

# The Toiler

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## OSTRICHES!

Attorney Sharts, editor of the Miami Valley Socialist, states this in the issue of February 13th, in answer to Tom Clifford in The Toiler. "When men declare the ballot a snare and pin their faith to a vague phrase called 'mass action', they leave an opening thru which the capitalists, alarmed, furious, ready for an unprincipled and ferocious method of suppression, can hale the unwary revolutionists before their courts and with sufficient plausibility accuse them of whatever a diseased capitalist imagination chooses to regard as 'mass action'."

"Unwary revolutionists" is good. When we desire to become "wary" and to overthrow the capitalist system without arousing the suspicion of the capitalist State, we shall go to school to attorney Sharts and the Socialist Party. Both are past masters in the art of wariness; they are so wary that capitalism has become wary of their wariness and at Albany has called their little ballot game to task.

"It is not for advocating force but for playing into the clutching paws of the enemy we criticise the Communists and the Communist Laborites", says comrade Sharts.

When will socialists be done with such self-delusion? When will they pull their heads out of the sand and look capitalism in the face? Can capitalism be overthrown without the revolutionists laying themselves open to vicious onslaughts of capitalism? By what method can it be overthrown without arousing the watch dogs of capitalism? By what milk and water applications of social reconstruction can we accomplish the dispossession of capitalism without arousing bitter class-conflict? Are not Albany and Berger enough of a lesson to our comrades of the Right Wing?

## Russia and America

The capitalist class domination of all our concepts of life is mirrored in the following news item.

### Frayed Cuffs Mean Jail

ST. PAUL, Feb. 18.—Because his cuffs were frayed and his coat faded Tony Vondre couldn't cash a \$358 check here. Instead they locked him up while the police investigate him and the check.

To be poor or to have the appearance of poverty is to be dishonored. No virtues of the mind or heart, no service to humanity, however great and noble, can overbalance the odium of lack of wealth under our debauched, caste system of society. Wealth, or the show of wealth is what we are judged by. The dollar is King and God and the source from which all that is held of value is derived.

But a new concept is spreading across the earth the basis of which is service to society. Not wealth, not appearance, not a life of uselessness are of value, but a rendering of service, a paying of one's way thru life by productive labor of hand or brain are made the conditions of honor under this new social concept.

This is the concept of value and honor under the rule of the Soviets of Russia. Needless to state, the rule of the profit taker and social parasite ended there forever. The workers rule and they have made their rule spell work for all and for all a just return upon their labor. There is no room in Russia for the loafer whether rich or poor. No parasite thrives upon the unpaid labor of others. No parasite class can establish a system of ethics upon the enslaved, riveting upon their minds chains of mental bondage. The new concept extends a challenge to the old, the battle is on and we are witnessing the crumbling of the latter into the dust of what has been.

## Moving the Mass Forward

It is interesting to note the manner in which masses of humans step in this or that direction—against all former convictions, as the economic urge induces them to do so. In the be-puzzled state of mind in which the average man finds himself in these days he is ready clay in the hands of that great Potter, Economic Determinism.

That the mass is being moved out of old accustomed tracks is apparent in the loosening and rending of the political strings with which they have hitherto been more or less tightly anchored to one or other of the old parties. This breaking away from the old beliefs is not an arbitrary severance, but betokens a social ferment whose causes lie in the shifting economic foundations of society. In response to economic pressure new ideals are permeating the mass mind and this breaking of faith with the old political ties are its first manifestation.

The mass is ripe for new social concepts. It is subjecting present social questions to a rigid examination, it no longer accepts unquestioningly the convictions which are freely laded out to it. While it has reached no settled convictions upon any of the questions of the day and doubtless will take its own time in formulating its new ideals, it is assuming an independence of action that augurs well for its future.

Of course there is a great conservative mass whose reluctant steps indicate the force of the law of statics as applied to mass movements and this slow moving contingent of the advancing army clogs the steps of the freer spirits and enthusiasm—but march it must.

# EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

## SPARKS.

# The Question of Unity of the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party

Organize that study class now. Then write us and say you have done it. Prepare to get all the good out of this course in Proletarian Science.

Ten copies of the Bullitt Report were ordered by comrade England, of Moline.

Another sub card order from comrade Bramson of Joliet this week.

Comrade Perry Hinkle is on the job of sub getting at Yorkville, O. A \$5.00 order for cards indicates the start he has made.

