

produces no surplus value. The shortening of the time of capital turn-over has its limit beyond which it breaks the continuity of production and circulation. Even if commercial profits were eliminated altogether, the sinking of the rate of profit would still continue. Foreign trade as a counter-tendency eliminates itself by turning capital-importing countries into capital-exporting countries by forcing their industrial development through a hot house growth. As the force of the counter-tendencies is stopped, the tendency of capitalist collapse is left in control. Then we have the permanent crisis, or the death crisis of capitalism. The only means left for the continued existence of capitalism is then the permanent, absolute and general pauperization of the proletariat.

In previous crises it has been possible to regain sufficient capital "utilization" without permanent cutting of real wages. Marx said: "in the measure as capital accumulates, the situation of the workers, whatever its pay, high or low, must become worse". All statistics available show that accumulation and pauperization of the workers are two sides of the same process. But in the period of the rise of capitalism only a relative, but not necessarily absolute, pauperization of the workers took place. This fact formed the basis for reformism. Only when the proletariat must necessarily be absolutely pauperized are objective conditions ripe for a real revolutionary movement.

If, instead of misleading ourselves by the actual increase of nominal wages in the United States during the last three decades, we examine the trend of wages in relation to production, we shall have a true picture of the relative pauperization of the American proletariat. If we divide the index of real wages by the index of production, we have the index of the purchasing power of the workers.

Year	Index of purchasing power	Year	Index of purchasing power
1899	100	1922	73
1904	91	1923	68
1909	70	1924	76
1914	70	1925	68
1919	65	1926	68
1920	67	1927	71
1921	91	1928	70

The purchasing power of factory workers in the United States has not increased in proportion to the total product of the factories; it has lagged. The workers position is relatively worse. This is true in spite of real wages having increased from 100 in 1900 to 123.6 in 1928. But in the same period the volume of production increased from 100 in 1899 to 283.8 in 1928. The workers lived better, but were more exploited in 1928 than in 1900. To Marx this relative pauperization was only a phase of absolute pauperization. If wages at first only decline relatively to general wealth, they later decline absolutely as the quantity of commodities falling to the worker's share becomes absolutely smaller. This relative worsening of the workers position in the face of absolute improvement, only continues as long as conditions permit sufficient increase in the mass of surplus value to allow sufficient "utilization" of capital. In the final phase of capitalism, the surplus value is insufficient for the maintenance of both previous wage levels and satisfactory "utilization". Therefore, the crisis can now only be overcome by a satisfactory rate of

accumulation and the reestablishment of profits at the cost of the workers. What differentiates the final from all previous crises is that with renewed profitable operation the wage level cannot be re-established, - that the latter will sink permanently in times of "prosperity" as during the crisis. While capital "overcomes" the crisis, the workers remain under its sway, and if they refuse to let themselves be destroyed, they have no other recourse but the abolition of the capitalist system.

The level of world industrial production is today below the scale of 1914. The depression is world-wide. Relative to the high stage of accumulation, the crisis may vary from country to country, but the international character of the crisis is everywhere perceptible. The shrinking of the domestic market sharpens competition in the world market which likewise shrinks due to protective tariffs. The shrinking of world trade intensifies the crisis by making their economic and financial status more precarious. These events are paralleled by a heavy loss in profits. The condition of bank capital is catastrophic. The number of unemployed in the United States alone in 1933 was about 16 millions. All this indicates that the present crisis in the United States as everywhere differs from all previous crises by its extent and intensity. It is the greatest crisis in capitalist history; whether it will be the last for capitalism, as well as for the workers, depends on the action of the latter. The "Roosevelt prosperity" in the United States to which the bourgeois press referred as the "end" of the depression was of a very temporary character and did not effect the world crisis at all. Anything the U.S. did gain for a short while was a loss for some other country. The inflationary policy allowed the United States to compete better on the world market, but only as long as the other countries were not ready to hit back, by inflating their own money or find other means of fighting the American competition. Inflation as the means of general wage cutting and the elimination of the middle class, as well as the elimination of profit-eating bank capitalists, to a certain extent may spur production because this again becomes profitable for a short while. But this profit is only gained by a pauperization process, not only of relative but of absolute character. It is a "boom" in the death-crisis, a gain that does not indicate development but decay. It shows that we are not at the "end", but only at the beginning of the crisis.

