## -THE STRIKE WAVE. -

The present strike wave is characterized by defeats and betrayals. The workers suffer defeats because of their insufficient and the treacherous organizations on the one hand, and because the capitalist class and its state cannot permit a victory to the workers on the other. Capitalism in the period of general crisis, must combat to its fullest extent any attempt by the workers to improve their conditions. Victory for the workers would mean endangering the position of capitalism. Every strike is practically lost in advance.

But this does not exclude the necessity of workers fighting every onslaught on their living standard. We must take part in every one of these struggles, and encourage the worker to fight, because the present strike wave in spite of its shortcomings is more important than the whole of the "official political movement" at this time. The fact that these strikes are destined for defeat or betrayal does not mitigate the revolutionary value of the struggle. We may point out that on the basis of the present labor movement no victory is possible, but we have to fight in all these labor struggle as they are, and not as we might want them. We must strive to hinder the labor fakirs from using these strikes to their own advantage, and this is bust

The fight for existence is the fight of today; and the struggle for a new society can only grow out of these daily struggles. As these day to day struggles increase, and as the worker gains experience from the defeats, the fight changes its quality and becomes revolutionary leading to the overthrow of the present system. A communist may criticize and condemn the character of the strikes and the organizations involved, but he must take part in the strikes and fight, for this is the shortest road to revolution in the declining period of capitalism.

ANNOUNCEMENT: -- Do not fail to get the next issue of Council Correspondence (#2). It will be entirely devoted to the translation of the "Thesis on Bolshevism", consisting of ten separate articles on this subject, prepared jointly by the Group of International Communists of Holland. It is an exceptional and comprehensive history and analysis of Bolshevism. There will be only a limited amount of copies available, so order yours now!

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We recommend the next pamphlet to be published by: Polemic Publishers 673 Eroadway, New York City, - "THE INEVITABILITY OF COMMUNISM", -256 A critique of Sidney Hook's "Interpretation of Marx" by Paul Mattick. It is written from the view-point of the United Workers' Party of America, and deals with almost every aspect of revolutionary Marxism. Should be in the hands of every Marxist.

To be published soon by United Workers' Party: - "WHAT NEXT FOR THE AMERICAN WORKER?" - A pamphlet dealing in a simple manner with the needs and future of the American labor movement.

We still have some copies of: "World-Wide Fascism or World Revolution" - IO¢ "Bolshevism or Communism" - 5¢-

UNITED WORKERS ' PARTY -- 1604 N. California Ave., - Chicago, Ill.

# COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE

ENGLISH EDITION

# For Theory and Discussion

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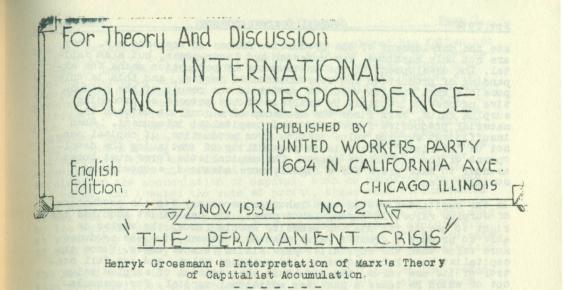
# UNITED WORKER'S PARTY

#### AN APOLOGY.

In the first issue of Council Correspondence we announced that this issue would be devoted to the "Thesis on Bolshevism", a series of ten articles prepared jointly by the Group of International Communists of Holland.We are sorry to say that difficulties encountered in the translation of the thesis forces us to postpone this material to the next issue, number three - available Dec. I, 1934.

#### AN EXPLANATION.

In March 1934, the United Workers' Party published the pamphlet "World-Wide Fascism or World Revolution?" - the Manifesto and Program of the Party. This manifesto made a very general and brief analysis of the most important questions with no attempt to take up any subject in detail. It was hoped that subsequent booklets would treat each subject more fully, and cover other subjects not possible in the first pamphlet. The pamphlet "Bolshevism or Communism?" followed soon after, and took up the question of the role of the Party and the leaders in the revolutionary movement. The feature article in Council Correspondence #I, "What is Communism", halps to explain our attitude to the USSR. The main article in this issue elaborates the economic analysis in the manifesto. A popular pamphlet now gone to press entitled, "What Next For The American Worker?" will also deal with questions not given much space in the first booklet. Future issues of this paper, as well as the contemplated monthly journal "Living Marxism", to be published by the United Workers ! Party in collaboration with the European groups, will take up in detail for discussion all the questions and problems of vital import to the Revolutionary Proletariat.



