

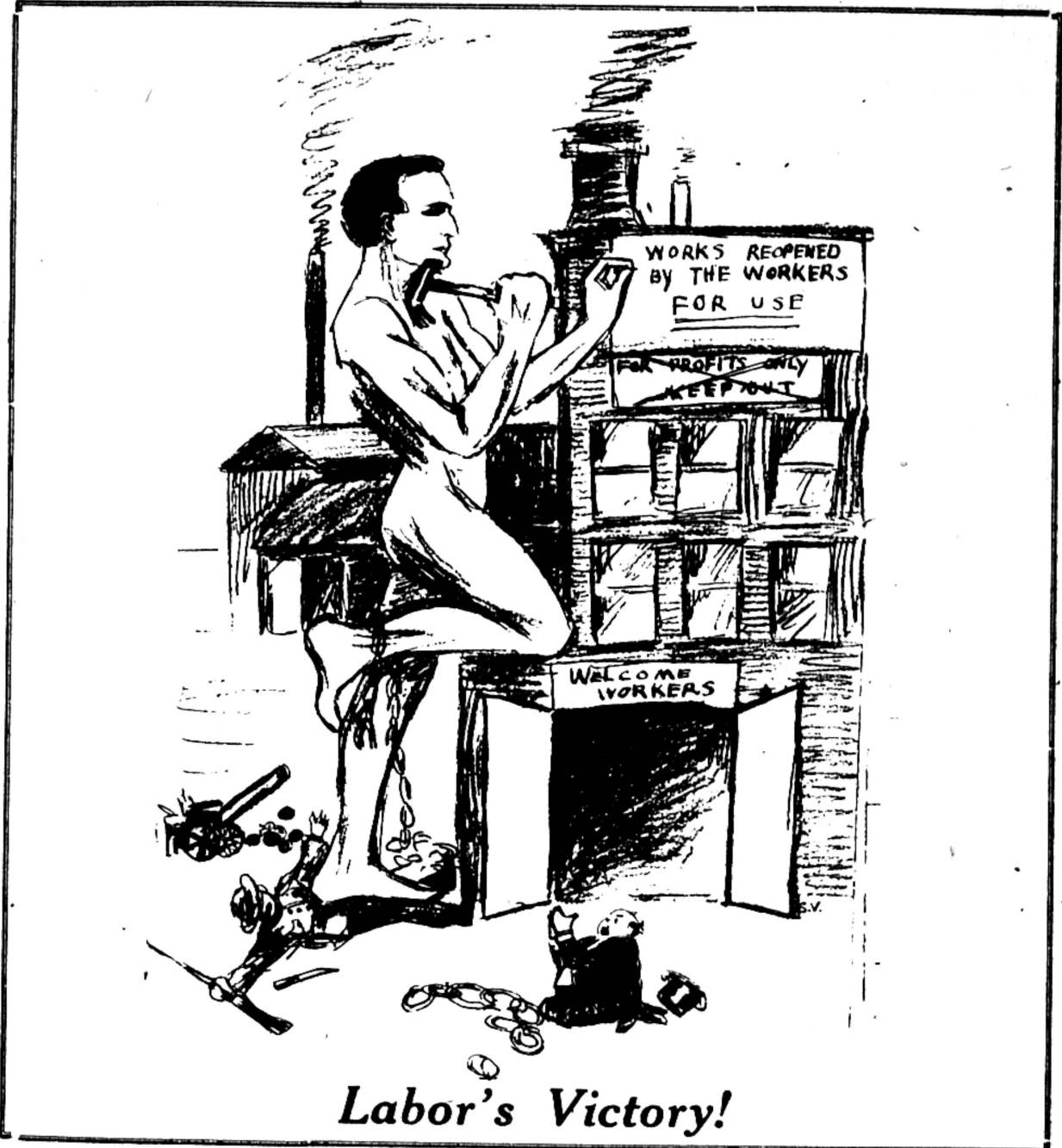
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The TOILER

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Labor's Victory!

The Fight Is On!

By Tom. Clark.

The fight is on in the needle trades. The Clothing Manufacturers Association has declared war on the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, demanding a standard of production, which every worker must meet, to earn the standard wage. Any worker supplying less than the standard of production will have his wage reduced accordingly. The Association demands the right to discharge its employees for incompetency. It wants to remove the impartial chairman, who settles all grievances.

The trick is clear. It is the first step toward introducing the piecework system and then the open shop. It is the first step toward breaking the control of the union over the job and over the scale of work and wage. It is a step calculated by the bosses to reduce the payroll, since the needle trade is a seasonal trade, and by means of speeding up, the season can be shortened. It is a step to throttle the workers and their organization, at a time when work otherwise is hard to obtain and suffering is bound to follow.

But the trick is not going to succeed so easily. The bosses cannot trifle with 150,000 men and women. They cannot simply order, and expect them to obey, no matter how hard times are.

Unite for defense.

ALL the workers of the needle trade realize that it is an attack on them as well. The membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union recognizes that if the Amalgamated is crushed, they will be the next to feel the fight. So the whole needle trade of the country — 400,000 men and women—has united into an alliance to fight the bosses. The alliance includes the above two unions, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, the Journeymen Tailors' Union, and the International Fur Workers' Union. The United Garment Workers, a unit of the A. F. of L. has also been invited to join the Needle Trades Workers' Alliance, as the organization is called.

The fight is on!

It is the beginning of the fight that will soon have to be fought by all organized labor in America. It means a life and death struggle for organized labor in America!

Will the workers of America learn the lesson before it is too late? Or will they wait till the front ranks are broken and then look for means of protection?

For many years, clothing workers were the most miserably paid, the most shamefully housed and the most brutally exploited workers in the country, if not in the whole world. "Sweatshop" work was the kind of work they performed. And that word has only one meaning — the worst form of exploitation and degradation. But by organization, these workers rose to the front ranks of workers. These "greenhorns", who were supposed to know nothing of America and American conditions, showed the leaders of organized labor in America how workers could fight and obtain results. The consequence has been that the clothing industry is one of the best organized in the country. It is made up of fighters, who are denounced as revolutionary.

A union with a revolutionary purpose

Yes, the rank and file is, to the greatest extent, revolutionary and does not hesitate to extol the clause of the constitution of the Amalgamated which states that the purpose of the organization is to "put the working class in actual control of the system of production," to the end that they shall be "ready to take possession of it." Their object is simply to force out the employer and to operate the industry in the interest of the working class.

Simple and frank!

