

RED REVOLT WILL SWEEP ENGLAND

(Continued from Page 1)

Parliamentary institutions throughout the world.

To allay all this suspicion and discontent, the Government is "economizing." But the London Times laughs. It says that the Government has not been able to show a smaller deficit than £2,000,000 a day. It has been disbanding the air service, it has been firing its clerks, it has been dismantling munition factories like that at Gretna, which cost nearly \$50,000,000, and covers twenty-five square miles—but it has been throwing out of employment armies of people, who go to swell the discontent.

And all this discontent is being helped by a growing feeling that the war has not abolished war.

Women Workers—Deviils.

To still further swell the discontent, come the women. In disbanding its war factories the Government is letting loose armies of discontented women, whom it bids go back to the home as domestic servants and prospective mothers of the race. But war has taught women to hate the trammels of domesticity; its freedom has given many of them distaste for that marriage which, perhaps not altogether unnaturally, they compare with "domestic service." The war in fact has raised the devil—in this case a female devil which can neither be caajoled nor coerced.

It is sinister, pitiful confession, but direct action, in the definite sense of being opposed to Parliament, has made great strides in England during the last few months. Direct action feeds on hunger and discontent. The Government has fed it. We have reached a stage in the most constitutional country in Europe where the mere fact that something is promised by Parliament is regarded by large numbers as assurance that it will not be carried out.

Lloyd George Another Wilson.

Lloyd George has broken out into another epidemic of speeches. He speaks in his rounded, florid sentences of a future world in which hunger and unemployment shall have no existence; a world of happy children and contented proletarians. Nobody believes him. As the London Times says: "He is drawing another check on the bank of good intentions and it will be returned marked 'Account overdrawn.'"

Got to Go Through it.

I don't believe that any statesmanship today can avert what is coming. Some things, like some people, bear upon them the sign manual of fatality. The thing that is coming in Europe is fateful. It is as sure as the fact that death is the essential of resurrection. We have got to go through it.

The masses in Britain have developed a new and strange consciousness as a result of the war. They have "got ideas." Something has been set moving down there in that incoherent mass mind—something that is growing every moment.

The coming winter is about to see the ruin of a dozen countries, bloody uprisings, and the beginning of a time in which the pallid nightmare of starvation and death will replace the red nightmare of war, finishing the work which it began.

IS HINDENBURG GERMAN KORNILOV?

Reaction Rallies About War-Lord and Workers Must Choose Him or Spartacus

BERLIN, Nov. 19.—The "Kornilov" of Germany that will either restore monarchy or unite the workers in a successful attempt to finish the half-completed revolution, has arisen in the person of Von Hindenburg, who is busy rallying larger and larger nationalist crowds around him in demonstrations for "Deutschland ueber alles," "Hoch der Kaiser," and a restoration of the reactionary government of pre-war days.

"The entire army," he writes "seems to be at the disposal of the reactionaries."

The demonstrations began when Hindenburg was summoned to Berlin to testify in the Reichstag inquiry concerning responsibility for the war. Nationalists, especially among the student body of Berlin, crowded around him, and prevented his automobile from going on toward the parliament building. They turned the affair into a triumphal demonstration which grows in magnitude each day.

It is noteworthy that the officers of the old regime and the whole bureaucracy have been left undisturbed in their positions of vantage, while the workers have been disarmed by the Ebert-Scheidemann-Noske "socialist" government.

Conditions are ripe for reaction of revolution. The winter will decide.

Noske Stops Revolt?

Noske is patting himself on the back, according to "The Times," because he prevented a Spartacan outbreak by suspending traffic in the interior of Germany and thus preventing the revolutionists from using trains to travel quickly to points where outbreaks will occur.

But another story in the same issue announces that Noske fears a revolution, because the shortage of coal has compelled him to suspend not only passenger trains, but also troop and freight trains.

It's a case of "You're damned if you do, and you're damned if you don't."

In the meanwhile Spartacans are painting the white marble statues of Prussian rulers in the famous Sieges-Allee (Alley of Triumph) a brilliant red, and painting on the pedestals red inscriptions:

"Down with capitalism!"

"Up with the world revolution!"

NO COAL MEANS NO INDUSTRIES

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what's a promise between officials of class peace unions and officials of the Government?

Government Can't Make 'Em Work.

Meanwhile, the mine strike continues and the Government acknowledges that its efforts to drive the men back into the aid of an injunction is meeting with very little success. Thirty-seven of the most active strikers have been arrested in West Virginia, and held without charges as "reds." But that doesn't seem to have roused the mines of West Virginia.

The middle West is already suffering from the coal shortage, and export of coal to Europe is at a standstill. This menaces all the industries of Europe.

Wilson "Arbitrates" With a Club.

William E. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, a genuine unionist, is busy trying to "arbitrate" the demands of the miners. He has called a conference of the discredited mining officials and the operators. Here he declared:

"I tell you, the demand of the 30-hour week (the men are only demanding that they be guaranteed a minimum of 36 hours) is absolutely impossible, and must be abandoned. The demand for a sixty per cent wage increase is also impossible."

