great and final blow in the cause of freedom. Think of the wrongs you have suffered. Think of the liberty, so sweet and

rare. Think of the comrades who have sacrificed their blood and lives in the cause of liberty and the countless thousands who have proven themselves martyrs to our ideal. The struggle is growing greater. The future is full of hope and holds many advantages. The capitalist system has been considerably shaken up as a result of the proletarian victory in Russia. It has done everything possible to crush the Soviet government. It has brought to bear against our comrades every weapon of destruction—even hunger, starvation, which has caused disease, death and brought unimaginable suffering. But the spirit of the proletariat, once aroused, can never be broken, and all their dastardly activities are to no avail.

The youth of America must follow the noble-spirit of their Russian comrades, whose heroism and devotion have been such great factors in their success. We in America cannot imagine the privations of our Russian compatriots, but we do know how sublime and heroic has been their stand. Let us imbibe their spirit. Let us give ourselves over to our work as they have done to theirs.

We must draw all of the working youth into our ranks. We must teach and train them. We must lead them from the darkness into the light. All our efforts, at present, must be in their behalf. We must take them from the clutches of capitalist education and place before their eyes the real literature and knowledge, which they need so greatly.

A great task lies before us. A solemn duty calls us. We must not fail to do our part as true sons and daughters of the revolution.

Youth of the Proletariat, Awake!

Awake to the realization of your dreams. Arouse the spirit of freedom in your hearts; and struggle onward, onward to the great goal, onward to the rising light that is casting its rays over the earth.

Hail to the Revolution!

Young Workers of the World, Unite!

**On to a Mass Movement of
Young Workers!!**

On the Road

By A. THORNE

The freight rocked from side to side and rolled along at a moderate speed. The engine puffed, with deceiving exertion emitting a thick volume of smoke. The cars ceaselessly grunted against each other, disturbing the quiet of a long stretch of farming country.

The sun, blushing with its days worn, was bidding farewell, to a clear spotless sky. Even the black heavy line of smoke that trailed along in an unbroken line failed to mar its crystal splendor.

I inhaled deeply the green joy that spread on either side of me, as I lay out-stretched on the top of one of the cars, my eyes roaming hungrily over unaccustomed scenery. My thoughts drifted back a few days, back to New York; back to the shop, to the hungry roaring machines, back to the emery dust filled air.

I watched the tiny trim farm-houses as they appeared and drifted by, and thought of the towering sky-scrappers that defied the sun to peep into the dismal streets. I looked at the cool, endless shroud of green, that sparkled in the rays of the setting sun, and pictured the hot, burning cement walks of the city.

I felt quite satisfied with the change. Prospects were bright. The price of a few more meals jingled merrily in my pocket. I suffered a pang of conscience when I thought of how I acquired this money. I had lowered myself in my own estimation, as a hobo. I violated one of the dearest principles of the creed—I had gone to work.

It had been in the morning of that very day, while in Rochester, that I had decided to look for a job. I was influenced to take this step by the fact that I lacked the price of a meal. And not being trained as yet in the art of "panhandling". I was forced to look for a master. Accordingly I directed my footsteps to the "slave-market." I was, to my infinite disgust, immediately offered a job. It was only the vision of a meal that induced me to take it.

A half hour later I found myself in the office of a two-by-four shop, being cross-examined by a middle-aged two-by-four man. My character I assured him was stainless, my ability unquestionable, and my desire for work unequaled. I proved to be satisfactory.

The dark, airless factory was too much for my developed love for the open. I decided to take the risk of shattering forever my boss's faith in human

nature by asking for my pay before the day was over.

I breathed freely again, when, enriched by a few dollars, I marched out of the shop, the alluring vision of a meal hurrying me towards a restaurant.

My stomach re-enforced I felt very complacent as I made my way through the crowded streets. I whistled a merry tune as I strode along disdainful of the jostling pedestrians that hurried by. The shrill whistle of an engine brought to my attention the fact that I was close to the railroad track. The whistle was a call for me to hasten on. I caught the train as she was pulling out of the yard. Her destination did not matter. So long as I was out in the open again I was satisfied.

It was growing dark. Lulled by the peace of the glorious evening, I fell into a light slumber.

When I awoke I found the moon, big and round, coldly staring at me. I was chilled. The warm caress of the evening breeze had turned into a cold lashing wind. I crawled down to escape its pitiless sting and clung, shivering, between two cars.

I was still half asleep; my only thought was a place where I could stretch my limbs and be protected from the cold midnight air. The train slowed down. Desolate silent cottages appeared, signalling the approach of a city. I was about to leave the freight and seek shelter for the rest of the night, when a loud commanding voice shouted, almost in my ear, "Come on get off! YOU".