The bosses know it. It is the response to the spirit of revolution in Europe, where the workers must either take control of production or starve. It is the answer to the bosses in America, who will consent to operate the industry only at a high profit or not at all. It is the challenge that all workers in America must answer within a few months. It is the reply to the threat made by the big capitalists during the election campaign, through their spokesman, the president—elect.

It is the beginning of the big fight!

Just as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers knew that it would be impossible for them to stand alone, since work has been so slack and their treasury is not well supplied; and just as the International Ladies' Garment Workers knew that, if the Amalgamated was beaten, the

International would go the same way; and just as they and the smaller unions saw that there was only one hope of winning, and that was by forming an alliance of action embracing the whole trade—in the same way, workers in all other industries will have to learn that, within the next few months, they will have the same problem to solve.

Organize on Class lines.

They will have to learn that they are all part of the big working class, whose interests are identical.—They will have to see that as the capitalists form their alliances to fight labor, **ALL LABOR MUST UNITE IN A BIG BODY TO FIGHT CAPITAL!** They will have to learn that we are something more than bricklayers, tailors, bakers, plumbers and engineers—that **WE ARE WORKERS, FIRST OF ALL, AND ALL THE TIME!** They will have to learn that we are a body of producers working for the profit of others. They must learn that the capitalists are united in their big organizations and associations and chambers of commerce, ready to act as one man against the workers. They will have to learn that there is only one form of attack and defense—that of **CLASS AGAINST CLASS—THE WORKERS AGAINST THE BOSSES!**

And now it becomes all the more necessary, since Harding has come out openly for breaking the unions, for establishing the Open Shop. The Republican platform, the platform of the big capitalists, for which the workers voted, ignores the workers. Mr Harding has told us what to expect.

So we must organize, **class against class.** But we must organize efficiently.

To fight efficiently, we must be strong internally. We, the workers, must control our lives and our work. Just as we refuse to be bossed by the bosses, we must refuse also to be bossed by our leaders.

While fighting the employers, we must build up an organization that puts the whole control into our hands. We must build a shop organization, controlled by us and acting as we, the workers, determine. It must be an organization that answers our needs as they change from day to day. **It must be an organization constructed directly upon our work in the shops. IT MUST BE AN OR-**

GANIZATION SATISFYING OUR NEEDS AS MEMBERS OF A UNION!

The Shop Delegate System.

We must elect delegates from the shops and not from the unions, so that action will come right out of the shop. By systems of election and representation, these delegates will form Community, District and National Councils of the in-other industries National Councils of the country, controlling all the work done.

And still we, the rank and file, the workers in the shops, the producers of all the wealth, the men and women whom the bosses count by the dollars of profit that they squeeze out of us, **will be in absolute control.**

Thus, we will have a two-edged sword—the only weapon with which we can meet them and defeat them; and the only weapon that will keep corruption and graft out of our ranks. Graft is killing our organizations—it is being made the pretext for smashing them altogether. **As long as labor unions are as they are, there will be graft. As long as there is graft, the bosses can throttle us. To be a fighting organization, we, the workers, must direct and control.**

The fight is on!

But it has only begun. 400,000 men and women are in alliance against a part of the capitalist class. 2,000,000 workers are jobless. Winter is ahead of us. Times are hard. Labor is getting rebellious. Workers will not be satisfied to go hungry while machines stand idle, because their owners can gain no profit.

IT WILL SOON BE A STRUGGLE WITH THE BOSSES, NOT OVER STANDARD OF WAGE AND PRODUCTION, BUT FOR CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.

Millions of unemployed are a threat to the owners of machinery. Millions of men who were willing to sacrifice their lives for "ideals" held before them during the war,—ideals long proven shams—will not be willing to go hungry because **the owners of machinery cannot obtain a profit from the work done by labor.**

Mr. Harding is on the side of the bosses. He has at his disposal everything to stop the rebellion even of millions of hungry men and women. The courts will be used, as they are being used now, even to declare the Alliance of the needle trades an illegal combine. Injunctions will be issued, as

they are now, to tie up union funds. Laws will be made, declaring the strike unconstitutional. Meetings will be forbidden, as they are now. There are plenty of police, and militia and federal troops well equipped with modern war material to dictate "law".

There is going to be a big struggle. The workers must be prepared--prepared to take control of the industries and work them for the working class.

No labor union as at present organized, can help them fight the bosses. No labor union as present organized can help them take control of industry.

THE PRESENT FORM OF LABOR ORGANIZATION BETRAYS THE WORKERS INTO THE HANDS OF THEIR EMPLOYERS!

The fight is on! The fight is on all sides!

Let our watchword be: **THE SHOP DELEGATE SYSTEM FOR THE CONTROL OF PRODUCTION!**

The Message of the Russian Unions to French Workers.

(The following message was written by the Russian Labor delegation after the French Government had refused to admit it to participate in the extraordinary congress of the General Confederation of Labor last September. The yellow syndicalists were not very anxious to have comrade Lozovsky-Dridzo at the congress, for he knows them too well, having lived in France for many years prior to the March Revolution. We reprint it from the valiant organ of the left syndicalists "La Vie Ouvriere" and hope our readers will enjoy the discomfort that it caused the yellow leaders when comrade Tommasi read it to the congress.)

Comrades:

Allow us first to thank you for the hospitality which republican and democratic France has rendered us, the representatives of five million organized workers of Russia. You are a part of this republican and democratic France (at least many of you have been saying so since 1914), and this is why our gratitude is addressed to you as well.

The Russian Industrial Unions have chosen their representatives in order that they may enter into direct contact with the labor organizations of Western Europe and tell them of the great struggle and great suffering of the Russian workers. We were sent in order that we may tell you the truth about Russia and on the other hand familiarize ourselves with your life and your struggles.

At the time of our departure for Western Europe we knew that we were going to encounter there an unbridled reaction and that the governments on their part would do all they could to hinder the direct contact between the workers of Rus-

sia and those of Western Europe, but we were certain that the proletarians of the so-called civilized countries had sufficient power and maturity to decide, in spite of their governments, the question whether they should or should not receive their brothers of combat and of servitude.

When constitutional England refused to give us our passports and when the British consul at Christiania declared that were we merchants or representatives of financial establishments, he would give us his authorization, it occurred to us at once that there still exists yet in Europe the heir of the principles of the French Revolution, the land of Democracy, the greatest champion of Right, which has, as everybody knows, saved humanity from militarism and has established upon the ruins of German militarism a just, honest and durable peace, based upon Right. The land that has had such great ancestors and four revolutions, the land where all statesmen talk day and night of liberty, democracy, civilization; the land where even the manufacturers, the financiers and brokers cannot speak without tears in their voice of Danton and Robespierre, such a land would certainly give authorization to the representatives of the working masses of Russia.