The actual beginning of the present depression in the United States is always connected with the stock market crash, though the latter was the effect rather than the cause of the crisis which had already begun. As far back as 1927 the "utilization" of capital in the U.S. had become more and more difficult. The falling rate of profit indicated the over-accumulation. But in spite of that, expansion of industry took place until 1929, but not to such an extent as would have been necessary according to the rate of accumulation in previous years, and on the basis of accumulated capital already existing. Industrial profits, which could not more fully be reinvested in industry, flowed to the banks. The surplus lay fallow in the banks; deposits in member banks of the Federal Reserve System was, by the end of 1927, 17 billions of dollars more than in 1926. While an increase of 5% was considered normal, this amounted to 8%. Simultaneously, available credit grew. Speculative loans for the stock market and speculatively inflated stock quotations were the result, bringing on the Wall Street fever of speculation ending in the stock

market crash. But the speculative fever was only the index of the lack of possibilities for sufficient productive investments. As the surplus of capital lowered the rate of interest to 1 percent, the industrial crisis was followed by a bank crisis; and in spite of the low rate of interest, from which the bourgeois economists expected the turn towards prosperity, no credit was demanded by industry. The "Chicago Daily Tribune" writes: "What idle money has piled up in banks had difficulty in finding safe outlets; interest rates dropped but loans and investments did not increase". This situation is not peculiar for the United States, but general throughout the whole world. J.P. Morgan testified at a Senate inquiry: "The depression, for the first time as far as I knew in the history of the world, is so widespread no country can lend money in any other. At the present time there is no demand for capital for industry."

This situation can, nevertheless, only be overcome by further accumulation; i.e.—expansion of the productive apparatus or renewal of the fixed capital on a larger scale. The mass necessary for accumulation is dependent on the previous volume of fixed capital regardless of whether this has only been utilized at half of its capacity, because accumulation is determined by the rate of speed it has previously gained; and this accumulation must take place on a lower price level as expansion of production is coupled with a fall in prices. Therefore, if accumulation is to continue, then the expansion of production must lower the cost of production so that the expected mass of profit will compensate for the fall in the rate of profit. For this reason, "Barrons Weekly" says in its yearly survey: "the extent to which the pressure of accumulating capital may be effective in promoting economic recovery depends on whether the necessary adjustments have been made in other parts of the mechanism — in cost of production and prices, in supply and demand relationship for individual commodities, and in the governmental services, in their cost to the tax payer and their real value to the country; in short, on whether capital can earn a profit and keep it".

A static system of capitalism is an impossibility; capital must either go forward, i.e.—accumulate, or collapse. Accumulation presupposes reestablishment of profitable operation; hence we see violent efforts on an international scale to achieve this end. But all previous measures taken to overcome the depth of the present crisis have failed miserably.

As we have said before, the resumption of profitable operation depends on the lowering of the organic composition of capital, or the increase, by other means, of the surplus value. The devaluation of capital lowers the organic composition. In practice, this means the ruin of many individual capitalists; from the point of view of total capital, from the point of view of the system, it means rejuvenation. The devaluation of capital is a continuous process, an expression of increased productivity of labor, but in the crisis it progresses violently. The increased rate of bankruptcies shows that the devaluation of capital is also taking place today. But bankruptcies, while expressing the speedy and violent devaluation taking place, are not symptoms of an intensification of the crisis; up till now they have been aids in overcoming it. In all previous crises, the number and the speedy growth in the number of bankruptcies were connected with a speedier overcoming of the crisis. That today this effect is gone merely proves that accumulation has reached a point where devaluation ceases to be an effective element in overcoming the crisis.

There are not enough bankruptcies, or the devaluation accomplished is insufficient to lower the organic composition of capital enough, to make continued profitable accumulation again possible. This fact is closely connected with the structural change in capitalism from competition to monopoly capital.