With such a "neutral" arbitron, capitalism hopes to drive the workers back to work. There's an old saying that is applicable: "You can drive a horse to water but you can't make him drink."

Production of Coal Shows No Increase.

Day	Tons	Normal
Nov. 3	542,000	560
Nov. 4	543,000	555
Nov. 6	570,000	585
Nov. 7	570,000	585
Nov. 8	558,000	575
Nov. 10	508,000	505

KERENSKY'S AMBASSADOR CALLS HIM LUNAR

Former Chief of Staff's Blatant Off by Attacking Kolchak as Monarchist

Kerensky's ambassador to this country, still claiming to be an ambassador though Kerensky has fallen, has declared that the former Russian premier is a liar.

This declaration was provoked by the fact that Kerensky recently gave out an interview in which he called Kolchak the center of reaction in Russia, and that his "government" (what there is left of it) has been arbitrary, autocratic, pro-Czarist, and has suppressed the organs of popular government in the parts of Siberia under his sway.

The Russian "ambassador" appointed by Kerensky, readily transferred his affections to Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch, when the Kerensky government fell, and he is still holding on to his meek ticket in the United States, though he no longer represents the government that controls practically all of Russia.

Kerensky stated that "the name of England and of the whole Entente stands for blackest reaction and tyranny in the eyes of the Russian people."

SONIA GINSBERG UP ON CHARGES

Communist School Teacher Investigated; Six Others Grilled

"Sonia" Ginsberg, teacher in P. S. 170, Brooklyn, had charges preferred against her by the Corporation Council of New York at the request of the Superintendent of Schools, for being a member of the Communist Party; and five other teachers have been investigated by District Attorney Berger, with the result that charges may be preferred against them also.

When asked whether Miss Ginsberg had taught Communism to the pupils under her charge, Superintendent Ettinger replied:

"It does not matter whether she did or not. No teacher can be a member of such an organization and remain a teacher in the New York public schools. A teacher cannot teach patriotism in the class room if she belongs to an organization that is opposed to the brand of patriotism that our school system stands for."

"There is no such thing as 9-to-5 o'clock patriotism. The doctrines that our teachers are required to espouse in the class room must remain their doctrines after school closes. We are making every effort to wipe out radicalism in the New York schools, and whether there are many or few teachers of that stamp they will have to go. Our school system is no place for them."

Mr. Berger claims that three of the other five teachers have already been examined and have admitted membership in the Communist Party and agreement with its principles.

The Board of Education is determined to make the schools safe for capitalism. Ten more teachers are under suspicion.

An intimate friend of Sonia Ginsberg reports that she voluntarily left the school system several months ago. The New York Times conjectures that the Corporation Council has made a mistake in first names and that it should be Sadie. But the World publishes interviews with "Sonia."

MARTENS' OFFER TO U. S.

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visit Russia, and therefore cannot or will not depart from there, and they declare that they are reluctant to deport them to Kolchak or any other of the bandit adventures who have set up "governments" in Russia for the officials admit that to do so is to subject them to instant death upon their arrival in the hands of the counter-revolutionary leaders. (So much for the gentleness of the White Terror.)

Now Mr. Martens makes a perfectly logical proposal that, since these deportees are citizens of Soviet Russia, and since they want to get home having grown thoroughly tired of the American brand of democracy, and since the United States wants to get rid of them, it would be well for the Government to take advantage of his standing offer to transport them to Soviet Russia at the expense of the Soviet Government.

SOVIET MONEY TALKS—2,500 FIRMS LISTEN

A. A. Heller, commercial agent of the Soviet Bureau, issued a statement to the press in which he declared that the Bureau was in touch with over 2,500 firms here and that many of them had appealed to Congress and the President to lift the blockade.

He declared that Senator Calder, New York; Now, Indiana; Bankhead, Georgia; Myers, Montana; and Representative Porter of the Foreign Relations Committee, had all approached the State Department on the matter of granting licenses to particular firms.

"I am under strict orders," he declared, "as are Mr. Martens and all other official representatives of Soviet Russia, to refrain entirely from political propaganda and any instruction not to mix in internal affairs here. Absolutely the only object of our being here is to make it possible for Russia to obtain essentials for rebuilding the country from the United States."

BERGER RENOMINATED

The Socialist Party has renominated Victor L. Berger, after he was re-elected a seat in the House of Representatives because he was found guilty under the espionage act.

LUSKERS LEARN LOTS FROM L. A. MARTENS

Archibald Stevenson, of Lusk Committee fame, has issued a statement to the effect that the presence of L. A. Martens, Soviet Representative in this country, "constitutes a continuing source of danger to our institutions" and intimated that he would like to have Martens deported.