And it was natural! Who is more overfilled with the desire to tell the truth about Russia than your papers? Who is more interested that the Russian situation should be clarified in a most just manner than the champions of Right?

Paris a new Coblenz.

We have not as yet received an official reply but we have learned that the President of the French Council, a lawyer by conviction, has answered that

in accord with Lloyd George he has decided not to register any complaint against M. Millerand, but we present our claim to you, workers of France. We ask you: Is it known to you that in Paris and thruout France live Russian generals of all colors, Russian counter-revolutionaries, speculators, titled aristocrats that have transformed Paris into a new Coblenz?*) Is it known to you that in Paris lived until recently Maklakov, who has named himself ambassador of Russia, not of the Russia which has definite territorial boundaries, but of the extra-territorial Russia that besieges the doors of the ministerial antichambers, supplicating for the defense of their goods, movable and unmovable? Is it known to you that all these conspirators not only have the right of entering France but receive subsidies from the French government? We on our part are absolutely sure that the money given to the Russian counter-revolution is not taken from the pocket of the French people, for the French people would deserve a most severe condemnation if it allowed to have its money squandered for this purpose, but that the money is taken from the personal resources of the French ministers, and yet....

Is it known to you that the government of democratic France, the friend of liberty, has done all it can during three years to crush the Russian proletarian? Is it known to you that all the counter-revolutionary movements, the mutinies, the attempts to blow up railways and bridges, that all this is done with the aid of the money and officers of republican France? Is it known to you that the banner of international reaction torn out of the hands of Czarism has been raised again by France the representatives of which differ from those of Czaristic Russia only in that when they shoot the workers, they proclaim the principles of the Great French Revolution while our black and white generals do it in the name of God and the Czar? And finally, is it known to you that this work of "civilization" done by our government costs Russia the lives of several hundred thousand workers?

Evidently you know all this. But if you know it, what have you done to restrain the new international gendarme and assassin of liberty? What

*) Coblenz was the center of the world reactionaries, leagued against the Great French Revolution. Ed. Toiler.

have you done in order to fetter your unchained bourgeoisie? And finally, what have you done in order to alleviate the terrible sufferings of the Russian proletariat which struggles all alone against all the forces of the capitalist world? Workers, proletarians of France, what have you done?

What the Russian workers have done.

Think, put yourselves into our position. In March 1917 the Russian proletariat, exhausted by war and famine, overthrew Czarism but immediately after the Revolution it appeared that the change was but superficial; that only the political form has been modified, but that the social system based upon the private ownership and exploitation has remained. The Russian bourgeoisie wanted to do with us the same as the French bourgeoisie had done in 1789, 1830 and 1848; she wanted to crush the old regime and break the chains of Czarism by means of the workers, and that these, their task accomplished should call the wise, intelligent, well educated and thinking bourgeois and tell them: "We are simple workers, we only know how to sacrifice our lives for our ideals; we only know how to die upon the barricades and how to battle unarmed against Czarism, but we do not know how to conduct the State and how to enjoy the fruits of victory. Come and guide us!"

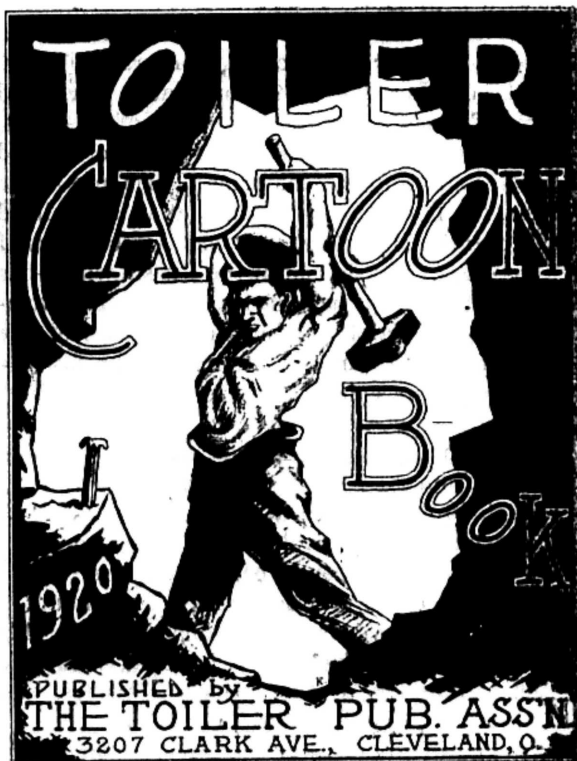
And so it was during the first eight months. Men calling themselves socialists were persuading us that the working class must not govern without the bourgeoisie, that only the bourgeoisie is able to lead the country out of the economic disintegration, that only the coalition of the workers with their exploiters will bring the victory of the Revolution. The Russian bourgeoisie allowed these idle talkers to make speeches while she herself organized feverishly in order to settle her account with the workers "a la mode de Versailles". Among the working class since the first days of the Revolution the unrest and anger were rising and they were asking themselves: "How is that! have we shed our blood in order to put in power Mrs Milukov, Goutchkov, Tretiakov, Smyrnov and the other patent representatives of the Russian bourgeoisie? We have made the Revolution and yet our economic situation will remain unchanged? This can not be!"

And the exhausted army repeated the same thing, the army which the coalition government compelled to make war; and the peasants also said

the same thing—they who expected land from the Revolution and received nothing but promises from the coalition government. The Revolution had placed before the working class of Russia the question: "Who will be the master of this great country, the exploiters or the exploited?" In October 1917 the working class of Russia, supported by the army and large masses of peasants, answered: "From now on the master of Russia shall be he who works and no one else."

Outlawed by humanity.

The Russian Revolution was just as much the work of the unions as of the Communist party and the Soviets. The Industrial Unions of Russia have not only aided the Revolution, they have made the Revolution; they have been one of the most important factors of the proletarian victory. But after the Russian proletariat broke the chains of capitalism, it became a bugbear for the exploiters of all lands. The Russian workers have been outlawed and the whole world from London to Buenos Ayres, from San Francisco to Christiania, from Paris to Tokyo armed itself against us. The Russian worker has been proclaimed the enemy of mankind, and Russia a lair of bandits and murderers. There is no stain, no calumny or lie that has not been poured upon the head of the Russian workers because they have dared to lift a sacrilegious hand against the principles of capitalist exploitation. And in this chorus of voices hostile to socialism could be heard the barking of the gents who call themselves leaders of Labor Unions. What a touching accord! On one side the inveterate experienced exploiters, the kings of cotton, iron and steel and the bourgeois press, sold wholesale and retail, and on the other side the socialists and syndicalists whose every word is taken up by the yellow press. And these men who came from the midst of the workers not once have asked, questioned themselves why their word against Soviet Russia pleases so much the bourgeois press, why they themselves who several years ago were considered as bandits similar to the Russian Bolsheviks, why they are at present so well distinguished, why their declarations are so praised, why they are tapped in a patronizing manner on the shoulders, why the sworn enemies of the working class compliment them with charming amenity when for the hundred and first time they set them-



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selves to repeat and to applaud the legends of the crimes of the Bolsheviki.