It was impossible to get away. A railroad detective was next to me, holding a gun menacingly in his hand. I jumped off, his eyes screwed fast upon me. A short stocky fellow approached, greeted the detective and meaningly winked at me; (he later proved to be the constable of the town.) The railroad "bull" neared me and searched for a gun, but only found a note-book. He looked through it, finally pouncing on my wobbly card. "An I. W. W." He exultantly communicated to his partner, evidently overjoyed at the lucky catch. My calmness began to desert me. I realized the ordeal before me. The gun in his hand became steadier, more menacing, as he ordered me to march ahead.

I was taken to a switchman's shanty. The two "bulls" and myself filled it to capacity. The detective calmly lighted a lantern and set it on the floor. He stared heavily at me for a few minutes, his eyes boring through my face. "So you are an I. W. W."

he finally hissed. I did not answer. My silence infuriated him. "You answer when I talk to you;" He shouted, striking me full in the face. I did not resist. "Before we get through with you, you are going to tell us where all the bombs are that you fellows were sending through the mail". He threateningly sneered.

His certainty that I knew the source of the bombs was bewildering, and his determination to extract the information from me was unabatable. Perhaps he visualized the glory and fame that would fall to his lot, could he but lay his hands upon the culprits. And in me he might have seen the key to wealth and immortal fame. Would I have been as inclined to philosophizing than as I am now when I write these lines, I might have smiled with disdain at his ignorance and pitied him for his vain exertion. But, to be sure, I was far from philosophy at that time. The blows that followed each other with clock like regularity made my head swim. Through the mist I only knew the ceaseless repetition, the mechanical rhythm of the crashing blows, and whenever a break occurred, I wondered expectantly.

The blows ceased. The detective, disheartened by his failure to extract a "confession" from me, told the constable to take me to the station-house.

A while later I was locked in a cell. A couple of large rats shyly greeted me as I entered and silently skidded away. I was the only human occupant. The rest of the cells were empty. An unbearably foul odor filled the air, but I was too tired to be annoyed by it. Sleep was uppermost in my mind; the rest was a misty, uncertain background. The prospect of sleeping on a bare iron cot; a ragged, stinking blanket, serving as blanket and pillow combined, was far from pleasant. But I was too exhausted to mind even that. I sank down and immediately fell into a restless slumber, punctuated by horrible nightmares.

The click of the key in the door of my cell awoke me early next morning. I was taken to court. I pleaded guilty. The judge eyed me curiously. The facts of the case at his disposal. He proceeded to lecture on the virtues of 100 per cent Americanism. But that wasn't all, for he evidently lacked faith in the strength of his arguments to turn me back to the path of righteousness. After finishing his ponderous speech, he kindly offered me ninety days in the reformatory, where I could pray for forgiveness of my sins, and come out redeemed, fully convinced of the everlasting vitality of the existing institutions.

It was unkind of me perhaps, not to have felt gratified for such generosity. But the thought of the night just passed in a hell-hole, made ninety nights and days seem an eternity.

I was handcuffed to a deputy who was instructed to deliver me to the county penitentiary, located about twenty miles away. An old ford served as the vehicle for my transportation. The deputy took advantage of the trip to load his entire family into the car for a joy ride.

Wild hopes of escape came and died before they matured. The machine rattled along the highway, getting ever nearer to the penitentiary. Hope completely died when the car came to a stop in front of the massive structure. I was led into the office, and rechristened C-12. I was then turned over to a guard, who unlocked the Iron gate, and closed it upon me for ninety days.

Who's "Red" -- and Why?

(Continued from Page 10)

So it seems that there is no need of lamentation and discouragement. The foreign and American worker are the same—exploited workers. And if the foreign worker knows that he is so, the American worker is coming rapidly to know that he is also. Time will make the American working class revolutionary in thought, desires and action. Meanwhile, away with the easily discouraged "radicals" and "revolutionists". As well as we can, let us be on to the task of educating and organizing the workers. The road thru hell, thru capitalism, is hard, but we must pass thru it if we would get to the bonny fields of communism. Slow tho it be, yet ours is the task.



"By the Dawn's Early Light"

Brains, Brawn and Bone-Heads

By ERNEST TODD

I didn't know there was such a stupid intellect in existence, as that which Mr. Wayne C. Williams seems to possess, until I read his article, "Abraham Lincoln and Nicolai Lenine—a Contrast", which appeared in the March number of "Current Opinion"; I didn't know that a person's brain could become so petrified, the machinery of which is a delicately organized composition of effervescent matter, until this antiquated mummy of 19th century psychology thrust itself into the arena of political economy and flaunted it, like a brazen toreador, before the eyes of a gaping public. I might be naive in declaring my astonishment at such a mental phenomenon, rude and intolerant to the point of seeming unkind; yet any civilized person who can brag about the deeds of labor's dead heroes and erect huge statues in honor of them, yet condemn, lambast, ridicule and persecute its living emancipators, seems to be a victim of auto-hypnosis—a state of mental-bankruptcy into which the bourgeoisie sometimes sinks when suddenly confronted with the temptation to tell the truth. This is what Mr. Wayne C. Williams seems to have done—declared mental-bankruptcy, for the convenience of argument, and knocked his intellect down to "Current Opinion", the highest bidder (?), for a few dollars.

