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THOUSANDS OF YOUNG PASSING TEXTILE STRIKERS WILL FIGHT FOR SPECIAL DEMANDS OF YOUTH

1,500 Young Strikers Present at First Meeting Where the Demands are Adopted with Great Enthusiasm

PASSAIC, N. J.—Fifteen hundred young textile strikers attended a mass meeting of Belmont Hall at which special problems concerning the youth were taken up.

The demands taken up were: (1) Equal pay for equal work. (2) No night work for young workers under 21. (3) Those under 18 to be considered minors. (4) Better continuation schools under union control and (5) four weeks' vacation with pay yearly.

The speakers at this meeting were Sam Don of the Young Workers' (Communist) League, Peter Shapiro of the working youth conference, Jack Rubenstein and Mike Elasek. C. Miller acted as chairman.

Mike Elasek, 20 years of age, has been arrested three times during this strike by the pro-mill owners' police of Passaic and is still in the forefront of the struggle.

UNITED FRONT OF YOUTH FOR STRUGGLE AGAINST MILITARISM

Proposed by Young Communists at Youth Mass Meeting

By P. FRANKFIELD.

NEW YORK CITY.—A mass meeting called by the League of Youth of the Community Church for Feb. 23, marked a step forward in the development of a united front movement of the youth to fight against militarism and war. Invitations were sent out to many youth organizations and responses from about 30 were received which included Chinese, Philippine, Hindu, Negro, student and political organizations, such as the Young Workers' (Communist) League and the Young People's Socialist League.

Peddle Religious Dope.

The first part of the meeting was a religious character. It appeared to be a revival meeting more than anything else, with two sermons speaking, besides the Rev. J. H. Holmes. A Mr. High was at length about establishing the "kingdom of God" on earth — very much of course. A Negro minister gave a militant talk against race discrimination, but offered no solution. He was followed by a Catholic priest. The organizer of the Princeton conference for the approval of the world cup spoke and spoke. But one sentence will suffice to give us a good idea of this collector of phrases. This bishop of the highest and most sensitive institution of learning said: "We do not recognize protestant or Jew, Catholic or Negro but only Americans." A roar of laughter greeted this form of American chauvinism. A. M. C. A. "prep" spoke of training the youth to believe in God, religion, loyalty to the job and training the young men of America to be industrious. What bunk, when we understand the pauperized youth of the American working youth.

Chinese Student Speaks.

Edward S. Shorwood Eddy was given the floor by delegates from various organizations were given two minutes to speak in the name of their organizations. Until a young Chinese student spoke, the real voice of youth was not heard. This Chinese student spoke of the dangers of militarism and then presented the program of the young revolutionary organization in China organized in the A. M. C. A. All mention of the United States imperialism in China was well applauded.

More Spirit Bunk.

Edward Eddy, the main speaker of the evening, having travelled much in the East and development of revolutionary movements in China. He spoke of the submission of the whole world to the misery and poverty of the handmaidens of the United States imperialism in the United States and the abusive imperialism of

American capital thrust the world. A fair analysis of the abuse of youth and the whole working class under capitalism. He thought a Communist was speaking. Several times he mentioned Russia, saying he was glad that there was at least one country in the world which challenged capitalism and ruthless imperialism. Every mention of Russia was greeted with long and hearty applause. He then proceeded to give the remedy for those abuses, which showed his true character. "A spiritual dynamics is needed more than ever before." A spiritual dynamics was the magic solution to the riddle of capitalist exploitation. We see, the enlightened bourgeoisie is beginning to realize that the birth of a mass revolutionary youth movement in America is inevitable. He sees and fears it. He is attempting to divert its direction into his religious channels in order to direct and stifle it.

The floor was again given to youth representatives, one minute each this time. The first speaker was a member of the social problems club of Columbia. He said, "We do not come here to unite in the spirit of God as you want. We come here to unite against the spirit of God."

Young Communist Program. Speaker after speaker spoke in a vain effort that was exactly contrary to that of the whole evening. We did at last hear the voice of youth, and it was quite militant in tone and spirit. When Comrade Don of the Young Workers' (Communist) League mentioned the organization he represented he was immediately interrupted by prolonged applause. Comrade Don, in the minute granted him, spoke of the necessity of a united front of youth to combat militarism, imperialism and also race prejudice. He concluded by saying that the Young Workers' (Communist) League of America stands ready to unite with all other organizations on the above mentioned basis.

At the end of the meeting, a resolution was introduced calling for a conference of all youth organizations to be held on March 19. It was passed unanimously.

five young workers signed an application.

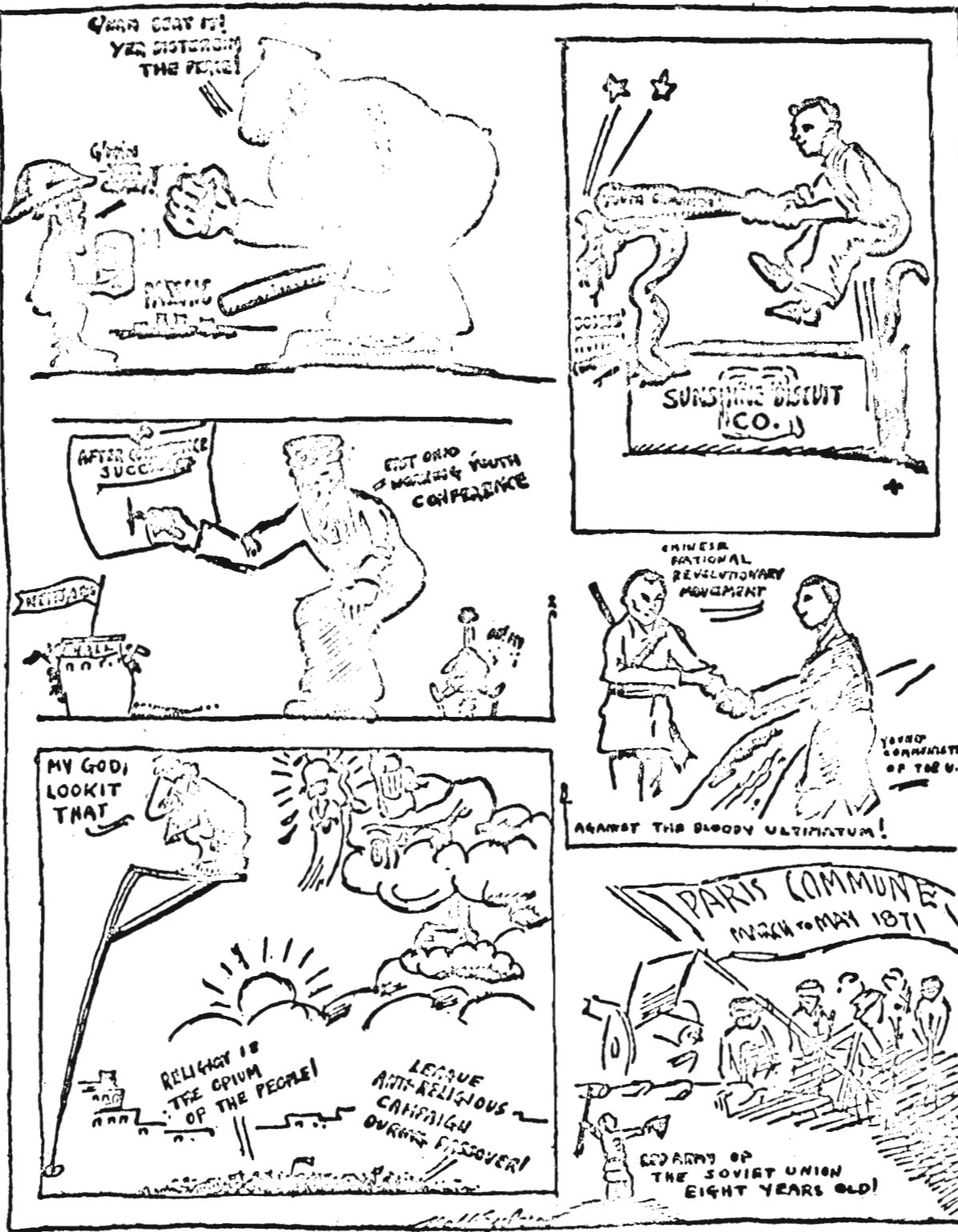
But now in the winter many of the young workers (members of the league) had to go and earn their living at camps and most any places where you get a hard job for a small pay.