According to Marx, the development of the productive forces of society is the motive power of historical development. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production, and in changing their mode of production, their manner of gaining a living, they change all their social relations. The transformation of the spinning wheel, the hand-loom and blacksmiths sledge, into the selftending mule, the power-loom and blacksmiths sledge, into the selftending mule, the power-loom and the steam hanner was not only accompanied by a change of the small, individual shops of the craftsmen into huge industrial plants employing thousands of workers, but there also came with it the social overturn from feudalism to capitalism; that is, not merely a material revolution, but a cultural revolution as well.

Ι.

Capitalism as an economic system had the historical mission of developing the productive forces of society to a much greater extent than was possible under any previous system. The motive force in the development of the productive forces in capitalism is the race for profit. But for that very reason this process of development can continue only as long as it is profitable. From this point of view, capital becomes a barrier to the continuous development of the productive forces as soon as that development comes into conflict with the necessity for profit. "Then the monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production which has sprung up and flourished along with, and under it. Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible mith the ir capitalist integument".

Marx always considers the economic laws of motion from two points of view: first, as "a process of natural history": second, in its specific, social form. The development of productive forces went on in every social system, a process consisting of an ever increasing productivity of labor due to better working teels and methods. The productive process under capitalism, in addition to producing the necessities of life, also produces value and surplus value, and it is only due to this fact that capitalism has been able to accelerNov. 1934

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ate the development of the productive forces so tremendously. They are not only machines, raw material and labor-power, but also capital. The development of the instruments of production means the expanding of production and reproduction of capital, and this is only possible when surplue value or profit is the result of the productive process of capital. By analysis of the process of producing surplus value, Marx finds the tendency of a conflict between the material productive forces and their capitalist integument. When insufficient surplus value results from production, if capital cannot be "utilized", there is no pessibility of continuing the development of the productive forces. The capitalistic forms must burst asunder to make place for a higher, more advanced, economic and social system.

In the capitalist system wage labor is necessary for the production of surplus value. In buying labor power, the capitalist acquires the right to use it for his own benefit. By his labor, the worker is able to produce a greater value than he consumes, i.e.-he produces more value than the capitalist pays him in form of wages. Since the capitalist buys labor-power at its exchange value, and has full control of its use value, the result is the creation of surplus value out of which he takes a part for additional capital, for accumulation, pays interest to the banker and rent to the landlord, allows the merchant his commercial profit, and retains the rest for his own consumption.

All commodities have in common the quality of being products of labor; they are measured and exchanged in preportion to the socially necessary labor time incorporated in them; this includes also the commodity labor power. The development of the preductive forces means increased productivity of labor, and increased productivity means less labor incorporated in each commodity, or less value, and consequently less surplusvalue. This decrease in the value of one single commedity can only be compensated by the increase of the quantities of commodities produced, which means an increase in the exploitation of labor. This is done by two mainmethods: by lengthening the working day ("absolute surplus value"), or by shortening the labor time necessary for reproducing the wages of the workers ("relative surplus value"). If the lengthening of the working day is impossible, then there only remains the shortening of the necessary labor time which can only be done by decreasing the value of labor power. The decrease in the value of commedities is the only means of reducing the value of labor power, but this in its turn can only be the result of increased productivity. This process is, at the same time, an accelerator forcing technical development at an ever increasing tempo towards mass production and gigantic and costly machinery, concentrated in huge industrial plants, eliminating individual and small capitalists in favor of big capitalists and corporations.

Since wage labor is the source of his profit, the capitalist should be interested in exploiting as many workers as possible. The more workers, the more surplus labor and value, the more profit. But it is nevertheless a fact that from the very beginning of the capitalist epoch, the number of workers employed relative to the capital employed, has been falling. Even if their number has absolutely increased for a period, they have increased more slowly than capital Nov. 1934

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has accumulated. Today the number of workers employed has fallen, not only relatively, but absolutely. (Since 1918 the number of those employed in American industry has continuously decreased though production increased until 1929.) Increased productivity coupled with the process of concentration of capital thus results in a constantly growing mass of commodities produced by fewer and fewer workers, increased production, in increased unemployment. This fact, in the face of the capitalist urgent need for more extensive exploitation. indicates the limits of capitalist production. The more exploitation is intensified, the faster these limits are reached. "The same circumstances which have increased the productive power of laber. augmented the mass of produced commodities, expanded the markets, accelerated the accumulation of capital, both as concerns its mass and value, and rowered the rate of profit, these same circumstances have also created a relative over-population and continue to create it all the time, on over-population of laborers who are not employed by the surplus capital on account of the low degree of exploitation at which they might employed, or at least on account of the low rate of profit which they would yield with the given rate of exploitation."