"The excerpts from the Communist Manifesto of Russia," declared Stevenson, "which is signed by both Lenin and Trotsky and others, urges the proletariat of the world to disarm the bourgeoisie at the proper time and to arm the laborers."

"The witness (Martens) testified that he was a member of the Party which issued this manifesto."

"It is interesting to note that the Communist Party of America pledges its members to support the Communist International, of which the document mentioned is a statement of purposes."

Martens Arrested.

This statement was made public by Stevenson after the committee that has come to be known as the "Loony Luskers" had summoned him to surrender all his diplomatic correspondence, and had arrested him for refusing, and had then questioned him at great length concerning his life history, the Russian Revolution, the Communist Manifesto, Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, whether a blacksmith with two workmen in a capitalist, what course history is going to take in the near future, and so many other things that the heads of the Luskers must be busy with information.

Martens refused to turn over his papers because he said it was none of the affairs of a New York State Legislative committee, but was a national matter. The Luskers arrested him for contempt, let him out in a hurry on \$100,000 bail, summoned him again, cross-questioned him about almost everything but his business in this country, and ignored his refusal to turn over his diplomatic correspondence.

Martens' Life History.

The Lusk Committee seemed to be desirous of becoming Mr. Martens' biographer, for they questioned him concerning the whole history of his life, from birth onward, and were even interested in the possible pre-war influence of German parentage.

They learned that his name was Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, that he was born in Russia of German parentage, that he was educated in Russia at the Technical School in Petrograd, that while here he joined a secret society which studied the Socialist classics, that he had participated in revolutionary activities against the Czar's government at the time of the coronation of Nicholas II; that he had been jailed for three years and then exiled, that he was in Germany Switzerland and England and aided in smuggling propaganda into Russia against the Czar, that he knew Lenin personally, had met Trotsky and Bukharin in the country when they were on the editorial staff of the Navy Myr, he himself was a member of the editorial board at one time, that he had been in the German army through conscription from 1898 to 1902, that he had become a Russian citizen in 1908, and—o-o-o-o, lots and lots of other things all of which were duly taken down by a stenographer and hundreds of reporters.

McDill Gets a Higher Education.

Assemblyman Peter E. McDill got was especially interested in learning what a capitalist was. Was a blacksmith a capitalist? A man who owned his own home?

Martens grew angry and snapped: "How many hairs on a man's head determine how old he is?"

McDill subsided.

MORE COUNTS AGAINST C. E. RUTHENBERG

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dictations pending against this "desperate criminal."

Stedman did not call a single witness for the defense, but merely moved a formal list of charges after the wide field prosecuting witnesses had said their say, and then upon Judge Cull directed the jury to withdraw and explained to them that in view of the fact that there was no evidence against the accused they ought find a verdict of not guilty. And it didn't take the jury long to do this thing.

There are enough indictments against Ruthenberg to send him to jail for several centuries, but Ohio juries and judges do not seem very willing to do this for him for conducting educational propaganda to arouse the working class to a consciousness of its historic mission, the establishment of industrial democracy.

"WOBBLES" FREED "DICKS" CENSURED

Magistrate Ten Eyck Ridicules Charge That Chumley Carried Pen Knife and Dr. Crane's Article

Having a pen knife in his pocket, carrying dangerous papers in the shape of an article by Dr. Frank Crane, subscription lists of the Rebel Worker, and some personal letters, being a member of the I. W. W.—such were the charges brought against Stamford Chumley, editor of the Rebel Worker, by Officer Miltevitich and Sergeant Wallace, of Geegan's Bomb Squad, when Chumley and John Edwards were brought before Magistrate Ten Eyck, after having been "raided" Saturday night at I. W. W. headquarters. They were both discharged after the magistrate had ridiculed the testimony that was brought against them.

Magistrate Ten Eyck measured the blade of his little gold handle knife with that of the "concealed dangerous weapon" with which Chumley was supposed to have "armed himself to kill members of the Bomb Squad."

"The defendant's 'weapon' is not a dangerous one," said the Magistrate. "It's no bigger than mine."

"These mean nothing," he declared after reading "the dangerous papers" found on Chumley. "Strike that off the record," was his laconic rejoinder to everything that Officer Miltevitich and Sergeant Wallace said. Once Wallace blurted out inadvertently and in sheer desperation:

"Your Honor, we have instructions on this case."

"Strike that out," was the Magistrate's severe rejoinder.

40 YEAR, \$50,000 DEATH - CAG LAW

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would provide the death penalty if one killed in self-defense if assaulted while handing out circulars.

Isn't it a peach? Nicholas Romanoff can't sleep in his grave out of sheer envy. Compare his pitiful two and three year sentences in well-lighted study rooms with McDill's magnificent proposal. "Poor Nick feels cheap."

Unfortunately, the Senate tabled the measure by referring it to the Senate Judiciary Committee, where it will rest, along with the other pettier gag and terror laws until the next session of Congress.

Palmer's Eyes Peeled.