Things that will not be forgiven them.

Why is it so? The matter is very simple. It deals with the crushing of the Social Revolution in Russia in order that it shall not awaken the instincts of social emancipation deeply rooted in the proletarian masses. The victory over the bourgeoisie in one country proves that it is not invincible, but the interests of the bourgeoisie demand that it should be engraved in letters of fire in the mind of every worker that the present regime is some thing immutable, unshaken, eternal and that the working class represents nothing and is nothing but human dust without the bourgeoisie. The school, church, literature, science, press, the whole bourgeois culture, everything is organized for the purpose of inculcating into the minds of the workers the idea that the interests of the working class demand the defense of bourgeois order and of the system of exploitation of man by man. And here suddenly one finds a country where workers and peasants take away the shops and the factories from the manufacturers and the land from the landowners; where they expropriate the banks and the luxurious hotels and transform all this into collective property; where they proclaim the principle: "**He who does not work, shall not eat**"; where parasites and profiteers of all kinds are shot when they revolt against the workers. What? to shoot the bourgeois, the czars, the princes and the speculators, to shoot the generals, this is a thing unheard of! History has established as an immutable fact that only workers should be shot. The worker, as every one knows, loves to be shot. It is necessary to stop this contagion, it is necessary to surround this country with an iron circle, it is necessary to press the working masses into famine and misery, to disorganize thru uprisings and continuous attacks the production and then say to the proletariat: "Look at the results of the Social Revolution; see whither lead the attempts to get rid of the governing classes!"

Recall the Communards soiled with calumnies.

And yet cretins are found who not understanding the mechanism of the struggle serve as the echo of the bourgeoisie when she cries in all languages about the banditry of the Russian proletariat. But, comrades, were not your Communards termed as

bandits, incendiaries, brigands, insensate destructors of divine and human laws? Are not the pure images of your heroes of 1871 stained by the dirty calumnies and cynical lies? Have not the lackeys of the pen written that all the women who took part in the Commune were prostitutes and that the Commune itself was an unbridled debauch and pure insanity? Is not the pure memory of the Communards which is dear to all of us stamped into the mud by the so-called historians? You, French workers, who have lost during the bloody week of May 1871 30,000 proletarian lives under the volleys of the insatiable Versailles, you ought to understand what these accusations are worth.

What would you say had some socialist or labor leader written that if the population of Paris suffered famine under the Commune, if the women waited hours upon the street to get bread, if children died of hunger, and the population maintained itself on rats and all sorts of offal, if factories closed, it was the fault of the Communards and not of the Versailles and the Prussians that encircled on all sides the revolted Parisian people, — tell us, what would you say? You would say that either they were cretins or bribed. Well, what shall we call then those socialists, syndicalists who turn to you and tell you: "Look, the Russian workers die from hunger; the factories are poorly organized; in Russia there is not enough of coal, petroleum, cotton and other indispensable products; the urban population is exhausted, and all this is the fault of the Russian workers, it is the fault of the Bolsheviki."

Evidently some will tell you that the working class has no part in that, that only the Bolsheviki, malevolent and pernicious are guilty of all, but only nurslings would oppose Bolshevism to the workers, as though the Soviet Government could exist even one day if it did not express the most vital and profound interests of the large working masses. What are we to call these men who do not see that in the course of three years the Russian proletariat sheds its blood in the struggle against all the forces of the capitalist bourgeois regime? What shall we call these men who pretend to know that Soviet Russia was cut off from Ukraine with its grain, from the Donetz basin with its coal and minerals; from Bakou with its naphtha, from Siberia and Archangel and twice from the whole course of the Volga? What shall we call these men who

(Continued on page 9.)

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Misdirected Energy.

Recently a near riot occurred in Philadelphia. No, it wasn't brought about by any RED agitator. The only agitator present was HUNGER. A contracting agency advertised for 25 men. "Several hundred", as the report says, stormed the doors and fought each other for a chance at those 25 jobs—at reduced wages. To prevent murder being done, the police were called.

This is the most striking example of misdirected energy we ever heard of.

Instead of organizing against the boss and his power and ownership in industry, the workers fight each other to slave for him at a cut wage. Instead of asserting their rights as human beings to a livelihood for all of them, they seek to secure only a temporary job under slavish conditions for a few, leaving the rest to underbid them and in turn to be underbid.

This is not the only instance of this kind. It is one that is being reported from all sections. Workers are thronging the gates of industrial plants everywhere offering to work for as much as a third less than those remaining at work. The workers are approaching the point of hunger. They are be-

coming desperate. And they are becoming desperate without ever having learned the uses of organized working-class effort. They become unorganized mobs whose social consciousness is nil and whose only aim and purpose is to feed themselves and those dependent upon them.

Perhaps, if the unemployed remain unemployed long enough and suffer enough, they may organize into something that will give expression to their needs as a portion of the WORKING-CLASS. In England the unemployed have taken over some buildings and have notified the Government that they intend to keep under a roof. Ex-soldiers are the greatest influence among them. But in this country, if you want to know what the unemployed returned men are doing—ask the police.

1921 Is Calling You.

We don't feel that we are prophesying when we say that 1921 is going to be a momentous year in America. The events that are going to make it stand out in history have already begun. There is the unemployment problem. There is the Open Shop plan of the Master Class. These are with us now. The Bosses have organized before the New Year. THEY are ready for action. They say they are going to establish the Open Shop in American industries.

And we say that these two problems spell big doings for American workers during 1921. Besides, there are many other things that will go to make it an unusual year. There is the question of trade relations with Russia for instance. Whether trade is established or not, whether the master class decide they can do best with or without Russia's trade—it will have a large effect upon industrial conditions here—and it will touch every worker.

And there is the question of the awakening of the workers to class-consciousness. They are beginning to learn. Unemployment, hunger, the fight against the bosses which they HAVE to fight—these are teaching them lessons they would not learn otherwise.