So now we have only fifteen paid-up members.

But I hope all our old members will come back in the spring and bring many new members with 'em.

We hold our meetings the first and third Tuesday each month, at the Miner's Hall, Workers' Hall.

PICTURED YOUTH NEWS—



STUDENT ANTI-MILITARIST SENTIMENT SPREADS TO FAR HAWAII AND TO INDIANA

The student revolt against compulsory military training in the colleges is growing momentarily. The latest institutions affected are the far away University of Hawaii and the University of Indiana.

The "Voice of Hawaii" college sheet of the university contained on Feb. 19, a strong denunciation of the R. O. T. C. in the form of a manifesto covering almost the entire front page. The manifesto in part declares: "Our colleges and high schools ought to furnish an atmosphere that will encourage independent thinking and should inculcate into the students the idea of internationalism, but the persistence of the R. O. T. C. prevents it."

In the University of Indiana an optional military drill league and a student defense league were formed, the latter fighting for and the former fighting against compulsory drills.

The Alabama Student Volunteers went on record at their annual convention as opposed to the R. O. T. C.

Zeigler Frame-Up Turns Youth to Militancy

By GERMAL ALLARD.
(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)

DOWELL, Ill.—The Zeigler trial that raised quite a stir in southern Illinois has reached the youth very promisingly. This is true especially in Zeigler where a new unit of the league has been organized with 15 members and great prospects of recruiting many more young workers.

They have an extra good start for a new unit and I am sure that it will be one of our future strongholds after mine nuclei have been organized and start functioning.

The young miners in other parts of southern Illinois have also been set into motion on account of the dastardly frame up of the Zeigler miners.

"THE PARIS COMMUNE WAS THE FIRST STEP"

"The Soviet power is the second step of world revolution, the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Paris Commune was the first step. The Commune created a new type of state—the Workers' State."

"The Commune was the first attempt of the proletariat revolution to break up the bourgeois state and constitutes the political form discovered at last which can and must take the place of the broken bourgeois machine."

V. I. LENIN.

LARGEST LABOR MEET IN MONTHS ATTENDED BY YOUNG WORKERS TO HEAR REPORT ON EAST OHIO

(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)
NEFFS, Ohio.—That the Eastern Ohio Working Youth Conference recently held in Bellair awoke a real interest amongst the young workers in this district. This was shown by the meeting held here to hear the report of the conference. Many young workers were present and listened attentively as the speakers outlined what was taken up at the conference.

This was the largest meeting of young workers at any labor meeting in recent months and judging by the enthusiasm shown there was a unanimity of opinion on the decisions of the E. Ohio conference.

Since the conference was held 15 subs for the Young Worker were secured in this small mining camp. Harvey Murphy delivered a talk on the conference while Joe Kobylak acted as chairman. A collection was taken up which more than paid all expenses.

PRELIMINARY YOUTH CONFERENCE IN N. Y. IS SUCCESSFUL START

50,000 Workers Represented at
First Meeting

NEW YORK CITY.—The campaign for the convening of a mass working youth conference here is now definitely under way. That this working youth conference will secure not only the support of the work youth in shops and factories, but the organized labor movement as well was demonstrated by the preliminary conference held March 6. At this conference there were present the representatives of various trade unions and the plumbers' helpers' clubs of the Brooklyn and Bronx. These organizations have a total membership of 50,000 workers.

The representatives of the Young Workers' (Communist) League at this preliminary conference stressed some of the problems which the mass working youth conference will be confronted with. The points brought out were the militant struggle against child labor, unionization of the young workers, special admission fees for young workers for entrance into the unions and all special youth demands dealing with wages, sanitary conditions, education, etc. An arrangements committee was set up which will immediately begin the work for the conference and draw up the call with the concrete demands.

The campaign will be carried into the shops and factories and will culminate in the holding of meetings there of delegates to the mass working youth conference scheduled for the end of May. The representatives of the various organizations will go back and try to enlist the moral and financial support of their organizations for the working youth conference.

3,000 YOUNG WORKERS SUFFER POOR CONDITIONS IN SUNSHINE BISCUIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK

Conditions of 10 Years Ago for the Workers.

(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)

NEW YORK CITY.—The Sunshine Biscuit Company of the big factories of the biscuit making industry in New York where more than 3,000 young workers are exploited. The plant with the appearance more of a prison than that where human beings spend more than a third of their lives, the young boys and girls labor for a miserable wage.

No Organization.

The workers of the Sunshine Biscuit Co. are not organized and are therefore forced to work nine hours daily, a 50-hour week. This is practically the same conditions as 10 years ago; while in other shops the workers work 44 hours and are now fighting for a 40-hour week. The workers who do piece work get a bit more than the week worker, but they work under a terrible speed-up system. The greedy bosses are not even satisfied with that; they often demand that the workers work overtime. If anyone refuses to work overtime he might as well kiss good-bye to his job. If anyone thinks that the workers get paid for this overtime he is sadly mistaken. No such luxury exists in the "sweet" Sunshine Company.

Thrown a Few Cents.

Once in a while they give a worker a few cents extra so that he will feel kindly towards his boss; just like some slaves feel towards their masters. When a legal holiday comes around the bosses are very kindhearted. They close up the factory but no wages are paid to the workers for the holiday. During the week of a legal holiday, when a day's wage is cut off our pay, we find it pretty hard to cover the week's expense.

Sometimes it happens that one of us young workers comes in 10 minutes late to the factory because we are tired of our previous day's work. Then a half hour's wage is taken off our pay. These are the important grievances of the young workers in the Sunshine Biscuit Company.

Young Workers Must Unite.

The time has now come when the young workers must wake up and start to fight to improve their conditions. The young workers of the S. B. C. must remember that not by working overtime or by working on a piece work basis, under a speed-up system nor by going to the boss individually as a meager asking him for a meager raise, can we improve our conditions.

The only way to better our conditions is when we get together and organize ourselves into a unified powerful organization. Today when you read the Young Worker, 5,000 young textile workers in New Jersey have united their forces, organized themselves and are waging a mighty fight against the bosses for a 40-hour week, for more wages and decent living conditions.

At the same time right here in New York several thousands of young furriers together with the adult workers are carrying on a struggle for a 40-hour week and other demands. The young workers of the S. B. C. must follow the example of our fellow workers in the fur and textile industries and begin our fight for a better life.

Young Workers' Demands. The Young Workers' (Communist) League calls upon you to rally behind the following demands:

1. A minimum scale of wages. \$25 per week.
 2. Time and a half for overtime.
 3. No piece work; no speed-up system.
 4. Extra time shall not be deducted for being 10 minutes late.
 5. Pay for all legal holidays.
- For the realization of these demands you must begin to organize. Talk this over with your young worker next to you in the factory. See what he has to say about it. Get together in a group or come down individually to the office of the Young Workers' (Communist) League, 108 East 14th St., New York.

Young Sunshine Workers' Campaign

By BILL SPENCER
(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)

NEW YORK CITY.—The young workers of the Sunshine Biscuit Company have been fighting for 16, when six members of the Young Workers' (Communist) League loaded with letters besieged the front of the S. B. C. factory.