"Classical" capitalism answered a crisis with a general fall in prices that lead to widespread bankruptcies and forced the survivors to adapt themselves to the new price level by installing of new machinery. The demand of fixed capital felt in some industries caused other industries to be drawn into the boom. But in monopoly, or as Lenin called it, "stagnant" capitalism, the crisis does not have the same results. Here we have prolonged condition of huge masses of productive machinery lying idle without being destroyed as the characteristic feature of crisis under monopoly capitalism. The reserve funds of fixed capital created by monopoly capitalism are, in boom periods, put at the service of production and make the construction of additional enterprises unnecessary, and thereby increase the difficulties of a transition to expanding production. When the crisis comes, production is restricted, and when later the demand increases it is supplied by opening the closed enterprises. In this manner technical progress is hindered by monopoly capitalism, and the market for means of production narrowed. How small the importance of violent devaluation of capital is can be seen when one compares the monopolies with the total of socially productive forces. (We have in the United States 37 tire producers; five of them account for 70% of the total production, the other 32 divide the remaining 30% among themselves. In the automobile industry, 75% of the total production is accounted for by two enterprises: General Motors and Ford. Two steel trusts (U.S. Steel and Bethlehem) control 52% of the total steel production. In the meat packing industry 70% of the total production is controlled by four firms: Swift, Armour, Wilson and Cudahy.) In other industries similar situations are found. What effect can the collapse of small enterprises have here? The fusion of capital and the resultant strengthening of monopolies strengthens this tendency towards stagnation and decay, which really means that permanent depression is a characteristic of monopoly capitalism. Even the huge writing down of capital values is only a raid on the small share holders, but not a move towards recovery. It is also clear that a technical revolution scrapping huge masses of capital by antiquating them, cannot be expected today since the restriction of productive forces has become a "necessity" of capitalism. To expect an end of depression through devaluation is to pin hope on a still higher form of capitalism than monopoly-capitalism, and that is impossible within the framework of private property in the means of production. (State capitalism is not a higher economic form of monopoly capitalism, but only a different political mask trying to straighten out the maladjustments of class forces, which due to the narrowing down of the ruling class and its retainers under monopoly capitalism needs more direct state interference to maintain class rule.)

To increase the mass of surplus value, the cost of production must be lowered. This is attempted through the process of general rationalization; but increased rationalization leads to irrationalization. For a time the profits of individual enterprises are increased by its application, but the net income from the total social labor is diminished. Individuals become richer, society poorer. How far this sort of rationalization has gone can be seen by the researches of the

technocrats. Rationalization is only effective when the saving in wages made possible is greater than the increased cost of fixed capital made necessary. Rationalization causes the shut-down of many enterprises, and therefore the saving in wages must exceed, not only the increased cost of fixed capital in the rationalized enterprises, but in addition, balance the loss caused by depreciation of fixed capital in idle enterprises. If the costs of fixed capital are increased, all enterprises become more sensitive to downward fluctuation of economic activity. Rationalization, therefore, leads to an increase instead of a decrease in cost of production, and thus increases the difficulties of overcoming the crisis. By overdeveloping the productive apparatus, rationalization at a high stage of accumulation hastens the collapse of capitalism instead of delaying it. The American productive apparatus was rationalized in the years of prosperity following 1921, and this was one of the causes of the length of that phase. In spite of continued rationalization, the crisis arrived and created a situation which hardly allowed the utilization of 50% of the rationalized enterprises, and thereby annulled the increase in surplus value gained by rationalization. This case of "irrationalization" shows definitely the impossibility of recovery through further rationalization.

Increase in surplus value through shortening the time of capital turnover, likewise finds its objective limits in the development of accumulation. The period of turnover of total capital has been prolonged by the decreased utilization of fixed capital. The same rate of profit for one period of turnover becomes thus a much smaller yearly rate of profit. The fall of prices, though limited by monopoly capitalism, today outweighs the still remaining possibilities of reducing the period of turnover. Decreasing the stock to raise the rate of profit is limited by the demand for continuity in production and circulation. Outside of this, the action of the crisis causes an increase in the stock of unsold commodities that further decrease the rate of profit both by the cost of storing and by the further causing a fall in prices through forced sales. The net effect is that stock on hand increases, the period of turnover is prolonged, and the rate of profit falls. The increased stock is especially evident in raw materials. The world's supply of raw materials were at the end of 1929 - 192, and 1933 - 265. To reduce them to normal would mean the cessation of world production for months.

The cost of circulation increases due to sharpened competition during the crisis. While the number of workers engaged in production permanently decreases, the number of those in distribution increases. (Advertising expenses alone have lately been over a billion dollars a year in the United States.) This naturally further decreases profits.