A little pamphlet for the non-socialist—"Two Minute Talks," that's it.

Comrade Wood O. Maxwell, of Canton, likes our cartoons. The dollar he remits proves his liking. Now, we just wonder if you have a dollar that will say any thing along that line?

If you don't like this week's cartoon—don't send us a cent!

Among the comrades who got a copy of Lenin, The Man and his Work, as a premium, we note that of comrade M. A. Teti of Wyatt, W. Va.

Forty dollars was remitted this past week by comrade Cunningham, of Akron for Bullitt Reports.

And we have to repeat once more—that the number of three month subscriptions which the comrades send in with their renewals is becoming larger each week. It is just a little opportunity which they seem to delight in taking to educate their fellow slaves. Keep it up is the motto.

A "vote of confidence" is what we would call the 2 year renewal of comrade Jack Harrison of Pawnee, Ill. Yes, and the extra sub and the book order and the two sub cards which he will sell.

Local Niles seems to be carrying out its plan to get all members paid up for the year. A recent dues stamp order shows which way the wind is blowing.

Comrade M. Slavik, of Warren, O., writes that our cartoons are good, that being so, he remits 50c to guarantee more of them.

Two dollars for the defense of comrade Chas. Baker is to hand from Frank Stidd, of Bellaire. "We can't afford to let capitalism put our fighters in jail", he writes.

A five spot will still do a bit of good in several ways. Comrade Jno Le Panne of Zanesville, proves that it will. He sends a dollar for his renewal to The Toiler, subscribes for a year for a friend and the other three go to the defense fund.

Among the faraway boosters of The Toiler, we note comrade Helen Ashby of Morton, Wash., is on the job with a bunch of three.

Seven yearlies and three half year, constitute the gleanings of John Rehm, of Springfield, O., in the subscription field.

Six yearlies, comrade J. Meek, of Yarrow, Mo., sends us. This puts Yarrow on our map. Good work, thanks comrade Meek.

Every day we receive orders for the Dels picture. The reason is easily found. They are good pictures of our greatest and best loved comrade. Send for one—25c each.

Just \$11.00, that's all—all this time. They come from comrade Perry Shipman, of Rock Island and each one stands for a years subscription. Some boost, we admit.

When I can't get any more subs, writes comrade Fosse Evans, of Girard, Kans., "I will sell literature". But it doesn't look to us as though he intended to stop. This week he sends us \$5.50 worth and that totals about \$60.00 in the past month which he has sent us in subscriptions. Some record.

You will want as many workers as possible to benefit by the study class

About December 16, 1919 a communication was received by the executive secretary of the Communist Labor Party, signed by Fritz Friedmann, who at that time was the organizer for the German branches who had joined the C. P. This communication asked for an unofficial and non-binding conference upon the question of unity, between the national executive committee of the C. L. P. and "influential members" of the C. P.

To this communication was received by the executive secretary of the C. L. P. an answer, i. e., that such a conference would be greatly expedited if the names of the influential members of the C. P., who desired this conference, were made known to the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. No answer to this inquiry was ever received from Friedmann.

The communication from Friedmann came before the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. in an official manner on January 3, 1920. It was decided at this meeting to elect a committee of two, consisting of Edward Lindgren and A. Wagenknecht, to interview the executive secretary of the C. P.; to carry this invitation for an informal conference issued by Friedmann, an official of the C. P., officially to the C. P., the desire being to have an official conference, if the C. P. now desired unity.

The following C. L. P. sub-committee interviewed I. E. Ferguson, of the N. E. C. of the C. P. Ferguson was told of the Friedman letter and also informed that if the C. P. desired unity, the steps toward that end should be considered officially by the N. E. C. of both parties. Ferguson and the sub-committee of the C. L. P. subsequently arranged for a meeting between this sub-committee and C. E. Ruthenberg and himself.

This meeting took place January 17th. Ferguson could not be present. The secretary of the C. P. Lettich Federatis and C. E. Ruthenberg were present for the C. P., and L. E. Katterfeld, Edward Lindgren and A. Wagenknecht were present for the C. L. P. Ruthenberg suggested that unity might be arrived at if the C. L. P. would agree to adopt the C. P. manifesto, program and constitution, and a merging of the two national executive committees. The C. L. P. sub-committee suggested as a counter proposal that the C. L. P. platform be the platform of both parties, as well as the C. P. manifesto and program; that new government rules were necessary to meet the new situation; that a resolution be adopted which admitted that unity was being effected between two parties, the same in principle. It was understood, mutually, that this meeting not official. Upon adjournment of this conference, the C. L. P. sub-committee was given to understand that word would be sent it as soon as the N. E. C. of the C. P. considered the question of unity officially at its meeting.