The law of value is, according to Marx, the regulator of the production of commedities and determines in what proportion the work of society is distributed, but this only holds good for society as a whole, not for individual capitalist units. In reality the law of value is only enforced through the competition of individual enterprises; actual exchange of commodities does not take place according to value, but according to price of production. If one capitalist sells above value, another capitalist sells below. Competition, which results in the establishment of the average rate of profit, also established the law of value as the final and general law which underlies the sum total of individual transactions at the prices of production.

Without this, the rate of profit would differ from one branch of production to another according to the rate of surplus value, period of capital turn-over, and the organic composition of capital. The greater the rate of surplus value, the higher the rate of profit. (The rate of surplus value or exploitation is the surplus value divided by the capital invested in wages, - the variable capital. The rate of profit is the surplus value divided by the total capital including constant capital: - means of production, and variable capital.) The quicker the turn-over of capital, - i.e., the quicker the capital ist gets his capital outlay plus surplus value back, - the higher the rate of profit, and vise versa. The ratie between the means of production and labor power, expressed in value form as constant and variable capital, we call the organic composition of capital. The higher the organic composition, the lower the rate of profit.

As not only the rate of profit for individual capitals, but also the average rate of profit continuously sinks on account of the rise in the organic composition of capital, small capitals would be destroyed if they were unable to increase their capital sufficiently. The existence of the capital ist depends on a continuous increase of his capital by lowering production costs below normal. He strives to gain on extra profit by producing and selling his products over their individual but below their accial value. Each capitalist has of necessity the same desire and so each capitalist must accumulate. Nov. 1934.

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If he stops reinvesting part of his surplus value in his enterprise, he runs the risk of his capital becoming valueless, if its technical form is falling behind the general development of the productive forees. This fact results in again raising the organic composition and further lowering the rate of profit, and thereby hastens the tempo of development by stimulating the search for extra-profit. To resist would mean economic suicide for the capitalist.

To understand the action of the law of value and accumulation, we must first disregard these individual and external movements, and consider accumulation from the point of view of total capital, since the total social capital values and total prices are identical. "The most important factor in this inquiry is the composition of capital and the changes it undergoes in the course of the process of accumulation". In the capitalist mode of production, and in that alone, is the development of the productive power not only expressed as a growth of means of production in order to have more results with less labor, (as it is expressed in all economic systems) but as a rise in the organic composition of capital, more constant capital, less variable capital and a consequent falling rate of profit. "A fall in the rate of profit and a hastening of accumulation are insofar only different expressions of the same process as both of them indicate the development of the productive power. Accumulation in its turn hastens the fall of the rate of profit, inasmuch as it implies the concentration of labor on a large scale and thereby a higher composition of capital".

The fall in the rate of profit is at the same time accompanied by an increase in the mass of profit as long as capital accumulates faster than the rate of profit falls. The sinking of the rate of profit and the growth of the mass of profit are therefore both caused by capitalist accumulation. At the same time the sinking rate of profit acts as an index to the relative fall of the mass of profit. When the accumulation of capital reaches a certain point, the mass of profit will fall not only relatively to the total capital invested, but also absolutely; a larger social capital will bring an absolutely smaller profit. But this point only appears at the end of a certain period of accumulation. Up to that point, "the same development of social productivity of labor expresses itself in the course of capitalist production on the one hand in a tendency to a progressive fall of the rate of profit, and on the other hand in a progressive increase of the absolute mass of the appropriated surplus value, or profit; so that in the whole, a relative decrease of variable capital and profit is accompanied by an absolute increase of both. "This is the characteristic expression of the progressive development of the productive power of labor under the capitalist mode of production.

#### 1.1

## Accumulation and Crisis.

II.

The fall in the rate of profit has thrown bourgeois economy out of balance. For Marx "the falling rate of profit turns into an antagenism of this mode of production at a certain point and requires for its defeat periodical crisis." Accumulation and a higher organic composition of capital are identical. With it goes the fall of the rate of profit. With an organic composition (1:1) say 30 constant capital and 30 variable capital, and a rate of exploitation of IOO%, the rate of profit will be 50%. With an organic composition (5:1) say 25° constant capital and 5° variable capital, and the same rate Nov. 1934

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of exploitation, the rate of profit will be 16.6%. (As stated before the rate of surplus value (here 100%) is determined by the proportio: between the necessary and the surplus labor time. But the rate of profit is surplus value divided by the total capital; i.e.-constant and variable both.) In above example, both constant and variable car. ital is increased. Not only is the scale of production expanded, but the number of workers employed increased. We began with a low organ-ic composition (1:1) and end with a high (5:1). This is both a cause and expression of the increased productivity of labor that also must be supressed in an increased rate of surplus value. We had a rate of surplus value of ICO%, but the increased productivity shortens the necessary labor time and increases the rate of surplus value, which counterasts the fall of the rate of profit. If the rate of surplus value is increased from 100% to 300%, then even a high organic composition of capital (5:1) would yield the same rate of profit, that is 50%, as the low organic composition (1:1) with a rate of supplus value of 100%. Besides this, through the increased productivity of labor, the rate of surplus value may also rise due to other causes and thereby compensate for the increase in the organic composition. We shall later in westigate this, but in whatever way this may be ac-complished, the fact is that the falling rate of profit is accompanied by a rise in the mass of profit that counteracts the danger implied in a falling rate. But this growth of capital in turn im-plies a further fall in the rate of profit. Thus the sinking rate of profit creates further attempts to raise the surplus value as is actually the case.