In the crisis of 1920 and 1921, 30% of all enterprises in the United States were idle representing approximately a 30 billion dollar investment. If depreciation and maintenance is estimated at 10%, this means a clear loss of three billion dollars or the value of the labor of one and a half million workers. This takes place today on an even larger scale causing a further fall in the rate of profit. As 16 million workers are unemployed in the United States, it becomes necessary for those employed besides compensating for the causes already mentioned, also to produce as much additional surplus value as these workers would have produced if employed, or the mass of profit

will decrease and sufficient accumulation become still more difficult. The decrease in the mass of profit sharpens the struggle for its division. The banks have advanced capital to industrial enterprises during the period of prosperity; credit that was based on prices as they then were. Falling prices "freeze" these credits and cause, first, industrial bankruptcies, and second, bank failures, hastening the process of concentration of capital generally. At the same time, there has been an enormous change in the division of profits between industrial and money capital in favor of the latter. The acuteness of the crisis and the price fall makes the load of debts unbearable for industrial capital. Only a general reduction of debts makes general bankruptcies unnecessary. This is done through inflation which unloads the liquidation of these debts on the workers, the professional middle class, and money capital.

The depth of the crisis is also shown in the vicious attacks of capital on the standard of living of the middle class groups. In spite of increasing expropriation of the middle classes, reducing those catering directly to capitalist consumption, the crisis continues to deepen, nullifying those methods of retaining a greater part of surplus value in the hands of the capitalist class. But after all, these groups could only be eliminated once, and even before this was done, another barrier would have been set up against further expropriation of them by the fact that the continued rule of the capitalist class depends on their existence. And in contradiction to these strenuous efforts to eliminate expenditures for unproductive activity, these expenditures are increasing. The growth in taxation was more rapid than the growth of the national income in the United States. Increasing pauperization causes increasing relief expenditures, and increasing expenditures for the purpose of violent repressions of revolt, and for imperialist designs.

In the present crisis, a fall in the ground rent "has to some extent softened the fall in the rate of profit" but at the cost of raising the threat of agrarian revolt. As a matter of self preservation, it has been necessary for the capitalist class to counteract these tendencies favorably to themselves by allotment plans, agrarian protective tariffs, price subsidies, etc. A sufficient increase of profit by a decrease in ground rent cannot longer be expected.

In this crisis, all forces working towards overcoming it have thus either neutralized each other, or have been insufficient! This even applies to the strongest imperialistic means of recovery:—capital export. During the last years there has practically been no capital exported from the United States. In other imperialist countries, the situation is similar. This has sharpened the competitive struggle for the world market tremendously between all industrial nations. The profit flowing back to the United States from previous capital export in form of interest on foreign investments can neither be invested here or abroad. Simultaneously, the United States makes it impossible for the debtor nations to pay interest by forcing them out of their markets for means of production. This also makes it impossible for them to buy raw materials and food stuffs, as they are unable to sell means of production to pay for them. The end of this development must be either an insoluble, irrational crisis, or a new world scale butchery.

The law of accumulation is the law of collapse of capitalism. A collapse delayed by counteracting tendencies until these tendencies have

spent themselves or become inadequate in face of the growth of capital accumulation. But capitalism does not collapse automatically; the factor of human action, though conditioned, is powerful. The death crisis of capitalism does not mean that the system commits suicide, but that the class struggle assumes forms that must lead to the overthrow of the system. There is, as Lenin said, so absolutely hopeless a situation for capitalism; it depends on the workers as to how long capitalism will be able to vegetate. The "Communist Manifesto" sounds the alternative; Communism or Barbarism! A static capitalism is impossible; if the accumulation cannot continue, the crisis becomes permanent and the condition of the workers will continually worsen. Such a crisis is barbarism!

Today, half the workers in the great industrial countries are unemployed and the enormous increase of exploitation does not compensate for the smaller number of workers employed; and still there is no other way for capitalism but continuous attacks on the workers. The general, absolute and permanent pauperization of the workers has become an absolute necessity to the existence of capitalist society. Thus, according to Marx, the final and most important consequence of capitalist accumulation and the final reason for every real crisis is the poverty and the misery of the broad masses, in contradiction to the essential driving force of capitalism to develop the productive forces to such an extent that only the absolute consumption possibilities of society be its barrier. Under such conditions, the bourgeoisie can rule no longer, since, as the "Communist Manifesto" pointed out, "it is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slaves within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him".

The analysis of capitalist accumulation ends, as Marx said in a letter to Engels: "In the class struggle as a finale in which is found the solution of the whole smear!" In the phase of accumulation where the further existence of the system is only based on the absolute pauperization of the workers, the class struggle is transformed. From a struggle over wages, hours and working conditions or relief, it becomes, even as it fights for those things, a struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system of production, - a struggle for proletarian revolution.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REDUCTION OF
UNEMPLOYED RELIEF IN AMSTERDAM.