At five o'clock the young workers, headed by the League, began to stream into the huge slave pen. We pleaded our white young workers' rights and grabbed them by the pockets saying: "We're at home," but all were in vain because they had the story of their own life in being told.

"We'll Work It"

"Is there going to be soon," a group of young workers asked. Another young worker came along saying: "Ten of them," meaning: "added to the fix them" and the boys and girls after the leaflet came back and us said: "Don't stop work only. You do your here and we'll be doing inside."

A group of about 20 boys and girls gathered with great anxiety watching further developments. The watchmen from the factory was trying to chase us but soon got tired of us and finally let us go to work in peace.

Will Do Their Best

From all signs it is the young workers in the Sunshine Biscuit Company who are going to do their stuff. They got the right spirit. The bosses will find it out soon.

The Young Workers' (Communist) League will be taking a leading part in the organization of the young workers. It calls on young workers of this district to rally round and fight demands set up. If you're united you stand, don't fall!

A YEAR IN SUNSHINE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

(By Young S. B. C. Worker)
NEW YORK CITY.—I have been working in the biscuit company. In fact, there ever since I graduated from public school. At first I was hard, thinking that if I got more wages, but after a while I would soon be getting more wages. But after a while I began to find a way to improve the conditions of the young workers in the factory.

But I never belonged to a workers' organization until I knew how to do it. I was when the Young Workers' (Communist) League distributed the leaflet in front of the Sunshine plant. It was a great thing to help us young workers organize.

STANDARD TIN PLATE NEEDS INTENSE ORGANIZATION DRIVE

By Young Worker Correspondent.
CANONSBURG, Pa.—It is a while since I wrote my last correspondence. Since then many things have happened. I have to tell you young workers the things which have taken place in the Standard Tin Plate Company of this town. In the cold roll department there is a case where a laborer who worked 99 per cent of his life in the union mines rebelled against doing the work of a man and a half and only getting one man's wages.

It happened that a laborer was sick for over a week and three men had to do the work of four men. This laborer happened to have the worst end of the thing so he raised hell about it. In reply the boss told him that if he didn't like it he would get another man.

The Greasers.
 Another case was among the cold roll greasers who slave for forty cents an hour in dirt and grease all day long. The boss called the greasers in the office and gave them all the hell they could stand for not keeping the floors and steps shiny all the time. He told them if the floors and steps were not the way he wanted them, he would get rid of some of the greasers.

He had six greasers on each turn but after a while he got rid of one and had six on day turn and five on night turn. I heard he did this because they were not working all the time. Then just now he got rid of one more and left five on each turn. I wouldn't be a bit surprised to see only one or two greasers left under the present conditions. Does any one expect that of a greaser? Yes, who is he? The boss and no one else but him. Greasers and everybody else organize or they will oppress you more than ever.

The Openers.
 A few words on the conditions of the openers. The boss happened to see two openers slice a peck of iron weighing about 100 pounds and scratch the plate. He tells these two openers to go home and stay home for three days and come back to work willing to life the peck and not slide it. I suppose he did this to scare the openers out of their trousers. If that was his purpose he has succeeded, for I see them all doing it the way he wanted it. One day a skid of scrap went and the hot mill boss came over to talk to the cold roll boss and raise hell about it. The scrap was informed to tie all the scrap up tight before putting it away. If he wouldn't he knew what was coming to him.

Exploitation Must End.
 In all the cases mentioned there is more work for everybody at the same wages. That is the way the bosses like it for they can live still better than before. But their time must come and I would like to see it right away. I say that this exploitation must come to an end. Workers of the Standard Tin Plate, I appeal to organize and fight these damn rotten conditions. I say organize and fight to the utmost.

In the annealer department the men heat the iron in the furnaces. In winter time when it is cold it is alright to work there as far as heat is concerned, but when the sand and dust come in, I would rather go out

in zero weather than inhale the sand and dust. Either inhale it or don't breathe. The chairman has to book chains on to red hot pots of iron and run around from one end of the mill to the other for just a starved wages.

Whenever a stack of iron upsets the chairman and crane man get hell for it when they don't deserve it. One fine morning the mill was full of smoke and sand that you couldn't see five feet away plainly. The crane was bringing a stack of iron to its goal but when it came to set it down the crane man couldn't see and the stack was upset. The big boss tells them to report at the office after work and make a confession. The men stated the reasons why it upset, but the boss told them not to let it happen again, was reported. Then you ought to know how the ventilation conditions are here when a crane man can't see the chairman plainly.

The Labor Gang.
 There is a labor gang in this company and what work these men don't do is not worth mentioning, that works for a maximum of 50 cents an hour. This gang is composed mostly of Italian men who have to work or starve. These men work from 7 a. m. to 5 p. m. and sometimes longer. When the patent machines were put in, they worked day and night and Sunday also. That means there is hardly any rest for these men. They dig ditches and every other thing in zero weather. They have for bosses men who are mannikins and slave drivers. Yes, slavery still exists in our country but it is not the Negro only, but the white man too.

The tin house and can factory girls make about twenty dollars for fifteen days. That is an average of \$1.50 a day. Can a girl buy everything she needs with twenty dollars? No! Some of them are forced into prostitution to get a little money which they need.

When Christmas time comes they give every girl a box of candy. They have a reason for doing it and I think it is to keep them quiet.

What we get here is more work for same or lower wages. This is what I call profit making for the capitalists.



previously mentioned shop. Wages are from \$15 to \$18 on the average. Protest against these conditions and you are immediately fired. If you even protest against the forced overtime work, for which you receive only regular pay, you land outside. This shop is far from being a workers' paradise.

Unsanitary Conditions.
 The Best Petticoat Co., 141 W. 27th St., N. Y. C. This boss employs about 10 workers, "supporting them" by paying them from \$15 to \$18 per week. The conditions in this shop besides being miserable are unusually unsanitary.

Here is a bigger shop. Joseph Korman, 127 W. 27th St., employing about 75 workers, mostly Italian. Half are young workers, and in this shop as generally the case, they are the most exploited. They must live on the "generous" salary of \$10 to \$15 per week. (We know they barely exist.) The adult workers are not treated much better. Their salaries range from \$18 to \$22 per week. This kind boss fires those workers whom he suspects will ask for an increase. But he is a philanthropic fellow. He even arranged a Christmas party for the girls, and the girls not suspecting his motives fell for it. During the party, the kind boss delivers a lecture on loyalty to the boss, proving to his own satisfaction the mutual interests of the boss and the workers. Some of these well paid workers made a collection and gave the boss a present. To show his appreciation and proving the mutual interest of boss and worker, he a few weeks later cut the wages of the worker, especially of the most active at the Christmas party. I think the workers learned their bitter lesson. This shop is also unsanitary. There are no towels for the workers, etc.

There are numbers of other shops as enumerated above, which the workers slave their lives away. The question is "What shall we do?" Will we continue to crawl like worms, or will we stand up like men and women and fight against our intolerable conditions? I am sure we will do the latter, because we have nothing to lose and everything to gain.

Enslaved workers of the Petticoat industry, organize!



Life of Young Workers

THE WEST VIRGINIA MINE STRIKES CALLED OFF BY U. M. W. A.

(By Young Worker Correspondent.)
CHARLESTON, W. Va.—After sticking out on strike for two and four years, evicted from our homes on company property and living in tent colonies, our strikes have now called off by the United Mine Workers of America. Many of our fellow workers moved into other communities not being able to live on the rations of \$1.50 a head paid by the union. Our situation is the best proof of the need for greater solidarity in the union ranks. The left wing has the right dope when they say that if one section of the workers go on strike, all the workers of the industry should walk out with them. If that had happened we would never have lost.

HEARNS ARRESTS US AGAIN, BUT CAN'T STOP CAMPAIGN

(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)
NEW YORK CITY.—While distributing leaflets in front of Hearns department store, which called on the young workers to organize, the store dicks had us arrested. Hearns faithful detectives revolted at the thought of having the young workers against their conditions. We succeeded in handing out about 700 before we were stopped by the police.