Since at first the fall in the rate of profit is accompanied by an increase in the mass of profit, it is difficult to understand how the collapse of capitalism would result from the decline in the rate of profit, and what relation there is between periodic crisis and the falling rate of profit. An explanation of this connection has often been attempted, but all of those attempts have failed because in each case the explanation was based on, and limited to, the investigation of the falling rate of profit alone. Henryk Grossmann was the first to point out that the crisis and the final collapse must be explained not only by the falling rate of profit, the mere index of profit, but by the actual mass of profit underlying it. According to Marx, capitalist accumulation is determined not only by the rate of profit, but also by the mass of profit. In other words, the surplus value may absolutely increase, but it will nevertheless be insufficient for the needs of accumulation because the rising organic composition constantly swallows an ever greater part of surplus value.

Capital accumulation initiated a series of great booms interrupted by periodic crises. As the rate of accumulation grew, the intensity of the crises grew with it. The capital ist process of reproduction repeats itself, not in the form of a circle, but as a spiral, narrowing to a point. The production of values must, due to its inherent contradictions, lead to its own negation; but only the accumulation of these contradictions can transform them into something quaitatively different: into refolution. The same laws which had at <u>ism, now become the driving force of a rapid development of capite.</u> is continuously interrupted as capital ist collapse. But this a continuously interrupted as capital ist reality modifies the gener al abstract law of capital ist accumulation. Marx elaborated no special theory of crises, but his analysis of the laws of capitalist reproduction, or accumulation, was also a theory of crisis. Let us illustrate with an abstract table the law of capitalist reproduction.

In order that accumulation may be possible, the surplus value must be divided into three parts; one to be invested in additional constant capital, one in additional variable capital, and the remainder to be consumed by the capitalist class as individuals. During the rise of capitalism, variable capital grows as well as constant capital, only more slowly. We begin, in our table below, with an organio composition of 2:1. The constant capital grows at a yearly rate of 10%, the variable at 5%. The rate of surplus value remains 100%. (Constant capital we call C, variable V. The consumption fund of the capitalists is R. AC is surplus value available for accumulation of constant capital; AV for variable. The value of the yearly product we call VYP; the percentage of surplus value consumed by the capitalists we call R%; the rate for accumulation A%, the rate of profit P%.

Yr.	C :	V	:	R :	AC	: A	V :	VYP	R%	A%.	P%
I20	0,0004	100.00	0475.	00072	0.00	045.	000:	400,000 430,000	175.	25.	33.3
222	0,0004	105,00	0477.	750/2	2.00	045.	250:	430,060	174.05	25.95	32.6
324	2,0004	110,25	0480.	539/2	4.20	045.	5II:	462,500	73.04	26.96	31.3
426	6.0004]	115.76	2483.	37442	6.60	045.	788:	497.52	72.02	27.98	30.3

We see how in this table accumulation increases in spite of a falling rate of profit. Accumulation pays for the capitalists, for while their revenue becomes smaller relative to the surplus value as a whole, it increases absolutely. During the first year the capitalists command 75,000 as revenue (R); during the fourth year, 83,374.

This table is a fiction that should in no wise be mistaken for reality. A progressively higher organic composition accompanied by a constant rate. of exploitation is an impossibility, nay an absurdity. The table is only meant to illustrate the tendency of accumulation with no disturbing and complicating tendencies. Even with a constant rate of surplus value, accumulation can take place so much faster with an increased rate of exploitation. This table also reflects acoumulation only in its value-form, not expressed in the quantity of use values; to express it thus, would cause many modifications. The devaluation of capital necessarily connected with accumulation here has been disregarded.