What he should have said was not that Abraham Lincoln and Nicolai Lenine are two different types. Each of us, even the least pupil, is earnestly aware of that. Behold their portraits everywhere! He should have said:

"These two individuals act and talk very much alike, regardless of differences in terminology, of years that divide them. One symbolizes the emancipation of the chattel-slave, which stunk and tilled the soil of the South; the other symbolizes the emancipation of the modern wage-slave, which prays and goes to church on Sunday. If I admit the similarity of their intentions, I may not win the applause of those of my friends and gentle readers who live on the backs of labor. They do not wish to see themselves deprived of the Christian right of shearing labor of the soft surplus of its fleece. I must therefore strive to prove that Lenine and Abe, although very much alike, are as different in political aspect as America's William Jennings Bryan and England's Princess Mary."

This, at any rate, would have caused us to ex-

claim, "Dam! he's honest anyway, if he is a bone-head!"

But he asks us to believe that Lincoln abolished human slavery, both political and economic, and led a nation through civil war, reuniting the two sections and preserving to posterity a republic that spans the continent; while Nicolai Lenine contemplates abolishing only wage-slavery, both political and economic, wishing to lead the human race, regardless of nationality, out of the shambles of capitalist greed and war, reuniting all sections and preserving to posterity a republic that will encircle the globe—a simile with which I am perfectly willing to agree, providing I am not asked to praise Lincoln, the nigger's great emancipator, and condemn Lenine, the world's great labor-leader. I must render unto Lincoln that which is Lincoln's, unto Lenine that which is Lenine's. I must say: To you who led the negro out of slavery, belongs the past; to you who leads the modern wage-worker out of wage-slavery, belongs the future. Of the two great emancipators, Nicolai Lenine is heralded, the world over, as the foremost spokesman of an international proletariat which, operating the machinery of the earth, is becoming impatient with capital's missmanagement of affairs, to the extent of declaring a revolution; Abraham Lincoln is known to have successfully championed the liberation of the chattel-slave, whose labor came into competition with the free wage-labor of the North. Hence there is little doubt that society owes more to the memory of an historical figure whose philosophy embraces the hopes of a world of people, such as that of Lenine's, than it owes to the memory of an historical figure whose philosophy embraced the hopes of freedom of a slave-class of one Nation.

The substance of Mr. William's article is, then: Abraham Lincoln was a good man, Nicolai Lenine is a rascal—a supposition with which I can't agree, despite the fate that I was born in America and possess an excellent discharge from the United States Marine Corps. He impresses me as being a fellow-writer who caters to compromise and prevarication—an intellectual prostitute, by the gods! a capitalist medicine-man!

Now I have never pretended to be above reproach, neither in my speech nor in my conduct; yet, if I am in need of food and clothing, and find

myself unfitted for anything but writing, I will pawn my labor-power in the marts of commerce, in competition with my fellow wage-workers, but I will not sell my ideals of freedom and justice to the oppressors of the poor. This, Mr. Williams, is what you seem to have done—sold, like Judas Iscariot, the noble ideals of Abraham Lincoln to the enemies of a persecuted proletariat. In other words, you would have the bright rays of Lincoln's memory eclipse the brilliant rays of Lenin's presence, which shines as gloriously upon the bowed heads of modern labor as that sun of the 19th century which lighted the pathway to political freedom of a comparative small percentage of the oppressed populace of the earth.

You say democracy and bolshevism cannot fuse, which looks quite plausible on paper. Yet the abstract theory of democracy and bolshevism are identical. The former stands for equality; the latter stands for the majority. The only enmity between these two principals is that of private property, in a political democracy, as opposed to public property, in a bolshevist republic.

That you call Lenin's Government a class government of autocracy, matters little to me, so long as that minority doesn't compromise the economic interests of the majority with a clique of hereditary profiteers whose spurs gouge the sides of labor. That the masses seldom champion their own interests, is proven every four years, in this country, where they vote a capitalist democrat out and a republican capitalist in, instead of subscribing to an economic platform of their own. The proletarian majority rules at the poles, but the capitalist minority rules both in the seat of government and in the saddle of industry. Thus a political majority institutes the dictatorship of the bourgeois, which is a class autocracy.

To conclude, it may seem odd that the Russian Revolution didn't spare the intellectual defenders of bourgeois reaction—Kerensky's orchestra of orators; yet there is charity in the fact that Marx advised them, years before, of the worthlessness of that philosophy of private property which opposed the proletarian culture of industrial equality. Consistency demanded that, admitting the theories of evolution in biology, technology, chemistry and invention they should have beheld the same evidences of progress at work in sociology—a feature that should have saved some the pitiable embarrassment of selling shoe-strings in the streets, by affording them an opportunity of becoming useful members of the community.