Meanwhile poor Palmer, Attorney General, declares that he hasn't sufficient laws to proceed against 60,000 people who are trying to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat, but he's watchin' them like a cat, and reading 222 newspapers written in every foreign language under the sun, besides 105 English propaganda papers to which he is a subscriber. In addition, he has to inspect 244 papers published abroad and sent into the country for propaganda purposes.

"Poor Palmer! Reading's hard work!"

BOSSIES APPEAL TO TYPO EXECUTIVE

Want Big Tax Expelled Because It Is Solid Behind Vacationists

The boss-printers evidently understand the scabbery on which craft unionism is based, for they have appealed to the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union to expel Big Six, because its members voted Sunday, by a majority of 415, to sustain the "unauthorized" strike of the "vacationists" on the book and job presses. Not only those on strike but all of the rank-and-file of Big Six were permitted to vote, and although those who are not on strike must pay benefits to those who are, such is the solidarity of the men that they voted to support the strike.

The employing printers claimed that the newspaper workers are opposed to the strike. They answered in no uncertain terms by their vote that they supported the men who were out. The employers threatened to have their work done in Chicago. The answer of the Chicago men was that they would do no scab work for New York whether the strike was authorized or unauthorized by the "lax officials of the union. They gave further answer by taxing themselves to support their New York comrades.

In desperation the employers have gone to the right party at last, the union officials of the old International Union from which Franklin Union 23 and Pressman's Union 51 have seceded.

It was reported last week the secessionists have been joined by the "Web" pressmen. More unions will follow.

"WEB'S" FORM NEW UNION

The Web Pressmen have already formed a new international of their own. It shows its parentage, however, by putting arbitration in its new constitution.

By way of looking the stable after the horse is out, the officials of the Berry International will probably accord to the request of the employers and "expel" the secessionists.

A YEAR OF SOVIET LEGISLATION

(Concluded from Last Week)

Religious Freedom.

On January 3rd a decree was published separating the church from the state and the school from the church; and compulsion in religious affairs abolished as well as all special rights or oppression in connection with religion; the right guaranteed to believe or not to believe in any sort of religion; the clergy deprived of all state power.

On January 26th the European calendar (new style) was introduced; the whole commercial fleet declared the common and undivided national property of the Soviet Republic; a decree was published forbidding to the benefit of the Soviet Republic all capital of private banking stock corporations, abolishing all banking shares and bonds and prohibiting the payment of dividends on these shares.

On January 31st decrees were published establishing labor exchanges for a better distribution of working forces.

On February 20th a decree was published creating people's courts for lawsuits concerning sums of over 3,000 rubles (which courts will meet out justice on the basis and with the guidance of the law consciousness of the working classes).

On February 22nd a revolutionary press tribunal was created to combat all crimes and offenses against the people committed with the help of the press; a decree was published establishing arbitration courts.

On March 3rd were formed: the gold central, the sugar central, and the tea central for the supervision and administering of all gold, sugar, and tea distribution.

On April 5th a decree published granting to foreigners free access to Russian citizenship.

On April 14th a decree issued ordering the removal of monuments of the Czars and of the Czar's servants and the ordering of projects for monuments relating to the Russian Socialist Revolution.

Foreign Trade Nationalized.

On April 23rd the whole foreign trade was nationalized, and it was ordered that all commercial contracts dealing with the purchase or sale of all kinds of commodities to foreign states or to foreign firms may be entered into only in the name of the Russian Republic.

On April 26th a decree was published introducing obligatory military

Workers' Education.

On August 13th, in order to satisfy the demand of the workers for education, and in view of a particular need of higher technical education for the workers in the textile industry, was opened the Vyborg-Voznesenskiy Polytechnical College.

On September 15th was created the Moscow Mining Academy in view of the pressing need for technical education on the part of the workmen of the Moscow mining district.

On September 18th a decree was published introducing the international metric system of weights and measures (instead of arshins, poods, etc.).

On September 19th a decree was issued increasing the food rations of the children and aiming at the protection of children and the youth from a whole number of sicknesses closely connected with malnourishment. The Council of People's Commissaries declared the feeding of children to be a task of the first order.

On September 18th 25 million dollars were assigned for the cause of the Finnish workers' labor communes, workers' co-operatives in the wood working industry, and the protection of the Finnish fugitive workers.

The Order of the Red Banner.

On September 20th a decree was issued establishing the order of the "Red Banner" accorded to all citizens of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, who will distinguish themselves in a direct military activity by exceptional valor and gallantry.

On September 22nd a decree was issued ordering a new wage tariff: the wages of workmen and employees were raised 20 per cent, also that the "Red" workers were gaining the grater was the increase in his pay.