If we, like Henryk Grossmann, extend this table to the 35th year, we shall be able to show if not actual capitalist accumulation, at least its "inner law". But to arrive at capitalist reality, we must in addition to basing ourselves on the inner law of capitalist accumulation also take into account the elements disregarded in the illustrating table. It must be borne in mind, however, that the elemente liereganded in the table only determine the tempo of the process of accumulation, either hastening or slowing it down; but in either case the process remains essentially the same. Let us follow the table:

YI. C:	V : R	: AC :	AV :	VYP	R%	A%	P%
5232,600/121	550486,21	3429,2604 6	,077:	535,700	70.93	29.07	29.3
6321,8504127	, 62 ( 289, 06	04 32,1864 6		577,114	69.70	30.30	28.4
201,222252/252	355/11761	2/1 20017/12					
344641489,500	304/ 1114	1.464148125	015: 5	875,127	0/15	55.01	16.4
35 - 51 056374525	. 31.94 0	451 0563414	756: 6	156,275	0. 49	104.61	9.3

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The table shows that the same forces which at first made the rise of capitalism possible at a certain phase of accumulation lead to overaccumulation and its consequences. The constant capital that in the first year (first table) was 50% of the years production, demands in the 35th year (second table) \$2.9%. The revenue (R) that until the 20th year only increased relative to the total mass of surplus value as shown by (R%) from then on decreases absolutely. In the 35th year it disappears completely. It is only bafter the 20th year that the fall in the rate of profit is first feit as an absolute fall in that part of the mass of profit which the capitalist class had at its disposal for its own private consumption. Until the 20th year, accumulation was a paying proposition as measured by the returns. From the Plat year, these returns dwindle down to a vanishing point. Besides that. from the assumption made that the additional variable capital increases yearly 5%, AV has a deficit. Instead of the needed 26.265 in the 35th year, only 14,756 is available, leaving a deficit of 11,509. This deficit would represent the industrial reserve army as the inevitable outcome of the capitalist process of accumulation. The capital accumulated in the 35th year can't function completely. Because 11,509 workers cannot be employed, the whole additional con-stant capital (AV: 510,563) cannot be reinvested. On the basis of our assumption, a population of 551,548 in the 36th year would re-quire a constant capital of 5,616,200; consequently by a population of 540,075 only 5,499,015 constant capital could be invested. There is a capital surplus of 117,185 that cannot be used. Insufficient capital "utilization" has led to over-accumulation. We have a surplus of capital unable to expand and an unusable surplus population. (The empirical researches, e.g. by W.C.Mitchel in the U.S.A. has shown that in time of economic expansion profit is uninterruptedly increasing, while a crisis is preceded by a decrease of profits.) Thus, increasing "utilization" of capital is the chief cause of capital accumulation, and the lack of a sufficient "utilization" of capital the cause of crisis.

The theoretical formulation of the theory of over-accumulation as here presented was first undertaken by Henryk Grossmann who considers his work as only a reconstruction of Marx's theory of accumulation which is the theory of crisis and collapse. According to Grossmann, if accumulation is to take place, the organic composition of capital must increase and then a relatively ever greater part of the surplus value must be taken for the purpose of the additional constant capital (AC). As long as the absolute mass of the total social capital of a low organic composition is small, the surplus value is relatively large, and leads to a rapid increase in accumulation. For example: by a compositio of 200 g / 100 y / 100 S (surplus value), the constant capital can (assuming the total surplus value to be used for the accumulation) be increased by 50% of its original size. At a higher stage of capital accumulation, with a considerably higher organic composition, e.g. 14,900 C / 100 V / 150 B the increased mass of surplus value is only sufficient, when used as additional capital (AC) for an increase of 1%.

By continued accumulation on the basis of an ever higher organic composition, a point must be reached when all accumulation ceases. Not every fragment of capital can be used for expansion of production. A definite minimum proporticm is needed which grows continuously with the progressive accumulation of capital. Therefore, since in the development of capital accumulation, a not only absolutely but also

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relatively greater part of the mass of surplus value must be used for the purpose of accumulation. At a high stage of accumulation, where the total social capital is of huge size, the part of surplus Value demanded for additional constant capital (AC) must become so great that it finally absorbs all of the surplus value. A point must come when the parts of surplus value to be used for additional workers and for capitalist consumption (AV and R) must decrease absolutely. This would be the turning point at which the previously latent tendency to collapse begins to be active. It is now evident that conditions necessary for the progress of accumulation no longer can be met, that the mass of surplus value though grown absolutely is insufficient to take care of its three functions. If the additional constant capital (AC) is taken from the surplus value in neoessary quantity, then the revenue at disposal is insufficient to take care of the consumption of workers and employers at the prevailing scale. A sharpened struggle betweem the working class and employers over the division of the revenue thus becomes inevitable. If, on the other hand, the capital ists by pressure from the workers are forced to maintain the wage scale and the part earmarked for accumulation (AC) thus decreases the tempo of accumulation slows down, and the productive apparatus cannot be renewed and expanded to keep pace with technical progress. All further accumulation must, under such conditions, increase the difficulties, since for a given population the mass of surplus value can only be raised by a trifling amount. Surplus valueflowing from the previously invested capital must therefore lie fallow, and there arises a surplus of idle carital vainly looking for nossibilities of investment.