The Young Workers and the Unions

(Continued from Page 6)

A. A motto is not enough. Every young worker should try to make of himself such a type of revolutionist. He should read deeply the standard, revolutionary, scientific and economic works, and then plunge headlong into the actual mass struggle of the workers.

Q. You know that our educational program is based on the idea of "education through active participation in the class struggle," and is written with a view of bringing our members into the actual struggle of the workers?

A. That slogan, of course, carries the essence of the real, working class educational program. But in carrying on the every day struggle, it must not be forgotten that we have to read and understand substantial works. This reading should not be confined to economics as is too often the case, but should include the widest possible range of science. No worker, no matter how well grounded he may be in economics, can really understand society unless he has some acquaintance with the principles of historical materialism, psychology, and especially should he make an effort to master the general principles of evolution, biological and sociological.

Q. Now, I am going to ask you the closing question. Can the labor movement effectively carry on its struggle against the capitalist class by neglecting the working class youth, or failing to take it into account in its organizations political and economical?

A. In my judgment, the education of the youth is one of the supreme necessities of the labor movement. The capitalist class realizes this fact, and spares no effort to poison the minds of the young people in the schools and elsewhere. We may rest assured that if we don't win the young workers to our side, capitalism will win them over to its side and make of them facists and strike breakers.

The young workers, if left to the mercies of capitalism, will be the mainstay of the reaction, but if taken in hand and educated and organized by the labor movement, will be the vanguard of the revolution.

Freedom

*I have tasted Freedom.
Therefore do I fight
To erase all Darkness,
And enflame the Light.*

*I have tasted Freedom.
Freedom's passion's mine.
No, I shall not rest until
Worker, Freedom's thine.
S. Max Kitzes.*

The Role of the Young Workers' League

By WILLIAM HABER

The student of the economic condition of the United States need not be told by the European revolutionists that America is the stronghold of capitalism. In no other nation in the world has capitalism and the forces standing for the perpetuation of the present industrial order, come out from the war as triumphant as in America. In Germany, the land where capitalistic industry is most developed, a revolution took place, and although the workers were defeated, they are a strong factor today in the struggle for power. In England a period of industrial depression and commercial stagnation is sure to give power within the next decade to the Labor Party. In the other European nations in a more or less degree, the capitalist order has been rocked but not endangered.

In the United States all the forces of reaction and capitalism have emerged from the war stronger than ever. Industrially, we are the most advanced world power. But in no other country is economic and political thought from the laborers' point of view so backward as here. A number of important causes are responsible for this condition.

1. America until the beginning of the twentieth century has been a country with "free land."

2. In America the Labor movement has been and continues to be the most opportunistic of any nation.

3. A Socialist or revolutionary movement has been least developed here.

If we analyze these three conditions we shall be able to account for the backwardness of our militant labor movement. In the early labor history of this country, the class struggle was mild, as compared to the struggle in the European nations. A worker in the Eastern States before the civil war, if dissatisfied with the conditions of life and wages, could with little trouble, secure an opportunity to settle in the lands then known as the West. The country was immense in size, the population relatively small, opportunities more abundant. By 1880 the "free land" began to disappear and the coming in of the large immigrant population and the development of the powerful corporation intensified the economic struggle. The intensification has continued and today the American worker is in a position much behind that of English labor. But the belief that America is still "the land of opportunity" has not been eradicated from the worker's mind.

In the second place, the American labor movement is devoid of the militant leadership which is necessary to point out the fundamentals of the class struggle to the workers. The organized labor movement has been able to organize only one seventh of our wage workers, and the remaining millions are unorganized, and are at the mercy of organized capital. Not only are a small portion of the workers organized into labor unions, but even these are divided into hundreds of craft organizations which are constantly taken up with jurisdictional disputes and sectional quarrels. In a fight against the employers, the unions, because of their craft organization, are pitted against each other; and their efforts result in failure. The militant labor movement as the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Labor Party have failed miserably to attract any but a small portion of the wage earners, and on the whole, the workers in the basic industries are either unorganized, as in the steel industry, or are in the craft unions.

Such are the conditions on the industrial field; and equal failure has been met on the political field. The political bankruptcy of the Socialist Party is too well known to the reader of the Young Worker to need reiteration. The Socialist Party is devoid and always has been devoid of contact with the masses. It is a party of intellectual leaders, who either fail to see the necessity of working with the masses in their every day struggle or are so absorbed in their political aspirations that they have no time for such participation. Whatever may be the cause, the fact remains that the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party are minus any working class support and are a negligible factor in the American labor movement.