We were taken to the station house. Charges were preferred. That of intimidating the street with paper was thrown out on the admission of the dicks that the young workers did not throw away the leaflets. They had to admit that they became immediately interested and took the leaflets along with them. So the charge was changed to "disorderly conduct." We were then transferred to the night court to be tried.

We were shoved into a cell to await trial. We were compelled to stay six hours with 40 others in a study cell fit to accommodate half that number. Our very respectable company consisted of pimps, drunkards, pickpockets, yegs, etc. Altho we were the first ones in, our case was nearly the last one to be called. Joseph Brodsky, an attorney representing the International Labor Defense defended us. We got out that night under 25 dollars bail apiece.

Our case came up in the morning. It seems that the Hearns people were determined to set an example in order to prevent the league from continuing its agitation among the workers. They sent over an extra witness besides the two detectives. A fellow we never saw; but who was apparently well drilled to give evidence. Attorney Brodsky made both witnesses look silly on the stand. The judge did not trouble to ask for more. He dismissed the case with the statement that we have a right to attempt to organize the Hearns workers. He further stated that we did not commit any crime in distributing the leaflets.

All of Hearns efforts to curb the campaign were futile for regardless of convictions or decisions of any court the league has really started mass activity, part of which is the Hearns campaign. King Canute in trying to stop the waves from advancing looked less silly than Hearns agents trying to stop the activity of the league.

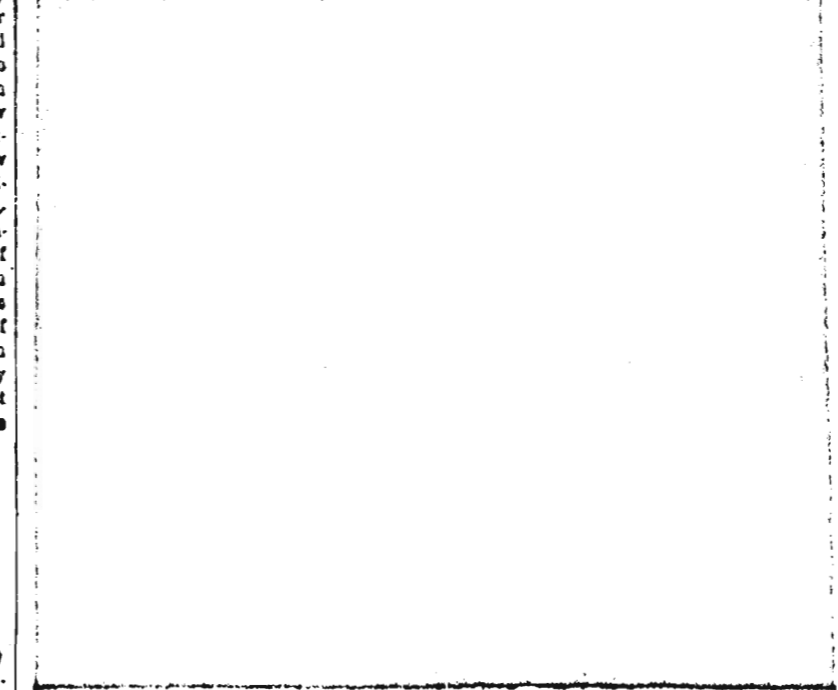
The arrests will only result in the workers of Hearns becoming more sympathetic to our message, and in arousing our comrades to still greater efforts and enthusiasm for the work of the league.



YOUNG MILLINERY WORKERS MUST FIGHT FOR UNION

By a Young Worker Correspondent.
CHICAGO, Ill.—The speed-up system, low wages, no sanitary conditions, no unions, are some of the conditions facing the young workers in the millinery industry.

The Speed-up System.
 Overtime until 8 o'clock, 4 o'clock on Saturday, work on Sunday without extra pay. This is how the bosses manage the rush time. We are even



(1) Militant Young Worker. Ed Jeffrey, tent colony strikers for four years and children of two other strikers. Taken in Powell Creek Tent Colony, Boone County, West Virginia. (2) She Lived in a Tent Four Years. This little girl wears cast off boy's clothes sent by comrades. Her father struck against the open shop four years. Now strikers are called off; they have no where to go and no money to take them anywhere. Photographed in darkest West Virginia, Powell Creek tent colony.

YOUNG PASSAIC STRIKERS SEE GOVERNMENT ACTIONS AND NEED FOR A LABOR PARTY IN U. S.

By CLARENCE MILLER.
PASSAIC, N. J.—The brave fight of the 15,000 textile strikers of Passaic and vicinity, most of whom are young workers, is now spreading into national importance. The terrible conditions existing in the mills and the inhuman terrorism of the police is raising a cry throughout the whole country. Workers young and old irrespective of their political opinions are at present coming to the support of the strikers. They realize that unless this strike is a victory for the workers it will mean that in every strike hereafter the police, the tools of the bosses will use gas bombs in their attempt to smash the strike. The workers realize this and will therefore help the Passaic strikers win.

Youth in Forefront.
 In the whole strike you can find the young workers always in the forefront. They are arrested, mutilated, and the police are usually after the young strikers trying to terrorize them. The union has recognized the importance of the young strikers and is paying special attention to them and their interests. The united front committee is solidly supporting the special demands for the young members for which they may fight.

The young workers are also busy co-operating with other organizations. They were represented at the New York youth conference held last week. They also had speakers from this body to address the meeting of the young strikers called by the union. The Young Workers' (Communist) League ran a mass meeting for which they needed another hall to accommodate the young workers. The Y. W. L. invited them to their N. Y. affair.

Relief Needed.
 In spite of all of the heroic fights of these workers there

forced to eat our lunches while working.

The Poor Wages.
 The average wage of the millinery workers is indefinite. But it is damn low. There is week and piece work. Then when the slack season comes around we get no wages at all. Only four months out of the year do we have steady work. The rest of the time we either work two and three days a week or are unemployed.

Unsanitary Conditions.
 The small millinery shops are filthy, lit by electricity all day. The floors are seldom washed and the tables covered with dust. The bosses

make no endeavor to improve these conditions.

Unionization.
 Such conditions could only exist in an unorganized industry. The young workers are the worst sufferers in the industry. The learners have difficult times. While learning they make from \$8 to \$10 a week. Hardly enough to buy peanuts with.

To those learners who imagine that after they are experienced that their conditions will improve immensely we say, just look at the conditions of the adult workers. It is only when the adult and young workers unite and fight for unionization that the conditions will be improved.

Youth Discrimination Order of Day Shown in Reports of Delegates to The Eastern Ohio Youth Conference

By Young Worker Correspondent.
BELLAIRE, Ohio.—The real spirit of the Eastern Ohio Youth Conference was demonstrated when one young delegate after the other took the floor to report on the conditions in his factory or mine. After H. Murphy had been elected chairman and George Pappun gave a general report on the conditions facing the young workers in the territory the conference was for lunch. After lunch came the reports of the young workers delegates. A synopsis of some of the reports follow:

GARFIELD WOMEN STRIKERS SHOW HEROISM AS PICKETS

(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)
PASSAIC, N. J.—On March 8, the Passaic textile strike spread to the Dundee Textile Co. in Clifton, where at 8 p. m. thirty workers walked out on strike. These militant workers marched to the Belmont Park Hall in Garfield, which is not far from the Dundee Mill.

While waiting for 11:30 a. m. to roll around, the time set for the picketing of the Dundee Mill, a few interesting things happened in Belmont Hall.

A Garfield cop was in the hall telling the workers not to go and picket the Dundee Mill because they would get clubbed by the Clifton police—as the first fight in the strike took place on the Clifton Bridge. A woman striker spoke up: "If any cop will try to club me I will grab the club from his hands and break his head with it." While saying this the woman grabbed the club from the Garfield cop and began illustrating how she would use the club—swinging the club wildly as an example.