Thus accumulation is a process that inevitably leads to overproduction of capital, to ever increasing enemployment, to a surplus of CAPITAL UNABLE TO FUNCTION PROFITABLY, and an unuseable surplus population. And this is the final great contradiction of capitalist production that causes it to go to pieces. "The fact that the means of production and the productivity of labor increases more rapidly than the <u>productive</u> population, expresses itself, therefore, capitalistically in the inverse form that the laboring population always increase more rapidly than the conditions under which capital can employ this increase for its own self-expansion".

On the basis of this analysis of accumulation, the question no longer is whether the capitalist system will collapse, but rather why it has not already collapsed. We have hitherto followed the process of accumulation in a fictitious capitalism. Reality is different. The law of capitalist collapse as demonstrated by us functioned in a "pure" capitalism. - a capitalism that actually does not exist. In order to best illustrate the law of capitalist accumulation and consequences flowing therefrom, we have had to disregard the secondary features and tendencies that are characteristic of the real capitalism. For the purpose of our investigation up to now, they were quite irrelevant simce they only obscure the inner law of the process of capitalist accumulation. Outside of the already mentioned simplificallons, we dealt only with the process of production, disregarding mcdifications of accumulation by the process of circulation. Only the dynamics of society as a whole interested us, so that we did not ome ider the individual spheres of production, and disregarded composition and its modifying effect on the tempo of accumulation. In our analysis of accumulation there was no foreign trade which from the point of view of capitalist production is of great importance.

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We disregarded the middle class groups, and spoke aly of optical and labor. There was in our analysis no credit problem. We disregarded it as well as other important items that more or less modify the absolute law of accumulation. In short, our analysis of accumulation is based on a non-existent capitalism. All that we set out to do was to de nonstrate that by following the process of accumulation in such a "pusc" capitalist system, the result would with mathematical certainty be the collapse of the system.

Since, in reality, there is no such "pure" capitalist system, it follows that the tendemcy to collapse does not operate in the above described "pure" form. Instead, the "pure" tendency of capitalist accumulation is slowed down in its dizzy pace by counteracting tendencies which also arise out of the capitalist development. The tenless slowed down and temporarily halted by these very crises though they be the embryonic form of the final collapse; but the counter tendencies are essentially of a temporary character. They can postpone the collapse of the system. If the crisis is only an embryonic collapse, the final collapse of the capitalist system is nothing else out a crisis fully developed and undindered by any counter tendencies.

If the causes of crisis are over-accumulation which makes the "utilization" of capital impossible, then new means must be established to assure again the necessary capital "utilization" in order to end the crisis. According to Marx, a crisis is cmly a process of healing, a violent return to further profitable expansion; from the point of view of the capitalists, a "cleaning out". But after the "cleaning" with its series of capital istic bankruptoies, and the starvation of the workers, the process of accumulation is continued and after awhile the "utilization" of capital again becomes insufficient. The selferpansion stops as the accumulated capital agaim becomes too large on its new basis. The new crisis sets in. In this manner, the tendency towards collapse is broken up into a series of apparently independent cycles.

III

## How Crisis Are Overcome.

The changing periods in the economic cycle may be longer or shorter, but their periodicity is a fact. It is furthermore a fact that the boom periods are always growing shorter, while the duration and intensity of the periods of crisis is increasing. This reveals the fact that the tendencies which serve to delay the collapse of capitalism, while being an integral part of capital accumulation, are nevertheless greatly weakened with every passing cycle; and the overcoming of orises becomes an ever greater difficulty. The United States has passed through a series of industrial crises followed and preceded by boom periods. The crisis of 1837 was preceded by a feverish activity of construction. A nationwide network of roads were built, canals were constructed and steamchip straffic developed. Cigantio amounts of capital were imported, and a general optimistic anticipation of profits developed speculation. By the first sign of insufricient profit-production, "business" flowed into speculation that then took the most bandit-like forms. A crisis shortly followed. To bourgeois economists, the orisis appeared to be caused by the "impossibility of paying interest on borrowed capital, as the rate of

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profit that could be yielded was too small." The panic of 1857 was preceded by a period of intoxication due to the discovery of California gold, and the large railroad constructions aiding industrial development in general. Again prosperity was transformed into intensified speculation which is always the case when profits become small. The crisis was again explained by the problems of "interest". According to bourgeois conceptions, the railroads were constructed too "quickly", industry developed too "hastily", and it became impossible to pay interest on the money invested in industry. Capital had grown faster than the possibility of "utilizing" this growth. This was followed by the orisis of 1873, 1893, 1907, 1921, - to name only the most important.