All of these causes are responsible for the absence of a militant labor movement in America. The American worker is still unable to grasp the meaning of the class struggle. He is still living under the misconception that this laissez-faire state offers equal opportunity for all. He has consequently absolutely no independent political power, and his present plight, low wages, unemployment, open shop, etc., are an indication that his industrial power and influence is of little consequence to the organized employer.

To remedy this situation, to educate the worker to his rights in society, to immediately organize him

for militant political and industrial action, the Workers Party was organized. Such an organization holds out an invitation to all workers in the country of any sex, age or color. But the Young Workers, those who are still unprotected by child labor laws, those who are not easily assimilated into trade unions, these must organize themselves and develop among the young workers of a nation a militant, thinking, spirit vibrating with activity. The Young Workers League has a task of vital importance to the workers of the country. From the young of today must be chosen the active leaders of the movement of tomorrow. The Young Workers League must include the young workers in the country, it must carry on an incessant campaign of education, to counteract the tremendous influence of the school, the church, the press, the patriotic organizations as the boy scouts, the Junior Commerce Associations. The younger workers must be shown the essence of our present industrial system and how it is built upon the profits produced by the young and the old. The Young Workers League must be an educational organization to educate the youth for workers' leadership. The bane of the radical movement in all countries is the lack of intelligent organizers and able leaders. The Young Workers League must also be an industrial organization. It must organize the youth of our industries and inculcate in them an understanding of working class economics. A development of a strong organization of the young workers in the nation will produce a necessary auxiliary to the Workers Party.

Our Relation to the Workers Party RESOLUTION

*Adopted by First National Convention, Y.W.L. of A.,
May 13th--15th, 1922*

In the struggle of the working-class against the capitalist class, the laboring youth does not hold any special position. The class struggle is a conflict between but two classes—the working class and the capitalist class.

The working-class will emancipate itself only as a class. The fight against the ruling class can best be carried on by the united effort of young and old. There is no exclusiveness in the struggles of the working-class youth, nor any special issues to be gained for them on the political field against the master class.

The Workers Party of America, tho but a recent entry into the political arena as a working-class

political party, is the most revolutionary open political party and has attracted to itself the greatest proportion of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in the United States.

The Workers Party of America has demonstrated to the Young Workers League that it is best capable of leading the fight of the working class against the capitalist class, and is in the position of rallying to itself the mass of the proletariat in this country.

The Young Workers League of America is convinced that it can best further the interests of the working masses and realize its mission by presenting with the Workers Party of America a solid front in the political struggle against the master class.

Experience has proved that the vanguard of the proletarian youth fights best and accomplishes most when linked up with the vanguard of the adult workers on political and economic issues.

However, the Young Workers League of America recognizes that it has a special function to perform in gathering to itself the proletarian youth and bringing them into action against the oppressors of the working-class, and for that reason it is necessary for it to maintain itself as a separate organization.

In view of the foregoing, the Young Workers League of America declares that the relation between itself and the Workers Party of America shall be as follows:

1. The Young Workers League of America shall accept the political directives of the Workers Party of America and shall work in harmony with that organization on all political issues in carrying on the fight against the capitalist class.

2. Organizationally the Young Workers League of America shall be autonomous; that is, the Young Workers League shall determine and carry out unhindered all matters pertaining to its organizational existence, and shall have the right to discuss the political issues and decisions of the Workers Party, which the League is bound to carry out.

3. There shall be mutual representation with voice and vote on all units of both organizations, beginning with the Branch up to and including the Central Executive Committees. (Where representation on branches cannot be carried out, representation shall be had on the city central committees.)

The Road Before Us

By O. CARLSON

A Speech at Y. W. L. Convention May 13th, 1922, New York City

On behalf of the Young Workers League of America, I officially declare that the first National Convention of the Y. W. L. of A. is officially convened.

Comrades, it would be well just for a moment to briefly review the situation as it exists now and as it was a short time ago. I shall not attempt in any way to go into detail regarding the movement of the past, I only wish to state that at the time when the mighty surge of the Left movement swept over the United States, 1918—19 and following close in the wake of the Russian Revolution, our young comrades in the Young Peoples Socialist Leagues manifested an active and interesting part in that movement. It is not my purpose to tell how and why the YPSL became an independent movement, nor how or why that particular movement disintegrated. We have all passed thru the stormy days of Palmer and the Department of Justice; we have all passed thru the dark and dreary days of 1920—21 and today, just a little over three years from the time when the first National Convention of the YPSL was held, we gather together in this city, the best elements, the most active elements, the elements that have stood the test of the crucial days, resolving once more to carry on the fight and to build up a strong and united militant, revolutionary young people's organizations in this country which shall be second to none in the world.