Yes, the workers are beginning to learn—and they are anxious to learn more. They are ready now to read. They want to learn as much about these social movements, the real meaning of this CLASS STRUGGLE. And because THEY are ready to read, WE must be ready to help them learn.

Get on the job with literature.

It is absolutely necessary during 1921 that each and every socialist and radical dispose of the literature of the Left economic and political movements of the workers, we must educate them, we must get them to read our literature—NOW when they are willing and anxious to do so. The opportunity we have been hoping for is HERE NOW. Let us make the most of it, let us get on the job. Let us do our DUTY by the workers NOW.

If you know what the Class Struggle means, you must teach others. The best way is to keep a supply of literature on hand. When you meet a worker invite him to read it, sell it to him. Take literature to every union meeting. Offer it for sale. Take it to your shop and sell it to the workers there. Always keep some literature ready for sale to others. Do not allow a worker to remain ignorant when a ten cent pamphlet will enlighten him. Don't neglect your duty to the workers. It is just as much, even more your duty to teach as it is others' duty to learn.

THE MESSAGE OF THE RUSSIAN UNIONS TO THE FRENCH WORKERS.

(Continued from page 7.)

put all the responsibility for the sad consequences of the blockade of Russia upon the Russian proletariat which has suffered most of all from this blockade? We do not give any surname to those who plant a knife into the back of the proletariat and the Russian Revolution. You will do it yourselves, your instinct, your class consciousness will help you brand with contempt all those who throw mud upon the Russian proletariat bathing in its blood.

Comrade-Delegates, Workers of France!

The Russian proletariat is already three years at the advanced post; its sends battalions after battalions to all the fronts to struggle against the international oppressors. The proletariat sends them because it wants to consolidate its conquests, because it knows how many hundreds of thousands of victims among the workers will be the cost of the crushing of Soviet Russia, it knows that the help of his brother workers will come and he carried alone upon his shoulders the whole weight of the struggle; believes in the international solidarity of the working class, but it has no confidence

Lend a Dollar to the Revolution.

A dollar invested in literature will quickly come back to you when offered to workers. Besides informing yourself better, you can become the means of teaching many others each month by the simple method of ordering a dollars worth of pamphlets, and selling them.

The Toiler publishes and sells the best of the literature of the revolutionary movement. This is the literature we should get workers to read. We do not sell trash which misleads the workers. We are not in business for profit.

We want every reader of The Toiler who realizes the needs of the workers to get busy on this. Order a dollar's worth of our literature. Then sell it to your acquaintances. Then re-invest the dollar in more literature. Follow this method during 1921. You will find that long before the year is ended that your work is counting for something. Look over the list on page 15. Pick out some titles and send us a dollar for them.

Start the New Year with a revolutionary spirit. Do THIS during 1921.

in the men who, during the long years of war have betrayed the workers on a national scope and afterwards have created among them an International Federation to menace and to betray the interests of the working class on an international scale.

The New Industrial International.

This is why against the International of Amsterdam has arisen the International Council of Revolutionary Unions, which puts before the organized workers of all countries the question of social revolution and of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The working class cannot have faith in those who dance around the League of Nations, the organizer of pillages, because the men who have created together with the exploiters the International Bureau of Labor are the most terrible enemies of the working class.

The Russian Revolution and the Russian Proletariat expect nothing from them, because they are on the other side of the barricade.

But you, workers of France, will you allow Soviet Russia to be crushed as was Soviet Hungary? Will you allow that hundreds of thousands of Russian proletarians fall victims to the unchained reaction? We may imagine by the events in Hungary what would happen if in Russia through the help of for-

eign imperialists was established the Dictatorship of reaction of Russian bourgeois and proprietors.

If Soviet Russia were crushed (but we are sure that we will not give this pleasure to the international capital) the fields and plains of Russia will be washed with the blood of hundreds of thousands of tortured proletarians, while the very same among you who have insulted us during our life, will vote resolutions of sympathy and will express platonically their indignation against the atrocities of the triumphant reaction as they do for Hungary.

We thank you in advance for such sympathy. When we shall be in an other world we shall have no need of your sympathy. What we need is not platonic sympathy in the future, but a living, active, energetic support at this very moment, if at all in your veins flows proletarian blood and not water poisoned by the poison of the bourgeoisie.

Workers of France!

We demand nothing from you, we only declare to you that the day of the crushing of Soviet Russia will be the day of your crushing, the day of great mourning for the international proletariat.

We declare to you that the workers of Russia will fight to the last drop of their blood, that with rifle in hand all of us until the last man will remain at the interior and exterior fronts and we will not surrender to the Russian and international bourgeoisie whatever the assistance that your "democratic" government will give to Wrangel, whatever

efforts it will make to bind upon the back of the Russian people the principles of Versailles. And if hunger and thirst will have to augment, if we will have yet to resist alone during long months the aggression of all the dogs the Entente has in its leash, we will grasp more tightly our rifles, we will press closer our ranks and we will fight until the end against the bourgeoisie. **Liberty or Death!**

Workers of France!

The old world is crumbling before your eyes, and in the bosom of bloodstained humanity the contours of a new era can be distinguished. The social struggle takes unheard of proportions; the bourgeoisie, especially yours, becomes more insolent each day, for it understands better than the working masses the events that are approaching. From ourselves, from our consciousness, from our revolutionary will depends the approaching of the hour of victory of Labor over Capital. A magnificent dawn is rising over suffering and exhausted humanity. The experience of Soviet Russia has proven that the bourgeoisie can be vanquished; it is sufficient that the workers go straight ahead to their goal without fear with closed ranks.

Hail to you, proletarians of France! Remember the great example of your own history. Forward for the Russian proletariat and let our slogan be: **VICTORY OR DEATH!**

THE DELEGATION OF THE RUSSIAN INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

Sacco And Vanzetti.

By Mary Heaton Vorse.

We drove through the sweet New England towns on our way to the jail in Dedham where Nicola Sacco has been sitting for six months, waiting his trial.

He is accused of having killed two men on April 15th and having made off in an automobile with \$18,000 from the payroll of the Slater and Morrill Shoe Plant in South Braintree. Labor is again on trial in Massachusetts.