In whatever manner these crisis were explained, each individual explanation suggested that profits were insufficient, that further exparsion of industry was unprofitable and for that reason could not take place, so that each explanation, unconsciously it is true, gives over-aboundation as the cause of crises. But no one spoke about this as the inevitable outcome of the capital ist process of accumulation; this fact was always disguised as "overproduction of commodities", "a too heavy burden of debts and inability to pay interest" The fall of prices, therefore, was accepted as the cause of crisis.

According to Marx, in times of crisis, the rate of profit and with it the demand for industrial capital almost disappears. There is no lack of purchasing power with which to expand production, but no use is made of this purchasing power because it does not pay to expand production sime expanded production does not bring in more but less surplus value than on the previous scale. Though expansion of production has become unprofitable, production at first continues at its previous volume. By this continuation of production at its previous rate, each year, there is produced surplus value part of which is intended for accumulation, but without any chance for such application. Thereby the stock of unsold means of production, of unsold goods in general grows; cost of storing increases, plant equipment is unnecessarily tied up since there is no reflux through sales of commodities produced. The capitalist must at any cost sell, to obtain the means of continuing production at its previous scale. This leads to price cutting and limited operations of factories. Enterprises go bankrupt; unemployment grows.

The capitalist solution to this problem lies in the reestablishment of the "utilization" of capital. To do this, either the value of the constant capital must be decreased, or the surplus value increased. Both possibilities are found in the sphere of production as well as in the sphere of circulation. We shall deal here only with a few of the tendencies that overcome crises and delay the collapse of the system.

We said the capitalist always sees the fall of prices as the cause of crisis. A rise in prices, consequently means to him the beginning of recovery. Bourgeois economists claim that as prices fall, bankruptcies increase proportionally, and they offer statistical demonstrations of this fact. According to them, price stability is a guarantee of social stability. But what they really show is only the increased productivity of labor expressed in prices. The bemoaning of Lankruptoies only illustrates the process of capital concentration. In spite of this, bourgeois economists have always, in their super-

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ficial manner pointed to the fall of prices as the cause of crises, and they still hold to this stupid explanation in face of the fact that in the U.S. since 1925 a boom period took place with falling prices. It is also a fact that the expansion of the productive apparatus takes place in times of depression when prices are low. Only when the demand created by that expansion exceeds supply will prices increase. Therefore, the rise in prices, if it takes place, which is not absolutely necessary, is the effect and not the cause of recovery. Nay, profitable operation must be made possible at the low price level before recovery can begin. This demands increased productivity of labor which again means higher organic composition of capital, or the reproduction of the crisis on a higher plane.

Increased productivity is, besides other things, a process of concentration and centralization accompanied by amalgamation of industrial units and general rationalization. So that the crises, even though they are accompanied by "overproduction" are always overcome, in spite of that, by a further expansion of production. That this leads to increased laying off of workers first relative to capital employed, later also absolutely does not alter its necessity. Statistics show that in periods of upswing in the United States those bankruptcies which occurred involved small enterprises, and that while these bankruptcies increased, trusts made superprofits in spite of falling prices. Trustification made larger profits at lower prices possible, while the small enterprises outside this movement of "rationalization" succumbed. Prof. Eitemann writes:

"The low prices which had prevailed during the depression of 1873, encouraged the introduction of labor-saving devices by industry in order to out cost of manufacture. This search for cheaper methods of production continued even after the return of prosperity, and resulted in a steady downward trend of prices".

The increased productivity of labor, and the thereby relatively diminished cost of constant capital makes the "utilization" of capital again possible. This tendency is apparent during the present orisis. Reports like the following are not infrequent:

"General Electric's new power plant of \$4,000,000 will be ready for operation next spring. According to the estimates of the engineers, the plant will produce steam and kilowatt hours of energy at a lower cost than has ever before attained".

At the same time that the "Merchant Fleet Corporation" allowed 124 ships of approximately one million tops to be destroyed, the construction of 20 million tons of new ships are planned even though "overproduction" leaves a great number of these ships idle in port. In the crisis, in spite of "overproduction", the apparatus of production instead of becoming restricted has been enlarged. Mevertheless, previous crises have passed. The crisis, then, is not a restriction of the real apparatus of production, but a breakdown of an accepted system of prices and values, and its reorganization on a new level.