Comrades. At the time of the formation of the Workers Party, a resolution was adopted pointing out the specific needs of a young people's movement here. Following closely upon the heels of this, came the selection of the National Organization Committee for the young people's organization. In the course of approximately four months time, we have grown into a real compact organization, a real fighting organization of the young workers of America. From two or three separate groups such as of New York, Boston, Detroit, and Chicago we have today large, active and functioning bodies in more than 46 cities of this country. Our total membership, based upon convention figures, numbers at the very least, 2200.

In issuing the Convention Call, the National Organization Committee placed certain fundamental demands upon the organizations desiring to affiliate. One was Unity of all existing militant, rev-

olutionary young workers organizations; and unity in reality, not in words alone. Another point which the NOC particularly stressed, was the fact that this should be a fighting organization, a militant organization of the working class youth. It proposed that one of the fundamental means thru which we could make this organization such a fighting organization such a fighting organization, was to carry on our organizational work essentially thru active participation in the class struggle as it goes on from day to day in these United States. It furthermore proposed that we should recognize that the real leader of the revolutionary workers of the world, is not the traitorous Second International; not the vacillating Second and a Half International, but the revolutionary Third, the Communist International and its youth section, The Young Communist International.

Those are the fundamental points upon which we based our convention call. The response, as is shown here today by delegates from 16 or 17 states, coming from Boston, Washington, D. C. and New York City, in the east to St. Louis, Minneapolis and Chicago in the west shows that there is a desire—there is a need—for such a militant, revolutionary organization.

Comrades, we are now face to face with a big task. It depends upon you, the delegates at this first National Convention, to consider carefully the problems that must be undertaken by our organization. I want to say that the National Organization Committee has consistently worked for what it considered the interests, not only of the young people's movement as a young people's movement, but what it considered to be the interest of the revolutionary movement at large. The comrades of the National Organization Committee, and I believe you will agree with them, contend that the struggle of the working class does not sub-divide itself or fall into separate sections, such as a particular struggle on behalf of the males and another struggle on behalf of the females; a particular struggle of the blacks and the yellows as against the whites; a particular struggle of the adult workers as against that of the young workers. We contend that the class struggle is **one struggle**. It is a struggle between the ruling class—the owning class, and the wage slave-class, the subject class, the under class. And so comrades,

in building this organization, we must bear this fundamental fact in mind, that we, as young workers, as young revolutionists, are as much a part of the general revolutionary movement as anyone else and the only reason why we create a special apparatus, a special machine, a special instrument such as a Young Workers League, is that we may be able to draw into our ranks greater and greater masses of the young workers who are not able as yet clearly to understand the need of unity between the young and the old. We can get them to understand certain economic problems that confront them as young workers; and being young workers ourselves, can more easily get them into our ranks. But it is not our duty to remain separate and apart from the revolutionary working class movement, but rather to struggle with all our power to become an integral part of that larger revolutionary movement. So comrades, I say that the tasks before you are many and they are great. Upon the sincerity with which you go into it depends to a large extent, the success or failure of the Young Workers League of America. But let me here sound a warning to anyone who attempts to break, or disrupt these organizations at this time. Such persons will not be treated liberally or tolerated long, for in the revolutionary working class of the world and the working class of America, a demand is growing for a unified, revolutionary, militant organization on the political field, and those who attempt to disband, to disrupt or to break up that organization, I say, upon them lies the task of meeting and facing those workers who demand this unity. Remember, that no matter whether you or I as individuals continue, the movement nevertheless goes on. "The mills of the Gods grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small". And so, to anyone who attempts to stand as an obstacle here or anywhere else in the country repeat, remember that the revolutionary movement is greater than any individual and tho it may be stopped for a moment, it will, in the long run, continue to go on and will pass like a mighty wave over anyone who attempts to obstruct it.

The proletarian movement in America is becoming more and more revolutionary. Into the ranks of the labor unions of America, greater and ever greater members of revolutionists are flocking and as they get into these organizations of the proletariat, the unions are becoming more and more revolutionary. They are demanding not only words, but ACTION, and those who attempt to stand in the way, shall be pushed aside while the mass of the revolutionary workers shall pass by.

Comrades, let us consider what we have to do. Let us settle down to the problem of constructing,

here and now, ways and means by which the Young Workers League of America can in reality take its place as an effective organization that will rally the young workers to its banners. Let us try to found it upon the basis of centralization and discipline and upon the experience of our comrades in Russia, Germany, England and all these other countries. Let us take inspiration from the fact that we know that over 800,000 revolutionary workers, young workers organized in the Young Communist International are anxiously watching to see what will be done in America. Let us take inspiration from the great work done by Russian Communist Party and the Communist International which have vanquished the bourgeoisie of Russia and which now threatens the life of the capitalist class throughout the world. Let us develop here a Young Workers League of America which some day may take its place within the fold and under the banners of the Communist and the Young Communist Internationals.