(From "Raetekorrespondenz" #4 of the Group of International
Communists of Holland.)

In the first days of July, the Dutch Government cut the unemployed (cash) relief to an extent which aroused the unemployed to spontaneous demonstrations at the relief stations and on the streets. These demonstrations were at once combatted by the police and the guardsmen in the most brutal manner. In the "Indian District" and the "Jordaan Workers District" of Amsterdam the unemployed did not allow the police to break their demonstrations up without a fight. They answered the bullets and sabers of the police with the stones they got from the pavement. The struggle lasted many hours. In the evening

after the workers left for group meetings which had been hastily arranged, these groups in passing through the streets grew in a very short time to powerful and large demonstrations which the police again tried to break up. The workers erected barricades to keep the police out of the streets, as it is impossible to defeat bullets with stones. The street lights were destroyed in order to make it difficult for the police to advance. This, which was done in a few streets became the situation in the whole "Jordaan District" the next day. At all corners hastily but well erected barricades were seen; the streets were torn up to exclude all fast transportation. On this day the workers succeeded in driving every policeman out of the district which by evening was entirely in the hands of the workers. The unemployed were victorious for this day; but, by twelve o'clock at night they all returned to their homes and the police moved in again without a fight.

On the following day the guardsmen took possession of the district. They came with tanks, armored automobiles and machine guns. They arrived in such a strength that the unemployed alone could never be able to fight them successfully. They were not cowardly in not opposing the guardsmen because the events of the day before had brought proof that they were good fighters. However, in the face of this strong enemy, a fight would have been suicide.

The struggle had grown out of a relief question. The immediate goal of the fighters was to force the government to recall the relief cut. Workers who want to fight the government at least need the support of very broad layers of the working class. This support was not forthcoming. The majority of the workers will only participate in a movement which embraces their immediate interests. But the fight was merely a fight for unemployed relief; it did not involve the employed workers. Without their support, there was no sense to go farther in the struggle, and it ended in a defeat.

The relief cut was an absolute necessity for the Dutch bourgeoisie. The wages of the employed workers had become so low by a series of wage cuts that there was almost no difference any more between the relief and the wages; but before further wage cuts could be made, the relief had now to be cut first. The continuation of the profitableness of the capitalistic system made this absolutely necessary. This is why the government answered a simple demonstration of the unemployed in a way in which formerly only revolutionary uprisings would have been answered. It was martial law. This offensive against the unemployed was a challenge against the whole working class. There could only be one answer after the brutal attack of the police and the guardsmen: "The General Strike"; but the trade-unionist traditions made it hardly possible. It is important to note that in factories not controlled by the trade union, the workers walked out in sympathy with the unemployed.

As bitter as the battle was, which the unemployed put up and which spread as a guerilla warfare all over the city, in a few days the whole thing was crushed. After the defeat of the uprising, the attack against the existing labor organization set in. In all labor organizations, such as press bureaus, offices, etc., the police searched for documents, stole the important parts of the printing presses, put many workers in jail, forbade every kind of workers' activity. Although this may hurt the labor organization very much,

it is not bad at all from the viewpoint of the actual class struggle of the working class. The fighting strength of the workers actually increases through such measures of the ruling class. To forbid the class struggle itself is impossible, but if the bourgeoisie makes the existence of the pseudo-revolutionary organizations impossible, it also removes at the same time an obstacle against the real revolutionizing of the workers. The workers cannot merely be neutralized by the labor fakers; they have to find their own way. Their labor becomes more difficult to be sure, but also more effective. What they now do is to actually fight and not engage in some opportunistic sidetracking of the real issue in the fields of parliamentary fake-success, etc.

The greatest value for the revolutionary movement is the fact that actions of this kind, and the actions of the ruling class which followed them, showed the weaknesses of the present day labor movement in all its ugliness. One stroke of the ruling class sufficed to do away with the Communist Party and all its affiliated organizations. The leadership of the C.P. had not anticipated this, and actually, the bourgeoisie had really no reason to be so hard on this organization which, in spite of all their self-assurance, is only trying to live and prosper inside of the capitalistic system. Even the last number of the Communist Party of Holland's paper, the "Tribune", before it was suppressed, tried to support the system of private property. We read therein regarding the action of the unemployed ("Tribune" - July 6), "Fight Against Looting and Provocations"

"When the workers in the Jordaan District were fighting a mass battle, some criminal elements were trying to loot the stores. The workers have nothing in common with these elements. They have to fight them. The workers want the sympathy and the support of many small business men in Jordaan. They, like the workers themselves, are hit hard by the depression and also by the relief out".