Barolomeo Vanzetti is also accused of this crime. But he is not in Dedham Jail because he is already serving a fifteen-year sentence in Charlestown. On December 24th, 1919, there as an

attempted holdup in Bridgewater of another shoe company. No arrests were made—not until May 5th 1920. There were eighteen people who swore an alibi for Vanzetti. Eighteen people testified that on the afternoon and evening of December 24th, Vanzetti was selling eels in Plymouth. These witnesses knew Vanzetti very well, for he was a fish peddler in Plymouth. But the testimony of these eighteen people who identified Vanzetti as the man whom they had seen six months before driving in an automobile from which shots were fired in Bridgewater. One of the women who identified Vanzetti was blind in one eye. But their identification convicted him.

As for Sacco, he was in Boston getting his passport on the day the murder was committed. He has witnesses to prove this alibi. Nor would one of the people brought in to identify him swear that this was the man they saw shooting.

But Sacco and Vanzetti are offenders of another sort. They have both taken an active part as labor leaders among the Italians. Not only were they gallant fighters both of them, but moreover, they were inconveniently holding meetings about Salsedo, — Salsedo who went crazy—maybe—and on May 1st jumped from the fourteenth floor window of the Post Office Building in New York City where he

had been illegally detained by the Department of Justice agents for months—the only man who died in Mr. Palmer's great May Day revolution. Among the Italians there is ghastly suspicion that Salsedo did not jump—anyway it was mighty inconvenient having young men holding meetings about him.

It would make your blood run cold to read the statement made by Elia who was also detained in the Post Office Building and who heard Salsedo's shrieks when they tortured him. This statement begins "I am afraid of the agents of the Department of Justice and I do not want this made public until I leave the country."

So meetings among Italians about Salsedo and Elia were not popular and a crime had been committed in East Bridgewater, for which convictions were wanted. Well, Sacco and Vanzetti are in jail now.

Dedham jail is a model jail... You go into a big hall off which are four corridors; a gallery runs around the second story and four more corridors leading from it. It has the vague air of a library turned into a jail. Even the warden, in his neat blue clothes and close clipped moustache, looks more like a librarian than a warden. But instead of books they put men on the shelves; they keep young men and old in the pigeon holes of cells on the galleries. Men grow old on the shelves of the large light jail where the warden reads the Outlook and keeps a flower on his desk.

As we waited men in the jail uniform of field gray trousers, shirts of narrow blue and white stripes came and went, their hands clasped after the manner of some sort of penitent. It made one nervous to see them walking, their hands clasped in front of them in the unnatural meek fashion.

After a time Sacco appeared, a little fellow, well built, alert, so life loving that even six months of inaction in jail had not effaced his vividness. Short, clean-cut as a Roman coin, eyes that looked at you straight, and above all a friendly way with him almost like a child who had never known anything but affection. There was something vivid about Sacco that made you think of the swift happy

flashing things—jumping fish, a bird on the wing...

We sat down and Sacco told us how he came to America, how he got interested in books and in ideas and then in THE IDEA, which is the way he and his wife always speak of social justice—The Idea, the one great idea, something to work for, something to suffer for.

Sacco was saying: "If I am arrested because of The Idea I am glad to suffer. If I must I will die for it. But they have arrested me for gunman job. What have I worked for all my life? I have worked for educate myself, my comrades. Only so we go on by learning. Do I want to go back to gorriilly day, shooting man in the back? Why should they say I do things like that, when I love all people—my wife, my child, ideas? I love them all the same. Always my wife and I we try to help everybody. We give little theatre shows, we get money for strikes. We get money for all people who need help—not only our own comrades, Catholics, all people."

Loving people as he did, loving learning as he did, he was wounded to the quick that he should be accused of a crime ilke this.

I wasn't ready for a boy like this, a boy who would wring your heart with his enthusiasm for life and learning a boy so undimmed by his six months of waiting inactive in jail. Soon his talk drifted away from his case and his trial. He tumbled out of his story. Seven years employment in one place and how he missed his wife and how he wanted to see the new baby, and how his boss had come to visit him in jail, and the bosses wife had given him a sacred heart and he had taken it "not to hurt the lady's feelings," and the guard had seen it and said: "Hell, why didn't you say you was a Catholic and you'd'a been out of here," and couldn't we get him some more of D'Annunzio's books and scientific books—in Italian, could we?

And suddenly there stabbed through me the certainty that this boy wasn't worried about himself. He didn't even dream he could be in danger. He didn't know what powers there were massed against him. He did not realize that he is the greatest enemy of the organ-

ized manufacturer, for Sacco had fought labor's fight all his days. He loves people and children; he loves learning. He has another quality which his wife shares with him. Wherever Sacco and his wife pass by they leave a trail of affection behind them. People love them for their enthusiasm, their gaiety and their ready helpfulness. Such men are dangerous.

Maybe it is just as well he does not know this. Maybe the clear light of his confident innocence will shine out in the court room as it did in the jail that day.

This story is not all Sacco's and Vanzetti's there is Mrs. Sacco of whose unbroken courage everybody, even the warden, speaks. You couldn't hear about these imprisoned boys without hearing about Mrs. Sacco too. Her second baby has been born since his arrest. She has not seen him since, she has not been strong enough too. It isn't the people in prison who do all the suffering.

There are unwritten stories of such people. Mrs. Salsedo, for instance, who waited these terrific months while they kept her husband illegally up in the fourteenth story of the Post Office Building while they tortured him until he jumped out of the window on the morning of May 1st—if he did jump. And there is Mrs. Sacco and her new baby, keeping her courage undimmed.

I went to see her. She lives in a little bungalow on a hill with woods around it. Her little boy of seven ran to meet us. Then she came out. Her goodness is what you thought of first. No wonder people loved her. It was easy enough to imagine these two young people giving their plays for the cause of labor and for every comrade in misfortune. There is something most lovable about the quality of her beauty. Dark red hair and a sprinkle of golden freckles and now a look of fragility, because of the baby, because of the long wait.

There is a big book published. I think by the Russell Sage Foundation about justice and the poor. It is a very big book and what their lengthy investigation proved could be summed up in five words:

POOR MEN CANNOT GET JUSTICE

As for active labor men, all the dice are loaded against them if they fall

into the clutches of the law. All labor is on trial with Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. It is bound up with all the fight that is going on for the closed shop and the unalterable

determination of the employers to smash the workers. Labor can save these boys and at the same time help to win their own battle.

Graft and the A. F. of L.

By Tom Clark.

It is not so very long ago that, for the millionth time, Mr. Gompers stated pompously and with great braggadocio that the American Federation of Labor would fight the Bolsheviki to death; that there was no place in America for revolutionists; that the A. F. of L. was 100 percent patriotic.