A United Front—The Road to Victory

Dawn

*Children, my children, the daylight is breaking.
The cymbals of moon sound the hour of your wakening.
The long night is o'er, and our labor is ended.
Fair blow the fields that we tilled and we tended:
Weak were our hands, but our service was tender;
In darkness we dreamed of the dawn of yon splendor;
In silence we strove for the joy of the morrow,
And watered the seeds from the wells of our sorrow.
We toiled to enrich the glad hour of your wakening.
Our vigil is done, — lo' the daylight is breaking.*

SARAJINNI NAIDU.

The above poem is one of the most popular songs of India, from the pen of Sarajinni Naidu, a very eminent woman poet of that country.

Our First National Convention

(Continued from Page 8)

ventions. The method of organization into district and other units was provided for, so that there will be an adequate machinery to function as the League develops. The old term "circles" is replaced by that of "branches" to signify the lowest unit of the organization. Delegates to the City Central Committees are to be elected by means of a limited proportional representation plan. No branch is allowed to have a membership of more than 150. The disciplinary powers of the various units of the organization are specifically dealt with. A national convention shall be held at least once every year. Subordinate units are to hold conventions at least every six months. A provision was also made that 10% of the proceeds of all affairs conducted by Leagues or branches is to be remitted to the National Office of the Y. W. L. Dues will be 25c per month, of which 10c goes to the National Office. The emblem of the League will be a crossed hammer and sickle on a five pointed star within a circle. Within the circular margin shall be inscribed the words: "Young Workers League of America," and underneath, "Clarity and Action."

The Organizational Promotion Committee brought in a number of recommendations, all of which were referred to the incoming N. E. C.

A large number of resolutions were adopted by the convention. These were on: Political and Class War Prisoners; The World War Veterans; Friends of Soviet Russia; Unemployment; Soviet Russia; Childrens Organizations; Revolutionary Political Unity; The YOUNG WORKER; The WORKER; The FREIHEIT; Striking Miners; Striking Textile Workers, and others.

It was then decided that the National Office of the Young Workers League should be located in Chicago hereafter.

The National Executive Committee as elected by the convention consists of H. Jacobs of Philadelphia; L. Marks of Boston; H. Zam of New York; H. Gannes of Chicago; M. Abern of Minneapolis; G. A. Schulenberg and O. Carlson of New York.

Five alternates were elected. They are: J. Edwards of Chicago; A. Zanen of Philadelphia; G. Oswald of Chicago; W. Theinert of Providence; and N. Kaminsky of New York.

The Convention adjourned at 7 o'clock Monday

afternoon, May 15th, with the singing of the International. The convention was over, and the 46 delegates left the hall with a determination to carry out in a truly revolutionary fashion the decisions that had been made. Everyone realized that although there were 51 cities already organized under our banner with a membership of almost 2500, still there were ten times that number of cities where we must establish branches. They realized that the membership must be multiplied by many times the number that it was now before the Y. W. L. could become a real factor on the life of the American labor movement. They realized that we must have a powerful press which can reach still wider masses.

Our first convention is a thing of the past, but it has accomplished all that could be expected of it. Now it remains up to you, the comrades in all parts of the country, to put your shoulders to the wheel and help your Executive Committee to build a MASS MOVEMENT.

CLARITY AND ACTION is our motto. Now let us live up to it.



At the Cross-Roads

The Dawn's in the East

(Continued from Page 2)

and peasants of Japan, Corea, China and Mongolia are one with the young workers and peasants of Russia, England, America, Germany and France, — the Young Communist International is also our guide and leader, the leader of the toiling youth of the Far East."

At the second session was heard the report of the credential committee and the report of Corea, at the third session those of China, Mongolia and Japan, which we print elsewhere. At the end of the third session Comrade Dallin delivered a long speech on the situation of the youth in the Far East and its movement. He described the development of the youth movement in the Far East, which has followers even in the most remote villages of Corea and Mongolia and on the isles of the Pacific Ocean; he outlined their tasks and pointed out in a friendly spirit their deficiencies and gave advice how to overcome them. In many places of the Far East the youth organisations carry on only the general revolutionary struggle and have a considerable number of adult members within their ranks. These two features are closely linked with each other and were at the beginning necessary. The youth organisations of the Far East must continue to participate just as energetically in the general movement, but they should also conduct the special activities of a real organisation. They should accomplish educational work corresponding to the mentality of the ignorant industrial and peasant youth, they must launch the economic struggle and thus get the working youth on their side and they must learn from the experiences of the Western movement. They must also conduct in the schools a struggle against the reactionary church-school and the patriarchial school and against the colonial and Anglo-Saxon bourgeoisie-christian method of education and thus win the sympathies of broad masses and organisations of the students who play a great part in the nationalist revolutionary movement. Hardly any youth organisation of the Far East has up to now clearly formulated its program, tactics and methods (the program of several organisations contains on the whole only general slogans such as "liberation of Corea", "human rights", "setting up of Communism"). This must be made clear at any rate.