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ON WITH THE CLASS WAR

The Lusk Committee staged a ridiculous tragi-comedy of Bolshevik baiting, a frame-up in Centralia was used as an excuse for rounding up "wobblies," the members of the Union of Russian Workers were brutally beaten up, their headquarters wrecked, and many hundreds of them jailed, the authorities planned to frame up our Rutgers Square Demonstration, planted machine guns and an armored car there, and planned to turn the meeting into a shambles that would make Centralia and Haymarket look cheap, the machinery of Government was set in motion to break the coal strike, the Seattle-Union Record was raided, Senator Lusk hurried abroad to take a course in counter-revolution under Gustav Noske—all of which led a few of our comrades to contract an acute case of stage-fright, and call off some of our branch meetings in different parts of the city.

By the time this issue reaches the news stands, every branch will be meeting again, the comic interlude of Gustav Noske the Little will have come to an end, and the Communist Party, having cleared its brain with a little laughter (some of it at the more timid of its own members) will have settled down once more to the serious business of directing the struggles of the proletariat toward "the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

"On with the class war!" The slogan is a superfluous one—so long as there are classes the class war goes on, and with ever-greater intensity, with ever-sharper conflicts, until the triumph of the revolutionary class. The last two weeks of raids, frame-ups, arrests, and declarations of a state of siege, have increased the openness and intensity of the class war more than the last two decades have done. Our Russian comrades are at last beginning to feel at home here, for America is beginning to look very much like Czarist Russia. The veil of class peace, of class neutrality and impartiality has been torn from American Government, and it stands revealed as the open, undisguised instrument for the suppression of class-conscious labor.

Our "neutral" Government has intervened in the coal strike, and our "equalitarian law" has been used to smother the coal unions, to break the coal strike, and to compel the miners' "representatives" to confer with the operators on the latter's terms.

"Their public servants" forbade their meetings. "Their" mayor used "their" police to break up their meetings. "Their" Governor used "their" state militia, and "their" President and National Government used "their" army to break their strike. No miner who has lived through the experience of this concrete propaganda of the last few weeks can no longer cherish any illusions concerning a classless society, a classless government and class peace.

"The stage is set for the destruction of organized labor in America," is the way James H. Maurer is quoted in Monday's papers. But a stage set for the triumph of capitalism is also set for the defeat of capitalism and the triumph of the working class. The stage is set for the destruction of the capitalist system and its chief weapon, the capitalist dictatorship.

"On with the class war?" Why, the class war never stops. In the last few weeks the class war has become an open offensive by the capitalist class, in which it has used all the available official and semi-official state machinery in an attempt to destroy the existing organizations for the carrying on of the struggles of the working class for power. But to succeed in doing that, it must first destroy class-consciousness. Yet, its activities of the last few weeks have merely resulted in increasing class-consciousness, in teaching hundreds of thousands of half-awakened workers the meaning of "capitalist state," in destroying the illusions of classless government, classless law, neutral investigating committees (a la Lusk), neutral arbitrators (a la Wm. B. Wilson), in neutral newspapers, in neutral schools, in neutral or classless institutions of any sort. The illusion of a jail being a badge of criminality, and shame vanishes before the reality of the jailing of workers for urging the class interests of the workers.

"On with the class war!" The capitalist dictatorship has made a show of an offensive. A few of our comrades have been fooled into thinking that this put us on the defensive and that we were even in retreat. The militant working class is never on the defensive, never in retreat. And in times like these, when the class state is revealing its true nature—in such times the opportunities for propaganda along class lines are most rich. At such times we make our greatest advances. In this period of capitalist aggression we must become most aggressive. Comrades, get our leaflets into the shops. Get our press into the hands of the workers. Use this splendid opportunity for explaining the class state and its class machinery of oppression.

The Communist Party could not be born until the class war became acute. The Communist Party is growing and will grow, because the class war is becoming more acute, and must become more acute. "The Communist Party realizes the immensity of its task; it realizes that the final struggle of the Communist proletariat will be waged in the United States, our conquest of power alone insuring the world Soviet Republic. Realizing all this the Communist Party prepares for the struggle."

ON WITH THE CLASS WAR!

Vulgar Socialism By Correspondence

CHAPTER II BERENBERG DISCOVERS "MATERIAL DETERMINISM"

In our first chapter we analyzed the vulgar economics that makes up about one-fourth of the Rand School's correspondence course in "The Fundamentals of Socialism." Before we proceed to our next topic we take this occasion to remark that we have by no means exhausted the ignorance of economics displayed in the three lessons that Berenberg devotes to that subject. But we will forbear, and turn to the next of the three main types of ignorance into which the course is divided, the ignorance of the mechanism of history and historical materialism. In the course of this analysis we will take up the first of the author's three great discoveries—namely the discovery of "Material Determinism."

"Historical materialism is in a certain sense all there is to Marxism." So speaks Labriola, and, this being true, we are indeed approaching holy ground.

"Material Conception of History" is the tempting title of Lesson IV, of Berenberg's course, but as we have already gotten inklings of the nature of that lesson from passages in earlier ones, we approach it with mingled anticipation and dread.

"Everything Changes."