How proud Mr. Gompers must have felt when speaking of the patriotism of the American workman—while his friends, Gary, Rockefeller, Woods, the wool manufacturer, Henry Ford and innumerable owners of big concerns were turning the same American workman out into the streets with the information that there was no more work for him. How big he must have felt as the head of supposedly 4,000,000 organized men and women, while the trusts and corporations and chambers of commerce were declaring war on union labor and demanding the open shop.

Of course, all the trouble was due to the radicals, the revolutionists, the Bolsheviki, the Communists, who were pestering the very soul of organized labor! If only he could get rid of these "aliens within our land", as they call everybody who does not agree with them, everything would proceed smoothly.

So a few months ago Gompers took the machinists convention in hand, and it turned out to be a 105 percent patriotic affair. Then, later, he went to New York to manipulate the Central Labor and Trades Council—and he came off with a splendid "victory", with all the radicals killed on the spot.

But then the holiday season came on, and Sam had to rest—and prepare for the new year. And while Sam was resting, the Lockwood Committee was occupied with the investigation of certain people in New York—labor "leaders" and employers. A shrewd corporation lawyer, who knows the tricks of all the trades, managed to get considerable information.

His efforts have been so successful that a government commission may take the trouble to look into the matter of a GANG of so-called labor "lead-

ers" and bosses who have been holding up the worker and playing with him as with a toy.

Of course, Sam was too busy to bother about such things—and in these days of the infidel and the radical, Sam is very much occupied with the subject of patriotism, particularly of that brand which PAYS WELL.

What the Lockwood Committee found is so damnable, so outrageous that if any workman does not start an investigation and a movement against this lot of traitors and grafters that have been and are feeding on the very toil of the workers, he will not be worthy of being called a fellow worker.

By their own words, these grafters condemn themselves. Let every worker note their infamous names: Brindell, president of the Carpenters' Union—A. William J. Bowen, president of the Bricklayers and Plasterers' International Union—Thomes-C. Preece and J. William Dobson, vice-president and general secretary of the Bricklayer's Union. They—are a pretty lot—these labor "leaders"—these labor grafters. They are a splendid coterie of gangsters—WORKING HAND IN HAND WITH THE BOSSES!

It has been a perfect system of graft, bribery and corruption. These latter gentlemen have controlled the marble trades unions, and have manipulated the wage scales in such a manner that from 80 to 100 per cent graft has resulted!

Yes, yes, Sam Gompers, talk loud about patriotism and the evils of communism! There is a stench in your labor organizations and you do not want the workers to notice it. But it had to come out—and if it had not come out, we would have fetched it before your nose and before the nose of every workman that is in your organizations, to show them what kind of "LEADERS" they have!

Brindell had his own personal form of graft. He worked in company with a lawyer, who was the representative of building contractors. Between the two, they pocketed nearly a million—but, of course, Brindell received the bigger booty.

Bowen, Preece and Dobson did their work in a different way. They controlled the jobs—and only those bosses who were in the “ring” were furnished with workmen. The bosses, furthermore, showed their appreciation of the services rendered by these good and true “unionists” by presenting them with checks to help pay campaign expenses when elections were held in the unions. Naturally, at times it seemed strange to many a worker that the machine worked so smoothly, in spite of dissatisfaction in the ranks. Thus, the carpenters at the convention in Houston, Tex., failed to comprehend how Hutchinson managed to be reelected. They suspected graft—but Hutchinson remained in office.

This could not last for ever. Still the rat is not yet smoked out of the hole—SO WE SHALL PROCEED TO SMOKE FURTHER.

What has Sam Gompers to do with all this graft?

Every union man has the right to ask this question. He must ask this question—FOR THE VERY LIFE OF ORGANIZED LABOR IS AT STAKE!

The bosses have used corruption in the ranks of labor as a pretext for demanding the open shop—in the name of labor! They say that organized workers do not dare to challenge the whole principle of organization and therefore they, the bosses, must help the workers out. They say it is un-American, un-Christian, immoral and what not, for workers to be bound and gagged by a union, particularly when unions are found to be corrupt. They are attacking the very principle of organization.

So every organized workmen must force Sam Gompers and all the officials of the American Federation of Labor and of all the organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. to answer the question: What have you to do with all this graft?

Let them point a finger at you and call you a Bolshevik—demand the answer.

THEY WILL ALL HAVE TO ANSWER THE QUESTION—TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS OR TO THE BOSSES, WHO ARE DETERMINED TO SMASH UNION LABOR ONCE FOR ALL!

Why are Union Officials Silent.

How does it come that there is so much corruption in labor unions and the officials know nothing about it? How does it happen that when this corruption is discovered, the officials of the A. F. of L., with Sam Gompers at their head, do nothing to punish the offenders? How does it happen that,

when the matter is presented to Mr. Gompers, he reserves comment?

Has he really nothing to say? Have they all really nothing to say? The bosses are talking loud—let organized labor demand an immediate reply.

If they refuse to answer, they will be smoked out. Leave that to the advocates of the open shop, who are intent upon carrying the investigation right up into the highest offices of the A. F. of L. Then let all save themselves who can!

The bosses intend so to discredit the notion of organization, that every worker will leave the union. They may even ask for legislation against union organizations as a fraud committed upon the working class. (Of course, we know what a saintly interest the bosses have in the working class!)

Worker's Control to prevent graft.

So we workers must save the organization. We must take it out of the hands of those who call themselves our leaders, and we must never entrust it to others—without a SAFEGUARD!—THE SAFEGUARD OF CONTROL BY THE RANK

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AND FILE!

Without control, every man and every leader will go wrong. Without control, corruption is bound to creep into the organization. Without control, there will never be an organization worthy of the name. Without control, the labor movement is DOOMED!

We must build a rank and file movement right down in the shops, where every delegate elected to represent the shop is under DIRECT control of the workers in the shop.

All the officials, all the higher bodies of delegates any worker elected to any committee is directly responsible to the workers, who may remove them, just as they have elected them. They must take their instructions from them—they must report everything to them. This provides perfect protection.

Furthermore, this is an organization form that works on the spot, safeguarding the worker where he needs protection—in the shop at his work. This is an organization that grows out of the very life

of work and is the foundation for labor in the future. It is the basis of control of production by the worker. It is the militant form of organization that at last serves the purpose for which unions were founded. It is the only hope of the working class in the struggle with the bosses.

Graft in the A. F. of L. will have done one thing: it will rid us of our "leaders". It puts up for discussion again the question of union organization, which we will answer. Let the bosses smash our unions—out of them will spring a more militant, challenging type that will serve us better! Let the bosses expose the grafters in our ranks—let them expose our "leaders" for what they are! In appreciation, we convert our unions into organizations which will put an end to the system and to the graft and bribery which are part of the system.