(By the way: The lootings hit the firm "Jamin", a big capitalistic enterprise in foodstuffs, a chain store.)

The C.P. also advised the workers in order to combat the military onslaught of the ruling class to engage in such silly things as to organize "school strikes," "don't pay rent movements", etc.; but not a single word of the only thing which was logically necessary, "The General Strike".

The most important lesson to be drawn from the struggle of the unemployed in Amsterdam is the fact that successful group struggles are no longer possible. The difficulties in which the bourgeoisie finds itself, not only in regard to their diminished profits in this country but in their extended necessity to compete on the world market and thus prepare for the imperialistic actions, forces them to make of the workers not only paupers, but also willing tools in the hands of the ruling class. They are unable to stand even the weakest opposition on the part of the workers, and each demonstration against the policy of the bourgeoisie is translated by the ruling class as a direct menace against its existence.

What took place when the sailors of "De Zeven Provinciën" revolted

was repeated with this demonstration of the unemployed. The sailors demonstrated against their miserable condition, but they were treated as if they had started a revolution. So again the "Handelsblad" of July 5 writes: "Whosoever is building barricades in the City will be answered as it is the custom to answer when barricades are built".

The brutality with which the bourgeoisie answered even the slightest protest of the workers, comes actually as a surprise to these workers. They did not even understand this at first. The sailors of "De Zeven Provinciën" looked up to the army planes, and laughing, they never thought that these army planes would drop bombs to destroy the rebels. The workers of Amsterdam did not dream that a mere demonstration would turn the city into a battle field, with military tactics, barricades and killings; but they learn and they learn fast as their action proves. They will soon know that not even the weakest activity will be granted to them; that the ruling class is deadly serious in their determination to kill all actions in favor of the working class.

The periods of "Democracy", of "Parliamentary Humbug", of "Reforms" and of "Legal Action" is definitely over. Now machine guns make history, and realizing this new situation, the workers will also find out that it is absolutely necessary to adopt a class policy, and that success is only possible if the present system is destroyed through proletarian revolution.

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THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN.

In the middle of September, "La Nacion", a leading bourgeois newspaper in Spain, wrote "that the danger growing out of this situation of strike activities can at this time only be combated by the erection of an open dictatorship". Since then the days were marked by increasing provocations by the government against the labor organizations, as well as the whole working class. Demonstrations, meetings, organizations were forbidden, the press suppressed, elections declared illegal and communist and socialist deputies replaced by reactionary ones. The bourgeois press spoke of a planned revolution, and supported the development of the fascist organizations. All this did not decrease the strike activity, and the consequences in which these strikes were carried through. The economic struggle became at once a struggle against the government, as the government has to assure its capitalists profits. The ruling class is determined to bring, by all means, the activity of the working class to a standstill, and is preparing for an open dictatorship supported by the growing fascist forces.

In the beginning of October, the strike situation changed to civil warfare. October 5th, about 100 deaths were reported, and the days following, this number increased more and more. The government engaged all military means to suppress what they called an uprising of the workers, after they had started this slaughtering of the workers merely for their strike activity. The streets of Madrid and of many of the smaller cities became battlefields. The heroism of the workers was remarkable in the face of their meagre weapons. "The troops have been given orders to fire on any suspicious person or manifestation". "All extremists carrying weapons shall be shot!",

ordered the premier. Once more it became clear that a real General Strike of the workers in such a situation is identical with civil war.

Using this melee, the separatists elements, partly supported by the C.P. slogans of national self-determination, also struck for their special interests. They declared Catalonia temporarily an independent republic, and led the class struggle in this part of Spain on the sidetrack of nationalism.