Another woman said: "If the police come to my house with a petition for a raise in pay, I would raise them in such a manner that they wouldn't want another raise again—unless they lined up with the strikers."

It now being 11:30 the thirty strikers formed columns of two and started on the march to the Dundee Mills to call out their fellow workers. Upon reaching the Clifton Bridge we were stopped by the Clifton police who told us that their orders were to arrest us if we would picket the Dundee Mills. "You would be breaking the law," said one copper and as a law enforcing officer, his duty would be to pinch us."

Our picket captain, J. Rubenstein, answered the police saying: "We have a right to walk on the sidewalk and we will do so." He then called upon the thirty strikers to cross the bridge, which we all did, but the police did not dare to arrest any of us.

Our picketing resulted in having 250 workers join our ranks or one-half the employees. The significant thing about this was that the police had told us that he would not recognize the Dundee strike as a real one until half the workers were out. This was now accomplished.

YOUNG WORKERS PUT THRU PASSAIC STRIKE RELIEF AGAINST RIGHT WING

(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)
BOSTON, Mass.—At a meeting here of the Cap Makers' Union, 450 and plenty of moral support was voted for Passaic relief. Frantic efforts of the right wing to block action were repulsed by the young militant workers—mostly girls, who showed up in full force.

YOUNG WORKERS OF BOSTON PROTEST OVERTIME WORK

(By a Young Worker Correspondent.)
BOSTON, Mass.—It was George Washington's birthday. The millinery workers of Boston never work on this holiday. Not because they love in the buncombe about "the father of our country," but because they need the rest very much. Altho in the past the workers always got the day off on this legal holiday, this year it was different.

Demands Overtime.
 Unexpectedly the boss came to the shop where my sister works and demanded that the girls should work overtime for him in order that he could make up for the day lost on the legal holiday. It was on Saturday on which day the young girls usually worked until 1 o'clock.

12 o'clock, however, the boss ordered the foreman to shut off the power so that the girls could have a half-hour for lunch and then return to work the rest of the day.

Militant Girl Protests.
 This demand met with the unanimous dissatisfaction of all the girls. For a moment there was silence and then one militant girl stepped forward. She spoke loud, very loud so all the girls in the shop heard her. She told the boss that he shouldn't dare to take away the holiday because it was the only chance for rest that the girls had. The boss then seeing that she would have the full support of the other girls, finally gave in and told them they could take the afternoon off.

The result of this demonstration of militancy met with the admiration of all the young workers. They crowded around this young militant girl and

Report from Wheeling

Conditions in the Wheeling mill not rosy by any means. The "heated" bosses recently have presented in the form of a petition. The machinery which was being 1 before now get 60 cents about your speed-up, which the Chinese now run from 35 to 40 minute. The girls had to say bye to a small bonus they were getting. They now receive from 35 cents an hour, while the boys from \$1 to 40 cents. On our work four nights a week without pay and there are no conditions all over the factory.

Report from Florence.
 In the Florence mill the grease boys are discriminated. They receive less money than adults on a greaser's job. They work on the motors. They are sped up and have the same amount of coal fuel as many men as previously. The working time was at 4 o'clock and 4:25. The bosses have set posts for 7 cents a day on a day man on which they get \$7.50 for an 8-hour day. They put new machinery on the motor boys to pick the shafts. The workers receive \$6.00. They receive \$4.00. The drivers work 8 hours but work near \$4.00 very dusty in our mill. They do not get enough air.

Report of Dillonville.
 They take advantage of the cause of our youth and if there ever was youth union you can find it here. The wage agreement of the girls for smaller wages. Whenever a kick comes out of the local union they find out how old the kids are.

Report of Hills.
 At Mehar Colliery, Ohio, the drivers must work a day. They are not paid for horses and mules from the barn. Drivers must work a track when caved in. At Mehar Colliery, Ohio, in a dangerous condition. The dust. This dust is in the air. It is just next of the cause the butchery of miners in disaster.

Report from Avon.
 Our members of Avon, 2334, U. M. W., and it gets young workers to attend. Lines of the local union. They send the young miners. They do not work on whatever is transferred to.

Report from Yorkville.
 The Geylard Mine in Illinois. Despite the fact mine inspectors sent mine cause there was not enough mine, the operators refused to thing and told the men, they to go to work.

Report from Powhatan.
 It was dust in the mine. The last explosion. And this, the men had been on. Have the conditions in the safe. The union officials at the mine operators that the safe. Just recently the dust exploded killing two and 22 miners.

Just a short time ago the Co. went on strike. Just school was closed for a day. Adult workers went on strike. Number company put the girls in. That's how the strike was in. In Italy mine the drivers are mostly young miners. They wear the rules, which is in the agreement. The girls hardly pay for stone. Men at home many times on account of air.

Report from Webb Mine.
 It was here that the terrible occurred. When I tell about conditions it will point out why. No man way here in violation of mining law. It was a hanging wire which caused the Webb Mine. When a man was killed the party failed to call the men agreement, specifically stating when a man is killed the work stop immediately.

In the enamel works the girls only 24c per hour. The strike rusty and unsanitary.

Every delegate who attended conference realized that the bosses does not and with the reports. Amidst the general optimism shows the delegates all that the order of business at the conference was the energetic fight for the demands set up.

shook her hands. This just that by keeping quiet the bosses exploit us more and more, but we speak up, in an organized way, especially, the bosses shiver in breeches.

UNFRANCHISED YOUTH MUST STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

WASHINGTON, D. C.—When we look at the anti-labor bills pending before the present Congress...

Capitalist democracy is exposed by the McLeod sedition bill which is aimed at all militant workers and the Capper-Johnson universal draft bill...

The working youth must carry on a consistent struggle against these "Morgan-Coolidge" measures.

CHINESE STUDENTS KILLED IN ANTI-DEMOCRATIC DEMONSTRATION IN PEKING

Immediately after the acceptance of the despicable ultimatum of the five so-called Boxer protocol powers...

The warning of the Young Workers (Communist) League that "this bloody ultimatum can mean only one thing...

For a Mass Organ Thru Worker Correspondents



When the Soviet Union approaches the National Revolutionary Movement of China the bourgeoisie makes long faces.

AGAINST A ROBBER'S PEACE FOR THE RIFFIANS

According to press reports peace negotiations are going on between the representatives of Abd-el-Krim, the Rifian leader and the representatives of France and Spain...

Rifian rebels must not be lost thru the enactment of a robber's peace. If peace is declared it must be on the basis of the immediate withdrawal of the invading imperialist forces...

GARVEY BACKER IS HEAD OF U. N. I. A.

DETROIT, Mich.—The 24th international convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association re-elected a Garvey backer as the head of the organization...

Exchange of Experiences of Shop Nuclei and Concentration Groups

WHEN we first reorganized our shop nuclei on the basis of shop nuclei and concentration groups, we had great difficulties to overcome...

In section No. 2 in New York, it was very difficult to start functioning. First, because of the general reasons mentioned above...

And here it is where the difficulties set in. Even the higher bodies, the section executive committees had no clear conception of how to get down to mass activity...

committees, poor as they were in experience, could not be carried out.

Learn by Experience. In section No. 2 in New York, it was very difficult to start functioning...

Meeting after meeting was called, but the comrades did not respond satisfactorily. The concentration groups did not meet regularly...

We started to organize factory campaigns, which is only concentrated mass activity, with the result that this compelled the comrades to actively participate in the work...

THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871

"THE workers of Paris and their Commune will be honored as the harbinger of the new society. Their martyrs erected an everlasting monument to themselves in the great hour of the working class...

Shop Nuclei Our Aim.