Word was received from the N. E. C. of the C. P. about January 22, that a committee had been elected to confer with the C. L. P. sub-committee and that the C. P. sub-committee had a definite proposition to make regarding unity. A meeting between the two committees was arranged for January 24th.

At this meeting there were present three committeemen representing the C. P. Ferguson and Ruthenberg were present in an unofficial capacity. The C. L. P. was represented by Bilan, Katterfeld and Lindgren. Wagenknecht was present unofficially.

The C. P. sub-committee placed the following proposition before the C. L. P. representatives:

course which starts in next issue. Therefore, get subs.

If you enjoy the best, you will like "Man of the State". It costs one dollar.

Two dollars, one for subscription and one "for the good cartoons you are publishing, comes from comrade Leon Vetta.

"Keep up our good fight," writes comrade C. A. Reider, of Apple Creek, O., and he helps us to do it with two yearly subscriptions.

Comrade Frank Renko of Livingston, Ill., is with us again. Of course he sends in \$5.00 for subs. He's gotten the habit.

Three yearlies arrived this week from comrade Thos. Carmody, of Akron.

An order for eight copies of Socialism for Students from comrade H. A. Wise of Davenport, indicates that there is going to be some investigations of socialism made there.

Some recent good literatures orders have been filled for C. H. Winton, Akron; L. E. Ehen, Boharda, Ky.; J. W. Walker, Battle Creek; Ed. Pohl, Cloverdale, Ind.

Organization and defense contributions to the value of \$4.00 is to hand from Frank Renko of Livington, Ill.

"Russia in 1919", is the premium chosen by comrade Bramson of Joliet, for his \$5.00 worth of sub cards. He'll soon have a library, we are thinking.

Local Toledo remits nearly \$30.00 for literature and sub cards.

Comrade Wm. Rowles, of Cleveland, remits \$3.50 for organization work and defense which he has collected from comrades.

"I'd be lost without it", writes comrade Mrs. Karbosky, of Battle

Creek, and she renews her subscription and promises some more soon.

Another new booster is comrade Hrs. E. Markizon, of Wilmington, Del. She orders \$5.00 worth of sub cards and requests a copy of Russia in 1919 as a premium.

Comrade Betty Blumenberg remits \$1.00 for organization and defense.

Local Tiffin is selling dues stamps, so writes comrade Steekel. An order for more stamps indicates the demand for them.

Have YOU paid February dues yet? Don't delay. Delay means sabotage practiced toward the movement. If you want to sabotage something you know what to pick out for practice.

Comrade J. A. Rospert has taken another fling at old man capitalism. This time he hits him hard—twice as hard as before, for his letter contains \$10.00 worth of new subs. When it comes to hitting, comrade Rospert is there.

## A COMMUNIST ANSWER TO JOHN SPARGO

will be the subject of a lecture by TOM CLIFFORD

at North Congregational Church 72nd and St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, O. SUNDAY, FEB. 29, 7:30 P. M. Questions and 3 minute talks invited.

## APPRECIATION

"Just a word about the Toiler cartoons. I don't think Walker, Miner, Becker or Robinson have anything on the Toiler cartoonist. The work of this unknown cartoonist is proof that there lies dormant in our movement much excellent talent of various natures that might be utilized in the interest of the Revolution with little or no expense to the Party." Fred Walshli.

## Buy Literature.

## Pay Dues.

## Get Subscriptions

## Get Busy.

"That in response to the request from the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. we inform this committee that if it is ready to accept our manifesto, program and constitution and form of organization as the basis for a call for joint convention, we agree to hold a joint convention, and for this purpose, upon receipt of its agreement, we are prepared to elect a joint convention committee (our manifesto, program and constitution to be effective for the C. L. P. only as a basis for a joint conl), the form of organization, in-so-far as it means new methods to meet the new circumstances, and the basis for admitting members to go into effect at once."