The participation of the youth organisations in the general struggle of emancipation from Imperialism is imperative for the world revolution, but it is nevertheless essential that the principal line be clarified and the youth activities be carried through.

This has been emphasised by the representatives of the various Leagues in the discussion and the theses on the report of Dallin which were unanimously endorsed by the Conference and were also approved by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

After these debates, the representatives of the youth, together with those of the revolutionary organisations and Communist Parties of the Far East went to Petrograd, where both conferences were adjourned on February 1st 1922 in a joint session with the Soviet of Petrograd. The proletariat of Petrograd enthusiastically welcomed the representatives of the revolutionary peoples of the Far East. The great hall of Uritzki Palace was overcrowded. The speech of the representative of the youth organisations, Comrade Li-Il-Gu aroused special enthusiasm. It was a real

fraternisation of the Russian proletariat with the young revolutionary movement of the Far East. The conference of the Far East and also of the youth of the Far East was closed by a speech of the chairman of Communist International and also of the Soviet of Petrograd, Comrade Zinovieff.

We publish the figures of the credential commission which characterise the composition of the Conference and the organisations were represented.

I. CHINESE DELEGATION.

Total of delegates 29; with a decisive vote: 22, with a consulting vote: 7.

Age:	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Number of delegates:	3	3	4	6	7	4	1	1

Political affiliation: Members of the Communist Party 8, the remaining 21 were non-partisans.

Social position: Intellectuals 7, scholars and students 18, workers 4. They represented 16 youth organisations with 74,000 members.

II. COREAN DELEGATION.

Total of delegates 21; with a decisive vote: 18, with a consulting vote: 3.

Age:	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	29	30	32
No. of delegates:	3	2	5	1	1	2	—	1	1	2

Political affiliation: Members and prospective members of the Communist Party: 16, non-partisans 5.

Social position: Intellectuals 2, scholars and students 10, peasants 5, workers 1. They represent eight youth organisations with 90,525 members.

III. MONGOLIA DELEGATION.

Total number of delegates 15, all with a decisive vote. From Mongolia 9, and 7 Buriates.

Age:	17	18	19	20	21	22	25
Number of delegates:	1	4	1	4	2	1	2

Political affiliation: Members of the Communist Party 3, the others were nationalist revolutionaries.

Social position: Officials 8, scholars and students 6, teachers 1.

They represent 6 organisations with 800 members.

TOTAL AT THE CONFERENCE.

Present: 71 delegates, 61 with a decisive vote, 10 with a consultative vote.

Age:	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	28	29	30	32
No. of delegates:	1	4	4	10	12	8	7	7	1	1	2	1	2	

Political affiliation: Communists 31, revolutionary non-partisans 40.

Social position: Workers 2, peasants 5, intellectuals 12, scholars and students 34, officials 8.

30 youth organisations were represented at the conference with a total membership of 165,430.

Following the conference, the Chinese Comrade Non-Cho-Sju was elected by the Communist youth organisations of the Far East as their representative on the International Bureau Session of the Young Communist International.

Will a Young Worker Listen to You Talk 17,000 Words?

It would take the average person two and a half hours to talk that much, speaking at the rate of 150 words per minute, which is the average.

With due respect to the intelligence of our membership, could all of us talk to a prospective member or to a young worker generally (if he were to take pains to listen to us for two and a half hours), with a sufficient command of FACTS and PERSUASIVE ARGUMENT to carry our point?

Undoubtedly No!

There are twenty-two million children of working class parentage in this country who should either belong to the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE OF AMERICA or be influenced by it.

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THE YOUNG WORKER prints in each issue over 17,000 words of interesting material concerning the position of the young workers in the United States; this magazine is per-

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Our speakers can carry the message of the YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE to a large number of the working class youth. But they are limited physically.

The SCOPE and POWER of the YOUNG WORKER in carrying the message of the militant, revolutionary youth of America, is unlimited—restricted only by the capabilities of our members and other interested class conscious workers.

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To you whose courage burst dread tyrant bands,
To you, comrades, now the masters of things,
To you from whom new hope of freedom springs,
We send our iron gifts to spur your lands
To bounteous harvest. Full be your hands
With fruit and grain before the loose white wings
Of winter flutter o'er your plains and the kings
Of frost shackle the earth with icy strands.
Here almost all have bread to feed the flesh,
But the seeds of our freedom still lie cold
Beneath the snows in darkness, while the sun
Of our spring floats pale afar in the mesh
Of ghostly mists. But taught by your strife of old,
We will battle on till our goal is won.

International Tool Drive for Soviet Russia

Authorized by the All-Russian Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers International Russian Famine Relief Committee, Berlin (Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated.)

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