The main thing we have to strive for now, is to organize more and more shop nuclei. This will make our factory campaigns much easier and more effective...

When we will achieve this, we will have a real mass Communist Youth organization in the United States.

Child Indenture in Land of "Free"

By REBECCA BACHAROV.

HUNDREDS of years ago, when this country was a colony of Great Britain, the English king had given concessions to many members of the English nobility and merchants...

Thousands of these working class families packed up whatever belongings they had and set out under these conditions to find an easier life in this country...

and children died early in the voyage. Those who survived these terrible conditions and reached this country were put to work on the land, in the mills, etc. under the most outrageous living conditions...

These conditions were now supposed to be a thing of the past and featured only as the main theme of soul-stirring novels and movies...

col slavery still exists in Arkansas, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island (Virginia, West Virginia, Indiana, Michigan, Nevada and Wisconsin)...

The report gives instances of boys and girls of the ages of 9, 12, and 14 years, while being too sick to go to school or convalescing from illness...

every evening and helped with the farm work.

According to the report, "The children were usually committed because of neglect, abandonment, the poverty or immorality of parents by county poor commissioners or judges."

It is true that where we applied our tactics correctly—even if there were minor mistakes—we have grown. We have only to look at our success in the East Ohio conference...

The Concentration Group (A Problem in Elementary Form)

By SAM DARCY.

In the biologic field the earliest form of living organism is the one called amoeba called the amoeba. This animal reproduced by growing a little bit larger it was born and then split in half, thereby giving birth to another of its species.

There is a certain sense an analogy between this early form of reproduction of cells and that of our present concentration groups. Many of the groups are not performing their functions; these functions for which they were organized...

establish units in the factories, in addition to its other work.

Are the concentration groups at present performing this function? This is a problem which can only be answered by taking stock of the results we have achieved.

Some comrades will say that it is too soon to demand results. This is emphatically not so! We may evade the facts and remain smug in praising the success of our reorganization...

Why should this prove painful?

Have we not had experience with organizational forms very similar to concentration groups? What were the area branches of Chicago and Detroit? They were what correspond to our present section or enlarged concentration group without having small groups within it or perform certain functions...

What is our task in the face of this? It is that of rallying our present membership to the realization of the danger that faces us if we do not soon enough win over sufficient workers to build shop nuclei...

the successes and courageously face and solve them.

It is true that where we applied our tactics correctly—even if there were minor mistakes—we have grown. We have only to look at our success in the East Ohio conference...

What is our task in the face of this? It is that of rallying our present membership to the realization of the danger that faces us if we do not soon enough win over sufficient workers to build shop nuclei...



Young Workers of Other Lands

The Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the Soviet Union is Eight Years Old!

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.—The eighth anniversary of the Red Army is being celebrated throughout the Soviet Union. It is now eight years since the Red Army was organized under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party...

With the defeat of the counter-revolutionary armies of Denikin, Kolchak, etc., we can now declare our anniversary to be a labor day for the further building of our Red Army.

Under the leadership of the strong Communist Party we shall not fear a bitter struggle with the capitalist class of the west.

MASS WORKING YOUTH CONFERENCE IN HAMBURG

HAMBURG, Germany.—The Workers' Delegation to the Young Workers' Conference held a conference here for the Wasserkante district...

These present unions demanded the immediate publication of the manifesto for the preparation of the program upon the municipal front...

UNITED FRONT OF YOUTH IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia.—The Youth League of the Communist Party which has called a public meeting received a written invitation from the part of all workers was demanded at the Prague meeting.

FRENCH YOUTH DELEGATION CONTINUES REPORT

PARIS, France.—The Youth Delegation to the Young Workers' Conference continuing its report according to a report from the "Garde" factory and part of the young workers on Jan. 20th in all parts of the 10,000 participated.

ITALIAN REPUBLICAN YOUTH REJECTS UNITY

According to the "Unita" public Youth League call to its members and provincial organizations participating in any kind of United Front Campaign with the Communists.

LABOR SPORTS UNION ORGANIZED IN CHICAGO

On Sunday, March 1st, a conference of the members of various sports clubs was held. At this time the Labor Sports Union of Chicago and vicinity was organized.



Workers' Sports Groups Organized

By A. H. HARTFIELD. NEW YORK CITY.—Members of the Young Workers' (Communist) League are not only in the forefront of the struggle for better conditions in the shops, but as shown by one military shop are pushing the organization of a sports club...

They realize that they are spending time in healthy recreation, which is not a weapon in the hands of the boss to further exploit them. This sports club had six members at its first meeting six weeks ago...

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NAT KAPLAN, Editor
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PLENARY SESSION Y. C. I.



Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

THE session of the Enlarged Executive of Comintern was started on the evening of February 17, 1920. Comrade Vuyoritch was elected representative of the Y. C. I. in the Plenum of the Enlarged Executive. The Y. C. I. has a total delegation of six members to the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern. Besides, all other members and candidates of the Executive of the Y. C. I., as well as the invited League delegates, are participating in the session with advisory voice. The members of the official delegation of the Y. C. I. also participate in the work of the Commissions of the Plenum.

Before the opening of the Plenum of the Comintern, 34 members and candidates of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. had arrived in Moscow, as well as 18 delegates from abroad.

11. Plenary Session of the E. C. of the Y. C. I.

The Plenary Session of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. was opened on Monday, Feb. 22.

All invited members and candidates of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. and the representatives of all specifically invited Leagues appeared, excepting only the representatives of the Italian, British and Spanish Leagues, who are expected to arrive later.

The agenda of the session was:

- 1. Adoption of the agenda of the Plenum.
- 2. Appointment of Commissions.

According to the decision of the Plenum the following agenda was adopted for the Plenum:

- 1. a) Report on the political activity of the Executive. Reporter, Vuyoritch.
- b) Report on the organizational activity of the Executive. Reporter, Gypner.
- 2. Questions of work in the Orient. Reporters: Fokin and Young.
- 3. The organizational tasks of the Y. C. I. Reporter, Khlitrov.
- 4. Trade Union Work. Reporter, Schiller.
- 5. a) Use of the League Schools. Reporter, Glanbaum.
- b) Political Fundamentals. Reporter, Reinhardt.
- 6. Children's Movement. Reporter, Pasanen.
- 7. Our immediate tasks on the sphere of sport. Reporter, Gorklich.
- 8. Questions of the individual sections.
- 9. Report of the "KIM" Division. The following Commissions were instituted:
1. French-Spanish. 2. Czech-Slovakian. 3. American. 4. Scandinavian. 5. British States (Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania). 6. Illegal Commission. 7. Eastern Commission.

Oh! What Shall We Do, We're Exposed Again!

WASHINGTON, D. C. - In a big screaming front piece story, The Fellowship Forum laments the spread of Communist influence in the city of Los Angeles. Under the heading: "Red Schools operated in the U. S.," says Club Leader, the following is written: "Mrs. Shrove referred to the Young Workers' League as one of the many organizations seeking to undermine the moral of American youth, where special Communist schools endowed by the Moscow propaganda department are, according to investigators, functioning in Los Angeles at present, as well as Oakland, San Francisco and Santa Barbara, and teaching the coming revolution and Communism for major subjects." Poor lady, she can already see herself put to work.



The Communards of 1871 have not died in vain!

Fighting Methods of the Commune

By M. L. PINNEY.

THE lack of a centralized, resolute party to link up and control the activities of the militants of the Paris Commune of 1871, was disastrous on the military field. Shortly after the elections a sortie was planned in overwhelming force. Three heavy columns were to advance against the Versailles. The preceding weeks which should have been used to drill the Commune troops, to a custom them to discipline, promptness, obedience, had been wasted in arranging elections and in attempts to form a united front with a gang of bourgeois politicians left over by the old regime—men like Clemenceau, without influence over the masses. As a result only a quarter of the troops showed up. After hours of delay the sortie was begun. Two columns marched a few miles, halted a while—then retreated. The third had a slight brush with the enemy—and also retired.