Debate proceeded upon this proposition. It was shown by the C. L. P. representatives that even consideration of a convention at this time was useless; that it was criminal to postpone unity in face of the present reaction; that the C. L. P. was in favor of immediate unity and that it fully believed that the membership in both parties favored immediate unity.

The C. L. P. sub-committee then proposed the following counter proposition:

"1. We recognize that there is no fundamental difference of principle between the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party and we agree to send out a call for a joint convention on the basis of the Communist Party manifesto and program and to elect a convention committee for this purpose.

2. We realize that the constitutions of both parties are impossible of application under present conditions and agree to new organization forms adapted to the circumstances.

WE FAVOR IMMEDIATE WORKING UNITY as far as this can be effected pending the convention. For this purpose the two national executive committees and the two national offices shall be merged, and propaganda and organization work, as well as defense activities shall be conducted in common, but the language federations of both parties shall be allowed to continue upon their old basis until the convention.

The C. P. sub-committee agreed to report this counter proposition to the N. E. C. of the C. P., which was to take place soon, it was claimed.

Upon February 14th the N. E. C. of the C. L. P. held a meeting. In view of the fact that no answer had been received from the N. E. C. of the C. P. a motion was passed to request an answer by March 1st. The N. E. C. of the C. P. was written to this effect.

Subsequently a copy of the C. P. official paper reached us. Thru this we were informed that the N. E. C. of the C. P. had considered the counter-proposal of the C. L. P. The action taken by the N. E. C. of the C. P. follows: "A motion to accept the counter-proposal of the C. L. P. as to point 3 was lost and the following motion adopted: That we reaffirm our previous position with instructions to our committee to make such modifications in regard to the constitution as were indicated in the discussion."

What the modifications referred to are, we do not know. We do know, and we restate firmly, that the C. L. P. stands for immediate unity. We believe that the membership of both parties are for immediate unity. We know that a large minority of the N. E. C. of the C. P. are for immediate unity. But it so happens that those who opposed unity at the convention and since that time, have a majority upon the N. E. C. of the C. P. This majority, consisting of five or six officials, members of the N. E. C. of the C. P., is the only barrier to IMMEDIATE UNITY.

LET THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS SPEAK!

## Can You Answer these Questions Correctly?

What INTERPRETATION of history were you thought? Do you know how many interpretations of history there are being thought?

What is Evolution? Is it a fact or a fancy? What is the Law of Fecondity? Are you an Atavism, a type or a sportive variation?

What is the "Road to Happiness"? Is man a "Free Moral Agent" or is he RULED by environment, heredity, social and economic?

What was the Solonic Law? Where did the Alphabet come from? What effect does a change in the tools of production have upon man?

What is Static Mindedness? What was the social effect of the invention of the "flivver"? What discovery marked the end of barbarism?

What is meant by the Materialist Conception of History? What really determines wages? These and a thousand other questions are answered in the text of W. E. Reynolds unpublished new book on Proletarian Science.

This book is specially arranged for use in Study-class work or home study. The Toiler has arranged to print this book serially one lesson a week. Each lesson followed by 20 or more questions specially arranged to bring out all the points in the text.

It is as easy to read as a novel, yet contains JUST THE INFORMATION NEEDED most of all by the workers.

Get busy NOW and organize a study class in your community. Study work will be easy.—Just follow the text and then discuss it.

Organize a class if at all possible. If you can not get a class, get as many as you can to follow the lessons each week and then discuss them whenever you get the opportunity and see how easy it will become for you to refute your enemies and make converts of your friends.

WATCH FOR THE OPENING CHAPTER IN OUR NEXT ISSUE. Use the blank below. Call the attention of your Comrades and fellow-workers to this course. They will want to subscribe to The Toiler, too, so as not to miss a lesson. Do your part. Help spread the very Best Propaganda.

Name ..... P. O. Box or Street Number ..... City ..... State ..... Renewal ..... Sent in by .....

## Man or the State

A book of essays by Kropotkin, Buckle, Thoreau, Spencer, Tolstoy and Oscar Wilde.

"Should the State be the master or the servant of mankind?" This book provides the best possible approach to the problem of the State. The essays, written by some of the greatest thinkers of our time, describe the historical evolution of the State, point out its failures, defects and dangers, and outline a nobler State—order, built upon the corner stones of human brotherhood, industrial association, an individual freedom. A rare book of delightful literature, stimulating and of great interest.

\$1.00 A VOLUME. Address: The Toiler, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.