Already in Lesson II, we were treated to our first glimpse of Berenbergian dialectic under the head of "Evolution." Here the author says:

"The world does not remain stationary. Everything moves, shifts, changes. EVEN the methods by which people earn their daily bread changes." (The grammar is not our own.)

Surely, this is a substantial improvement on Marx. Marx seemed to think that legal and juridical relations, forms of property, social structures, religion, morality and the like tend to remain stationary—so much so that a revolution is necessary at intervals to wipe them out and substitute new ones.

Marx thinks that the ONLY thing that tends to change by itself is the economic foundation, the material forces of production. Berenberg shows that "everything changes," and grudgingly admits that "EVEN" the economic foundation is subject to this universal law of automatic change.

It is very easy to see, thus early in the course, that the "dialectical" method of Socialism will not be revolutionary for the Marxian "dogma" of the necessity of revolutions is based upon the belief in the unchangeability of the social structure (of law, government, morality, and the like), which unchangeability acts as a hindrance or fetter upon the ever-changing economic foundation until that foundation, through the class identified with it, rises in revolt against these static fetters and against the ruling class identified with them. To Marx's theory then revolution is an integral necessity.

Revolution a Luxury.

But Berenberg believes in the tendency to change that is innate in such conserving and conservative institutions as law, government, religion and the like and as an afterthought admits (with the qualification of an eloquent "EVEN") that the economic foundation also changes. This is very convenient, for if the economic foundation remained stationary while the social superstructure changed, a revolution might nevertheless have to be occasioned by the superstructure, lest the unchanging mode of making a living become a fetter upon the changing superstructure.

Obviously then, to Berenberg's system, revolution is not a necessity. At best it is a superfluous luxury, and we will not be surprised to find when we come to his last and greatest invention that that invention is "The Bloodless Revolution a la Berenberg."

However, the reader will have to be patient for a while, for we are determined to finish our analysis of "Material Determinism" and discuss other matters, before we treat our reader to that other greater invention.

The Discovery.

Berenberg leads up to his discovery gradually. Modestly enough, he calls Lesson VI (in which the great contribution is formulated), by the

old Marxian name of "Materialist Conception of History," in place of the name of his own theory, "Material Determinism."

He begins Lesson VI by summing up what he has so far shown, that the worker is "defrauded" of part of his product, a summary, which Marx, in his intolerance, would have called a "hummer of social justice." Then he (Berenberg) asks the question which follows logically from Berenbergian economics, namely, "Why do the capitalists not realize this wrong, and of their own accord help the worker?"

He proceeds to answer his own question by explaining that there are different views of what is right and what is wrong.

"The Socialist's explanation of these different points of view is this:

"MATERIAL CONDITIONS DETERMINE THE ACTIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS."

"This is a law of human nature." And "This law of human nature the Socialists call 'MATERIAL DETERMINISM.'" (How modestly he speaks, for he is the first "Socialist" to call the law by that name!)

But the real statement of his famous formula comes a little later, when he sums it up in words, every one of which we shall note with interest, namely:

"MATERIAL DETERMINISM DECREE THAT SELF-INTEREST COMES FIRST"

Shop-keeper Philosophy.

This then is Berenbergian materialism, the type of materialism which the church and the academy have always pretended was the essence of Marxism, and which the Marxists prior to Berenberg have always repudiated as un-Marxian—a materialism that sums itself up in the word "self-interest," a materialism that leaves no place for ideals, a thoroughly vulgar materialism of the pocket-book, a type of materialism that has always associated itself in our minds with the timid and crafty petty bourgeoisie, the small shop-keeper-eager to get ahead, fearful of risking too much of his little store, impervious to ideals, never risking long chances and generous sacrifices, carefully calculating the cost of each move and the narrow margin of profit involved.

Berenberg's materialism precludes idealism (used in the every day sense of the term). It concerns in the bourgeois concept of mankind, "Each man has his price." "You can't get something for nothing." "I'm not in business for love." "How much is in it for me?" In the bourgeois world, art, and science, virtue and integrity, votes and reputations and the bodies of women are saleable commodities. And the philosophy of the bourgeoisie, more especially of the petty bourgeoisie who cannot think in large terms and never has his imagination stirred by vast ventures, huge flotations of stock, gigantic swindles—his philosophy is a product of this degrading result of the profit system where everything is saleable, where "self-interest comes first."

But this is a far cry from the materialism of Marx and the Marxists.

Marxian Materialism.

"When Social-Democrats call themselves materialists, they only want to emphasize their view that they refuse to acknowledge anything which pretends to lie beyond human cognition in a metaphysical way."

So speaks Engels. In other words Marx was a "materialist" in the philosophical not the vulgar sense of that term. He did not mean that men were not swayed by ideal motives, by ideas, by things contrary to their personal self-interest. His own life is a striking disregard of the dictates of self-interest, and the millions of adherents to the cause that calls itself "Marxian" are millions of examples of sacrifice of time, of leisure, of position, of freedom, and objectives of life itself, while in Russia, in the name of that cause a whole people, first to weary of the war, is still battling against the united imperialist nations of the entire world.