Leaders of the A. F. of L., what you could not do for us in honesty, you have accomplished for us by graft. We are indeed thankful to you.

A World Of Things.

By ANISE,

Staff Writer for the Federated Press.

When you are out of a job
This winter,
And HUNGRY,
Say to yourself: "There isn't
ANYONE to blame for this!
It wasn't the spite
Of the BOSS
That threw me out!
It wasn't the Associated Industries
Attacking Labor!
But it was merely this:
I and my fellow-workers
Worked HARD,
And had good machinery
To work with,
And we produced
So MUCH goods
That we couldn't USE it!
Oh, no, THAT isn't true;
Of course we could USE it
If we had it,
But they never gave us
WAGES enough
To buy back what we made.
WE only got a part
Of the values we created,
And so that EXTRA goods
Kept piling up,
Suits and shoes and foodstuffs,

Till now—
There is so much of it
That We
Aren't NEEDED any more
To make it
And so
It's soup-kitchens
And bread-lines
And Flop-houses
For US
Until we are needed again!"
We used to think
Ours was a world of MEN
And THINGS were valued only
If they served MEN,
But now we know it is
A world of THINGS
And MEN are only valued
For making THINGS
When all the things are made
That can be sold,
The MEN are told:
"You are not WANTED now."
Maybe their wives want them
And their children want them
And their friends want them,
But the THINGS
Don't want them,
And that's what counts!
And so we wait and hunger
BECAUSE

We raised too much food;
And so we shiver with cold
BECAUSE
We made too much warm clothing;
And, because we might not keep
The clothing and food
But pieces of silver instead
That would not buy it back;
This is what men call
The system of WAGES!
After a while, perhaps,
When we have hungered enough
The THINGS
Will need us again!

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This is Lenin's answer to Kautsky's attack upon the tactics of the Bolsheviks in his pamphlet "Dictatorship of the Proletariat".

"Charity".

By Jane E. Lee.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Charity organization work has reached tremendous proportions. The ruling capitalist class has organized stupendous campaigns for the liquidation of a small part of the human misery created by the misrule of the capitalist class. It is high time the workers learned something about this huge machine which covers the ulcers of capitalism. A series of fine articles has been prepared for The Toiler by comrade Lee, former social worker who is thoroughly familiar with the workings of this institution.

It is well-nigh impossible for the outsider to appreciate even partially the inner workings of the mechanism of modern charity institutions.

Capitalism has seen fit that the hideous monster bearing such an innocent name be shrouded in profound darkness; it would defeat its own purpose were it to disclose the face-value of the institution which, heralded as one of the blessings of bourgeois civilization, is but incontestable proof of its criminal degeneracy.

To prove this contention, we can do no better than to pass on to a narration of the subtleties of organized work and relief.

Spywork Forms the Base of the Structure.

Philanthropic institutions, like all other mercenary channels of bourgeois society are highly specialized and centralized organizations. The background for each unit of charity is the Confidential Exchange. The Associated charities, with branches all over the U. S., is in charge of this department. Its function is to keep records of all those who apply for aid, whether as gratuitous patriots of hospitals, those seeking legal advice or material relief. The object of this department is to determine the "merits" or "worth" of each separate case.

The following constitutes the regular routine and technique of the "work."

A "case" is referred, for example, to the Childrens Aid Society. Forthwith the Confidential Exchange is called in to furnish or be furnished with information concerning it, after which an investigator is sent to the home to pry into the privacy of family affairs, income and expenditure, industrial affiliation, (labor unions)

church connection, in fact, the more spy work the better, an affrontory, let it here be remarked, for which the advocates of "Americanization," from whose ranks those at the head of charity are recruited, would consider themselves amply justified in showing the intruder the door.

And all this humiliation and gross violation of the fundamental rights of the privacy of one's home for the purpose of establishing the "worth" of this or that victim of capitalism, whether unemployed or a subject of some other mishap. Should it appear that the unfortunate is a member of a trade union, even one ala the A. F. of L., or that he is lax in his church attendance, alas for the hope of this heretic ever to get response from the charities. But to proceed with the next phase.

To substantiate or give the lie to the prospective beneficiary as to the information furnished, by him to the spy, or the investigators, tenants, neighbors, employers, priests, ministers (the latter three are subsequently used as witnesses in court-proceeding) are interviewed. The annals of the City Hall are searched to verify marriage-licenses (philanthropists are no adherents of the free-love-doctrine—never mind their clandestine relations those are "bought and paid for.")

How Causes are Ascertained.

If after all the "scientific research" it has been established beyond doubt that the victim is a good law abiding dub hence a worthy subject for pauperization the next question on the program is: What is the cause of his distress?

These capitalist institutions proceed on the theory that financial distress and its misery are the result of individual shortcomings mental or moral.

With this principle to guide it, the worker out of a job must, in the first instance, be segregated, in the second, reformed.

In compliance with this philosophy, the man is dragged to the Psychopathic Hospital for a mental examination, known as the Binnet Test. As is but natural, the victim thus examined, half-

starved frightened out of his wits as a result of this very performance, is in no fit condition to pass the mental grill satisfactorily and the consequence is that a verdict of "Mentality that of a child" is rendered. Translated in terms of capitalist state laws the one thus afflicted must be segregated and proceedings are instituted for commitment to an insane asylum.

Thus the proletarian, who, through the inevitableness of his position in bourgeois society, is forced into idleness, through the manipulation of "charity" lands in a mad house.

But with the consummation of this high-handed treachery the evil workings of charity has not yet reached its highest point. There are still other surprises in store for those who are deluded into the expectation of relief from that polluted source. Do not forget the premise upon which all this is based: "Something is rotten in Denmark."

In the example with the Psychopathic Hospital charity establishes the fact that the jobless is mentally deficient, in the following it proves that he is morally unfit.

The unemployed man is legally responsible for the support of his family, if married, and for that of his aged parent or parents, or some other aged or invalidated relative, if single. Failing to do so, he is a delinquent and charity brings suit against the culprit on a charge of non-support.

Bourgeois justice, of course, is made to triumph and the offender is usually given a jail term varying between three and six months.

With this happy termination charity kills two birds with one stone. Crime is punished and the dependant of the prisoner receives the liberal sum of fifty cents per day (the amount paid by the State for prison labor in 1915,) and charity is relieved from the expense of \$2.00 worth of groceries per week for some few weeks (the regular amount of relief when extended, when it is given).

The mischief wrought however tragic it may be at this point, has still more developmental phases.

With these we propose to deal in our subsequent instalments.