Lenin has pointed out that vim and energy are all-important in a workers' struggle—"It is necessary to have some success every day, even every hour. Old soldiers are less elated at success or depressed by a reverse than recruits. A veteran resembles a machine—with him obedience is instinctive. In warfare a faulty decision is often less costly than prolonged indecision. Resolute leadership inspires confidence, especially in green troops. THE Commune fighting was complicated by the open treason of hosts of bourgeois officers. Lisagary in his valuable book "History of the Commune of 1871" prints a letter from an artillery commander, who describes as a rare jest the way in

which his officers fool their men by directing the fire where it will do no harm to the enemy. Infantry officers led out their men without bullets or food, hold them for 24 to 26 hours and then retired without striking a blow. It is clear how such tactics would dampen the spirit of any troops, however devoted.

The staff were hopelessly incompetent, wholly worthless. All was confusion. There were enrolled in the National Guard 167,000 men—but 30,000 bore the brunt of the siege. The staff was unable to muster more than 20 per cent of the soldiers whom it paid and fed! In several cases key forts or positions were abandoned—the garrison got tired of waiting for relief and came home, not even bothering to report their move so that the position could be recaptured. In these cases the forts were not abandoned because untenable, they were not under fire. In action the Paris workers did excellent work, they defended their posts splendidly—and then sometimes came home to sleep, leaving their fort unguarded. Some battalions held the trenches for weeks at a stretch—while tens of thousands of soldiers never went into action at all. For such chaos the staff is wholly to blame.

THE end of the fight is the saddest tragedy of all. At one point, the route the enemy had to follow was commanded by a steep bluff. Several times it was proposed to mount artillery here but nothing was done. On May 3rd for three hours the enemy columns poured by into the city in a point blank range of the guns—that were not there. Then artillery was rushed to the place but it was too

late, the enemy were safely by. Then the chief of staff, either a traitor or an utter imbecile, issued the worst order possible: "Every man to his own ward! The Paris worker knows little of the theory of war but in his own street behind a barricade he is invincible." What awful trash! It was still feasible to ring round the three proletarian wards with one continuous barricade and carry on the fight. The workers might have secured good forms or at least they could have wrung from the damn bourgeoisie a high price for their bloody victory. Instead they split up into little scattered groups and the whites outflanked them and "ate them" piecemeal—20,000 fighters were butchered; 10,000 could have held the barricade mentioned above.

Only a fool or a coward can belittle the Communards, their work and their heroism. For three months they ran a city of over 2,000,000 people, fed them and supplied their needs. At

and exact analysis of Russian the same time they organized and equipped an army and waged war. At the end they died like men, fighting as long as powder lasted.

MAIL to the heroic Communards of 1871! They have not died in vain and the entire proletariat must learn the lessons for which they paid the fee.

The November Russian Revolution, among other things, learned the following lessons from the Paris Commune:

- 1. When armed, fight resolutely.
- 2. Hit the bourgeois all over—seize all banks and factories. Seize and publish the dirty secrets in the archives of the diplomats—secret treaties and plans.
- 3. Put a trusted red to watch each professional officer day and night with orders to kill him at once if guilty of any treachery.
- 4. Make an ally of the farmers.
- 5. And again, fight resolutely.

Story of the Commune

ON July 13, 1870, France under Napoleon III, declared war against Prussia. The First International carried on a consistent struggle against the war. When the vote occurred in the North German Diet on war credits, the supporters of La Fayette voted with the monarchy for war, while the members of the International, Liebknecht and Bebel, did not vote for the war credits.

On the second of September, Napoleon III hazarded over his sword to the king of Prussia. The French army was surrounded by 200,000 Germans at Sedan, and France had lost the war.

When the news reached Paris the masses marched to the seat of the Chamber of Deputies shouting: "Vive La Republique!" On Sept. 4, 1870, the republic was proclaimed from the Hotel de Ville and the government of national defense established—the government of Jules Favre and Thiers. While these scoundrels proclaimed openly that: "We will not cede an inch of our territory, nor a stone of our fortresses," they were negotiating with the Prussians for a peace that would put an end to the rebellious national guard and to mutinous Paris.

Paris was an armed camp of the proletariat! The battalions of the National Guard founded the Federa-

tion of the National Guard and its central committee. On the 19th of March Thiers ran away from the Assembly chamber to Versailles. Paris was left without government.

On the 19th of March, Thiers endeavored to seize the control of the National Guard. The order was to fire into the crowd of Guardsmen, women and children. Soldiers refused to fire, and Thiers fled to Versailles.

Already the cry of "Vive La Commune!" was shouted. The Central Committee of the National Guard announced that they would only remain in the Hotel de Ville up to the time of the election for the Commune. On the 26th, the election returned a Commune known "In the name of the Commune is proclaimed" (28th).

The Commune lasted only 72 days, May 28th, 1871. The day of the last barricade was the 21st. Invading Versailles troops ran the blood bath of the Commune. The revenge of the bourgeoisie, at least 100,000 of the Paris workers were fully murdered by the scoundrels. Most died like heroes, fighting with the last gasp of the "Long live the Commune!"

Lessons of the Commune

SOME of the lessons from the Paris Commune are the following: (1) The Commune clearly demonstrated the need for abolishing the bourgeois state before the proletarian state can be established.

(2) The Commune exposed the rottenness of bourgeois nationalism. The Prussians and the Versailles, cooperated in the struggle against the Paris proletariat, although a few weeks before they faced each other on the battle field.

(3) The Commune showed that, with the development of an independent working class, every bourgeois revolution places immediately on the agenda the question of a proletarian revolution.

(4) The Commune taught the workers to consider concretely the problems of revolution.

(5) The Commune made a mistake of underestimating the importance of the union with the peasantry, although as Lenin reminds us, making its way towards the peasantry.

(6) It is necessary not to let the bourgeoisie swallow the proletarian state—the proletarian state. The Communards did not effectively break up the bourgeois state, but they failed to create a firm and centralized working class power of the workers. There was also a dictatorship in all respects not a conscious dictatorship of the working class.

(7) Most important of all, the Commune showed the need of a revolutionary theory embracing the centralized, disciplined leadership—the party of the proletariat.

Women and Children of the Paris Commune

By LISSAGARAY.

THE commander in his verres, duty, his silver lace edged, his men grayheads, or youths, the veterans of June, 1848, and the pupils of March, the son often marching by the side of the father.

This woman, who salutes or accompanies them, she is the true Parisienne. The unclear androgynous, born in the mire of the empire, the madonna of the pornographers, the Dumas and the Feytaud, has followed her patrons to Versailles or works the Prussian mines at St. Denis. She who is now uppermost, is the Parisienne, strong, devoted, tragic, knowing how to die as she loves. A formidable equality this to oppose to the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is doubly strong—one heart and four hands. On the 24th of March a federal address these noble words to the bourgeois battalions of the first arrondissement, making them drop their arms: "Believe me you cannot hold out; your wives are all in tears, and ours do not weep."

She does not keep back her husband. On the contrary, she urges him to battle, carries him his linen and his soap, as she has before done to his workshop. Many would not

return but took up arms on the plateau de Châtillon they were last to stand the fire. The men simply dressed as workmen, in fancy costumes, fell by dozens.

The proletarian character of the Commune was embodied in Michel, a teacher in the first arrondissement. Gentle and kind with the little children, who were her, in the cause of the mother became a lioness. She organized a corps of ambulance women, who tended the wounded under the fire. There they suffered martyrdom. They also went to the front to save their husbands from the bayonet, and they died in the death struggle. A formidable equality this to oppose to the bourgeoisie. The proletariat is doubly strong—one heart and four hands.