Materialism vs. Idealism.

Marx was a materialist in the philosophical sense of that term. He was an opponent of the philosophy known as idealism, which is derived from idea, not ideal. He insisted that we must explain natural phenomena in terms of the natural, the material

world. Proletarian philosophy has no room for the supernatural. Proletarian philosophy rejects the belief that God decides the conduct of men, and it looks for causes where it finds effects, namely in the material world. Proletarian thought rejects that species of philosophy which says that ideas arise spontaneously, that feudalism, for example, was abolished merely because some man or many men "got the idea" of a new system, or because the idea came down from heaven, or because "history" is a personified entity capable of itself having an idea which it has always been striving to attain, by virtue of which each change is a move on the part of history to bring the material facts of life in line with this idea.

Yet the above are samples of the idealistic philosophy which Marx rejected in favor of a materialistic philosophy and they have nothing to do with the question of whether men are swayed by ideals or exclusively by calculating self-interest.

Berenberg's "Material Environment."

Now let us return to Berenberg's discovery. Lest we be unfair to him, let us take his two modifications of his own law that self-interest comes first.

"Not personal interest alone," reads his first reservation, "but the entire material environment determines people's conduct. So, for example, any business man will invariably pay his personal bills but will, if hard pressed cheerfully go into bankruptcy to avoid paying business obligations." (At this juncture we are moved to wonder what the conduct of this particular business man has to do with his whole material environment.)

"So again," continues the author, "artists find that they are painting not the picture that they want to paint, but the picture for which there is a market, in other words, the picture which the material conditions force upon them." (All of which confirms us in our belief that Mr. Berenberg has a thoroughly bourgeois soul which believes that "material conditions" are conditions of the market, and that self-interest lines up interest with principle and profit and loss—in short, that Berenberg's "Materialism is pocket-book materialism.)

Ideology in History.

Then there is a second reservation in which Berenberg admits that abstract ideas (and even that form of them known as ideals) do occasionally influence people to "defy material conditions." (Whatever that may mean!)

"There have been," he admits, "men who died rather than offend their consciences. Artists and writers who starved rather than paint or write the trash that sells. Yet these instances are rare. It is impossible to build a law on them. They must be regarded as exceptions to the law."

Yet Marx has built a law on them. And Marx does not regard them as unexplainable exceptions. Nor does Marx, nor can any one who examines the facts of life believe that the belly and the pocket-book determine human history and that self-interest comes first.

History Refutes Berenberg.

History is an overwhelming refutation of the cheap absurdities of this mechanical pocket-book materialism of Berenberg. When the Belgians rose as one man to meet the "invader," was each soldier measuring his own interests in the conflict? If he had stopped to figure it out he would have discovered that all he could have "gotten out of it" would be a bullet wound, the loss of an arm or a leg or of life, rotten food, shell shock, venereal disease—surely it was not self-interest that dictated his entry into the fray.

"But," cry Berenbergians, "are not wars fought for foreign markets, for spheres of influence and exploitation?"

Aye, they are, but the soldiers who fight them volunteer for such abstract ideas and ideals as patriotism, love of country. They never expect to see the products of and often times do not even know enough geography to know the location of, these "foreign markets."

Compare the number who profited by the war with the number who it. Immediately it becomes apparent that whole masses are moved by a mass ideology (emotional ideas, ideals), and not by the self-interest of the individuals that make up the mass.

Our own movement is a living re-

futation of Berenberg's law of "Material Determinism," which decrees "that self-interest comes first." Does the revolutionist going to jail measure his experience in terms of self-interest? When a man joins the Communist Party after the "raids" we have just witnessed, does he not laugh at calculating self-interest? Our movement, based on a materialistic philosophy, is an idealistic movement. Class consciousness and the emancipation of the working class are tremendous and inspiring ideals. Else every Communist would be a stool-pigeon. For there's more money in it.

So Marx, in place of ignoring or denying the force of ideology in human history, recognizes it, insists that it is an ever-present phenomenon, and explains it. It is no "exception" to the Marxian law of historical materialism. Let us see how he explains it.

In the Marxian system the economic structure is the basis, the real foundation of the social structure. Out of these economic relations grow codification, sanctification and idealization in law, morality, religion, philosophy, patriotism, poetry, art and other forms of social consciousness. These things Marx calls the superstructure, because they grow out of and are built upon the economic foundation.

The Bourgeois Revolution.

Thus, to select a single example, feudalism disappeared and capitalism took its place only after trade, invention and discovery had developed a merchant-trader-manufacturer class on whose further development feudal institutions had become a fetter. The manufacturer needed free labor and the serf was tied to the soil. Hence developed the ideology of freeing the serf.

The feudal ruling class, the landed aristocracy, alone had political power. But the growing capitalist class needed political power to sweep away feudal privileges, monopolies, restrictions on "freedom of trade" and similar hindrances.