According to Marx, the tendency in the fall of the rate of profit is accompanied by an increase in the rate of surplus value, or in the rate of exploitation of labor. By the development of the productive Comoil Correspondence

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forces, commodities are made cheaper. Insofar as this happens to commodities consumed by the workers, the elements of variable capital are made cheaper. The value of labor power sinks and rate of exploitation increases. The same effect is gained by intensifying labor by technical rationalization and by more pitless modes of speed-up, or by lengthening the working day. One of the most important means is by the forcing of wages below the value of labor power by taking advantage of the growing army of une mployed during a crisis. (The lower ing or wages below value has already become a "basis" of existence for the whole system.) The ridiculous conception that by increasing the purchasing power of labor the crisis can be overcome has always and still is answered by capitalism reducing that purchasing power still further. It is exactly in this manner, by wage cutting, that capitalism tries to overcome the crisis. Thus, the "Commercial and Financial Chronicle" writes:

> "The manufacturer is no longer able to produce goods at a profit, and accordingly he stops producing at all and as a consequence, hosts of wage earners find themselves idle and out of employment. If the President could be induced to prevail upon the wage earners to adjust wages to a lower basis, one more nearly in accord with the times, trade depression would soon become a thing of the past."

Statistics, for example those of the U.S.Steel Corporation, show that crisis and increasing exploitation run parallel.

Aug. 1,1918 - - - 10% increase in wages Cot. 1,1918 - - - 8 hour basis day adopted Feb. 1,1920 - - 10% increase in wages <u>May 16,1921 - - 20% decrease</u> <u>June 6,1921 - - basic 8 hour day abolished</u> <u>Aug.29,1921 - - decrease to 30 cent hourly</u> Sept.1,1922 - - 20% increase April 16,1923 - - 11% " Cot. 1,1931 - - - 10% decrease

The orisis of 1921 destroyed the previously adopted g hour day and led to sharp wage cutting. In 1931 this was repeated. The intensification of exploitation is one of the strongest tendencies working against capital ist collapse.

The shortening of the time of capital turn-over is also a force acting against collapse. The main means for accomplishing this, outside of increased productivity, are better and more direct means of communications, especially transport, and diminuation of stock in storage, etc. Furthermore, an increase in nse-values at the same exchange value, and the founding of new spheres of production with lower organic composition weakens the tendency towards the collapse since these branches of production yield exceptionally high profits. As the capital ist class cannot dispose of the appropriated surplus balue alone, but must divide it with the middle class groups, the crisis is always the beginning of an intensified fight between these groups in the form of a fight of "actual" producers against ground rent. commonial profits, and all other "parasitical" elements. In whort, a fight of industrial capital ists against all other capitalists and the middle-class groups who exploit labor indirectly thru the industrial ists.

An important element in re-establishing profitable operations is the devaluation of capital. This devaluation is expressed by the same amount of means of production being represented at a smaller value. The technical composition (M.P.:L) remains; the organic composition (C.V.) sinks. The mass of surplus value remains the same, but as it is now calculated on a smaller capital basis, the rate of profit has risen. In practice, devaluation takes the place of sale at ruinous prices. Orisis and capital ist wars are gigantic devaluations of constant capital by violent destruction of value as well of use value forming its material basis.

By ever drawing in new foreign use-values, capitalist production is expanded and the tendency towards collapse weakened. The importing of cheap foodstuffs lowers the value of labor power and increases the rate of surplus value proportionally. By the furnishing of cheap raw materials, the elements of constant capital are made cheaper and the rate of profit increased. This is why the struggle for sources of raw materials contributes one of the main objectives of international capitalist politics. Through the tendency of the equalization of profits, the more highly developed countries can appropriate part of the surplus value created in the less developed countries. This extra profit counteracts the cinking of the rate of profit. By foreigh trade, the movement towards collapse is slowed down, and as this, with the development of accumulation, becomes a matter of life and death to the capitalist system, it heads imperialist expansion to become more and more violemt.

The international character of orisis develops with foreign trade. The same factor also leads to the development of world monopolies, yet even though so much cepital has been accumulated that further accumulation, though necessary, is unprofitable, a collapse of the system need not follow as long as sufficient capital in form of foreign loans and investments can find a new and satisfactory basis for "utilization". This makes the export of capital characteristic of imperialism. All these elements, comentrated in imperialism, are remedies against the insufficiency of profits. The final consequence of imperialism is the political annexation of foreign territories, so that the securing of an additional stream of surplus, value, helps to postpome capital ist collapse. As the progress of accumulation makes the threat of collapse more imminent, the imperialist tendencies are proportionally strengthened.

# IV

# Permanent Crisis.

We have previously shown that the Marxist theory of accumulation is the law of the collapse of the capitalist system. We have further demonstrated that this law is overcome by counter-tendencies for certain periods. But these counter-tendencies are themselves overcome in the course of development or lose their effect through overaccumulation. Rationalization becomes failing rationalization. Amarganation, or merging of industrial units, is made unfavorable by the development of closed down units. Wage outting and intersificates. Dioitation also have their limits. The workers cannot permanently be paid below their cost of reproduction. Dead and starving workers