In this contest of devotion, children fought with men and women. The Versailles, the victors of 600 of them, and many more in the battles of the streets. They served during the siege. They lowered the battalions to the front in the forts, especially during the cannon. Some gave up their lives. Some were boys of fourteen to fourteen years old. They were in the open country, they formed exploits of mad heroism.



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LENIN—THE THEORETICIAN.

"1. All beginnings are difficult. This is true of all branches of science.

"2. Science would be unnecessary if the appearance of things and their substance were to coincide exactly."

"3. Scientific truth always appears paradoxical when they are observed only from the point of view of their deceptive surface.

"4. There is no broad highway to science and only those can hope to arrive at its sunny heights who are not afraid of climbing its steep mountain paths.

"5. Science must not be a selfish pleasure; those who are fortunate enough to dedicate themselves to scientific work, should be the first to give their knowledge to the service of humanity."

—Karl Marx.

Importance of Theory. By ..

WITHOUT a revolutionary theory a revolutionary movement cannot be successful. This was always emphasized by Lenin, whose practical achievements are generally acknowledged. However, it is supposed by the bourgeois and the socialist writers that his practical results were achieved by sacrificing his principles. A short review of his theoretical principles will show that there was hardly another man—with the exception of Marx—who had a theory which he was never compelled to abandon.

When the opportunists, in 1902—as well as many times before and afterwards—accused him of "dogmatism," "doctrinarianism," etc., he answered in the pamphlet "What to Do?" emphasizing three points which made theoretical clarity so vital for the Russian Party. (1) The party is in the process of creation and has not yet laid down clear lines of separation from other revolutionary doctrines. (2) The workers' movement is international, and every country must make use of the experiences of every other country. But this cannot be done by mere copying. The experiences must be adapted to the actual conditions in the country concerned. (3) The tasks of the Russian movement are such enormous tasks as no other movement ever faced. This pioneer work can be accomplished only by a party guided by a pioneer theory. And Lenin reminds us of the words of Engels that since Socialism has become a science—that is, studied. The fact that the German party had Marxian theory helped it through the hard times of the anti-socialist laws of 1878-90. Lenin continues:

"The Russian proletariat faces incomparably greater hardships

in its fight against the monster of capitalism. . . . History has placed before us a task that is the most revolutionary of the immediate tasks of the proletariat in all countries. The carrying out of this task, the crushing of the mightiest stronghold not only of European, but also of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian proletariat the advance guard of the international revolutionary proletariat. We have a right to claim this title of honor, which was merited already by our predecessors, the revolutionists of the seventies, if we succeed in penetrating our movement, which is still broader and deeper, with the same unselfish determination and energy."

LENIN became a Marxist while still a young student. He steeped himself in Marxian theory and began immediately to apply it to Russian conditions. In an article written in 1893 and recently discovered in the archives of the political police, he dealt with the "new economic changes in the life of the peasant." By means of statistics from southern Russia, he shows the widening gulf between the poor and the prosperous peasants and points out that a correct policy can be laid down only on the basis of the actual facts. In his next pamphlet "Who are the 'Populists' and How Do They Fight Against the Social-Democrats?" (*) he explains the importance of theory in the following way:

"Populists or Narodniks were the Russian revolutionists who believed that Russia will not go thru the capitalist era. The word Social-Democrat used by Lenin up to 1918 means a revolutionary Marxist, now Communist."

"The Socialist intellectuals can count on fruitful work, only when they do away with illusions and begin to seek a basis in the actual, not the desired, development of Russia, the real and not the possible social conditions. The theoretical work must be directed toward concrete investigation of all forms of social antagonisms in Russia, investigation of the connections and consequent development of those antagonisms; it must reveal them everywhere where they are covered up by political history, the peculiarities of the judicial order or old theoretical prejudices. It must give a complete picture of our reality as a certain system of industrial relations, show how inevitable is the exploitation and expropriation of the working people under this system, and point out the results prescribed by economic development.

"This theory, based on a detailed

history and actual conditions, must give an answer to the questions of the proletariat—and if it satisfies the demands of science, then every flaring up of protesting proletarian thought must lead unavoidably into the channel of Social-Democracy. (read Communism). The further the development of this theory advances, the more will Social-Democracy grow, because the most keen-minded upholders of the present order have no power to prevent the awakening of proletarian thought. They lack this power because this very order necessarily and unavoidably leads to a more and more intensive expropriation of the producers, to the constant growth of the proletariat and its reserve army. And this goes on simultaneously with the increase of social wealth, with the immense growth of the productive powers, and the socialization of industry by capitalism. How long it will still take to develop this theory—we already have guarantees that the socialists will complete this work. The guarantee is: the spread among them of materialism, the only scientific method that demands that every program must be an exact formulation of the actual process. The guarantee is: the success of the Social-Democracy which has adopted these ideas—a success which has so stirred up the liberals and democrats that their thick magazines, as one Marxist has said—have ceased to be dull.

"BY emphasizing the necessity, the seriousness, the breadth of the theoretical work of the Social-Democrats, I do not at all want to say that this work should be placed before practical work. (**)—so much the less because practical work has really been shoved into the background. Only the adherents of the "subjective importance of theory in the following way:

"On the contrary. Practical propaganda and agitation must always take first place, because (1) theoretical work will only answer the questions which practical work raises, and (2) the Social-Democrats are too often compelled, by conditions not of their own making to limit themselves to theoretical work, and for this reason they appreciate every opportunity for practical work.

method of sociology" or the followers of Utopian Socialism think so. Of course, if the task of Socialists is considered to be only the seeking of "other (besides the actual) ways of development of the country then practical work will be possible only after the general philosophers point out and open up these new ways; and vice-versa, when these ways are opened and pointed out—the theoretical work ends and there begins the work of those who are to enrich the "Fatherland" with the "new-found ways." Quite otherwise is the case when the task of the Socialist is to be the ideal leaders of the proletariat in its actual struggle, against actual enemies on the real path of concrete social development. Then the requirements for theoretical and practical work will meet in a common

task which the old veteran Wilhelm Liebknecht so strikingly characterized by the words: "Studieren, propagieren, organisieren."

"It is not possible to be an ideal leader without this theoretical work, just as you cannot be an ideal leader without actually and actively directing this work in practice, without propagating the results of theory among the workers and helping them in organization. Putting the question so, Social-Democracy is guaranteed against the shortcomings of certain Socialist groups,—against dogmatism and sectarianism. There can be no dogmatism where the highest and only criterion of doctrine is—the application of it in the actual process of social and economic development. There can be no sectarianism when the task is to co-operate with the organizations of the proletariat, when the task of the "intellectuals" is to make purely intellectual leaders unnecessary. Therefore, in spite of differing opinions of Marxists on certain theoretical questions, the methods for their political activity will be the same as they were when our organization was started, and have been up to this day.

"The political activity of the Social-Democrats are the furtherance of the development and organization of the labor movement in Russia, to transform the present status of scattered attempts without a guiding idea, riotings and strikes into an organized fight of the whole Russian working class, directed against the bourgeois regime and striving to expropriate the expropriators, to destroy a social order based on the suppression of the toilers. As a basis for this activity there serves the general conviction of the Marxists, that the Russian worker is the real and only representative of the whole toiling and exploited Russian population."

BY these quotations, we see how well the twenty-four-year old Lenin understood the essence of Marxism. And only now after more than thirty years do we understand the whole burden of his prophecy:

"To the working class the Social-Democrats direct all their attention and all their activity. When its foremost representatives adopt the ideas of scientific socialism as their own, the idea of the historic role of the Russian worker, when these ideas get broad circulation and strong organizations are created among the workers, replacing the present scattered economic fight with a conscious class struggle, then the Russian worker, rising to the leadership of all democratic elements, will crush capitalism and lead the Russian proletariat (together with the proletariat of all countries) on the straight road of open political struggle into the victorious Communist revolution."