And so, to the slogans of "Liberty, equality, fraternity," fired by the desire "to free mankind" from feudalism, to make all men equally "free" (free to buy and sell labor), to liberate the serf—the forces of the bourgeois revolution, aided by proletariat and peasantry, moved forward to the attack upon feudal government, feudal law, feudal religion, feudal philosophy and the feudal aristocracy whose cause as a class was identified with this superstructure.

And the reader will now remember how Berenberg declared that "everything changes," "EVEN the methods by which people earn their daily bread," while Marx declared that the economic structure was always changing, while the superstructure of law, government, religion, morality and the like tend to remain stationary, until this superstructure becomes so great a fetter upon the further development of economic forces that the economic forces rise in revolt against the superstructure, or more accurately, that the class identified with the developing economic forces, attempts to change the fettering superstructure, and in so doing comes into conflict with the class that is identified with that superstructure.

And a working class ideology of class-consciousness and class solidarity and class loyalty, is a very real and a very powerful weapon in the further development of society. Therefore, we have built a Communist movement, to develop, to crystallize, to direct that ideology. And this, too, is a far cry from Berenberg's apologetic conclusion, "The only thing that can be done (to material determinism or self-interest) is to harness this natural force and use it for the benefit instead of TO THE DETRIMENT of the world."

With this we shall leave Berenberg's great discovery, "Material Determinism," again haunted by the feeling that we have not begun to exhaust the ignorance displayed in the seventy odd lines of type, which Berenberg devotes to his lesson in vulgar materialism and vulgar philosophy, and we shall begin to prepare ourselves and our reader for the task of considering the Berenbergian class struggle and his discovery of "collectivism" together with "three methods of attaining it," all of which we shall try to consider in our next.

ONE DAY'S WAGE TO THE DEFENSE FUND LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

IDIOTORIALS

Walter Gabriel send us in this:

WAS HE RIGHT?

After the Police Department of Patterson had broken up the scheduled mass-meeting to celebrate the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a young worker approached one of the guardians of "law and order," and complained that, according to the Constitution, free speech, press, and assemblage were guaranteed.

"That's all right," returned the officer, "I believe in free speech, too, but I don't believe there is anything in the Constitution about celebrating the Russian Revolution."

He also writes: "We held a Russian Revolution celebration in Newark, successfully. Even the detectives stood up when the Internationale was sung."

Send in some idioticals, in honor of the idiotic capitalist system and its idiotic defenders.

Only Tammany Doesn't Rejoice So Publicly.

"J. H. Gibbons, Socialist, was elected Mayor of Lackawanna, N. Y."

"Mayor Gibbons will have the appointment of two fire commissioners, two police commissioners, civil service commissioners, and three members of the board of health."

—From the New York Call.

In the Spirit of Cosbromie.

Secretary of Labor Wilson arranged a compromise conference between the mine operators and the union officials in which he bade each side give up something.

He told the "miners" that they must give up the 30-hour week guarantee and the 60 per cent. increase, while the operators are to give up the right to charge that "the miners were directed by Bolshevik tendencies."

Arrest Him At Once.

District Attorney: "Who wrote this, 'The State must be captured and destroyed'?"

Larkin: "Oh, the fellow who wrote that is dead quite awhile now."

District Attorney: "Yes, but who was it, Mr. Larkin? Tell me his name."

Larkin: "Well, his name was — Charley Marx."

This gem is part of the lecture that McAdoo delivered to Larkin on the spirit of the Paris Commune:

"One of the chiefs of the Communist Party, after which yours is modeled, giving a pass to a *clergymen* to visit some of the condemned bourgeoisie in prison, wrote: 'Admit bearer, who says he is the servant of a person called God.'"

But the only way we could gain access to our comrades in the Tombs was by a pass from McAdoo, labeled: "Admit bearer as a criminal anarchist."

Join the Socialist Party.

District Attorney: "Are you a member of the Communist Party?"

Captive: "Yes, sir!"

District Attorney: "Do you believe in its program?"

Captive: "Only a part of it."

District Attorney: "Then why did you join the Party?"

Captive: "Well, y'see, the S. P. split up, and the majority joined the Communist Party. My branch also joined. I wanted to be with the majority, you know how it is, and so I joined, too."

District Attorney: "Listen, fellow, you're young yet. Take a tip from me and go back to the Socialist Party. Now get the hell out of here!"

The Lusk Committee apologized to every member of the Socialist Party that was pulled in "by mistake."

Famous Saying No. 3.

"I object to classes in a world where God made men."—Vice-President Marshall in a speech to the "International" Labor Conference.

How to Crush Bolshevik Propaganda.

Seize a pamphlet written in Russian for the consumption of 7,000 aliens all over the country, translate it into good English, put it on the front page of all the newspapers in the land, and give it a circulation of twenty millions.—N. Y. Tribune.