The issues of the workers were not clear. They were, by their different organizational interests, in a terrible ideological mess. Anarchists, syndicalists, communists and socialists were forced into one front against the fascists and the fascist attitude of the government. They still fought in spite of this common enemy for their special group interests. This weakened the strength of the workers and also did away with all hope that out of the struggle would come anything more than a terrible defeat. Only by way of struggle, and especially this kind of struggle, will the workers recognize their true interests which forces them not only to the overthrow of this feudal-capitalist combination of exploitation in Spain, but also to the recognition that the enemy must be faced by a working class united on one issue, the issue of communism. The present class struggle can be regarded as evidence that class consciousness nowadays takes on at once concrete form. The workers learn to understand their problems, not merely on a purely ideological basis, but they learn at once by actual practice. The reality is more revolutionary than the ideas of the workers; and so even a defeat of the workers in Spain can indicate nothing more than a temporary one which also carries with it the weapons for certain success in the future.

UPTON SINCLAIR ON THE ROAD TO FASCISM?

Two years ago, in relation to Sinclair and the Eisenstein movie, "Thunder Over Mexico", the critics already tried to point out that his ideology was of a fascist character. With his attitude towards the cutting up of the movie, he had lost his prestige as a socialist and was considered on the road to the class enemy. A good business man, however, is not necessarily also a fascist, and the noise about Sinclair's perversion soon died out.

He ran for governor several times on the Socialist ticket, and now he enters the Democratic Party with his Epic Platform (End Poverty In California) trying to gain as a bourgeois candidate what he had failed to reach as a Socialist. From our point of view, this makes no difference, but for the Socialists it is outright betrayal, and they look now upon their former friend as a traitor, who is hurting the cause of socialism.

Sinclair brought the Democratic Party, as he himself boasts, about 300,000 members in a short time. He received about 400,000 votes and soon started a newspaper which in a few weeks attained a circulation of 175,000. He also sold about 200,000 copies of his platform. A very successful man, and we understand, the envy of all labor-fakers without a doubt.

The C.P. consider him the Orange Hitler of California. In one of the latest issues of "New Masses" (which had to take up the matter as Sinclair is a literary figure) he is classed as a full-fledged fascist, and should be treated as such. The "pure" fellows of the "New Masses" are, however, a bit misinformed. During August in Moscow, at the Congress of Russian Revolutionary Writers, one of the many under organizations of the C.I., a resolution was adopted and sent to Sinclair which says in part: "accept our most hearty and brotherly greetings, because you have always done and you are still doing with heroism your duty as a friend of the working class". We also find Theodore Dreiser, who adheres to the Third International, works directly for Sinclair's campaign fund. Dreiser also got a nice telegram from Moscow. At the time these telegrams were sent, it was positively known, and the Moscow Congress was aware, that Sinclair was already a member of the Democratic Party for more than a half a year and intended to run for governor.

This does not make the slightest difference to the Third International as Sinclair at least entered a party which completed the recognition of Russia by the United States, and which seems to be favorable to help in defending the "fatherland of the workers", in case the bargaining between Russia and Japan should collapse, and if a war becomes necessary to settle the differences between these two nations. In this event, it becomes the duty of American workers to volunteer in the American Army to help "defend the Soviet Union". Sinclair is doing heroically, a little early perhaps, what may eventually be the duty of the whole American working class. But this is not the only reason the Third International likes Sinclair. They know that it is possible for Sinclair to fight in the Democratic Party for the "status Quo" of capitalism just as well, if not better, than in their own freakish organization, the C.P., which the Third International is slowly liquidating. Telegrams and warm, brotherly greetings for Sinclair; for the workers in the C.P. the empty phrases against Sinclair in order to use them for reactionary purposes indirectly; a purpose which Sinclair directly serves.

But Sinclair is just a freak. He never had any scientific understanding of capitalism or Socialism. He merely wrote sentimental stories to soften the hearts of millionaires; to make a nice world out of a capitalist world. Meanwhile, he made a good living. Occasionally he entertained the world by exhibiting his immeasurable stupidity, falling for all kinds of medical and social fakers. He never missed a chance to put himself in the spot light; too many years near Hollywood probably accounts for this.

Sinclair wants to bluff the voters of California and the workers also, that he, single-handed, can transform the capitalist system into a Socialist one. All that is necessary are a few new taxation laws. "Sock the rich" by taxes and give to the poor. By means of taxation force the proprietors of land and idle factories to turn them over to the unemployed who will engage on a grand scale self-help-movement, a movement which has been repeatedly proven a failure. By this means, too, he promises the farmer and middle-class a lighter tax burden, as the unemployed will provide for themselves. Many of his reformist ideas, old-age pensions, etc., cannot be successfully carried out inside the framework of capitalism, and if some of them are, they will deepen the crisis rather than help to overcome it.

The most important parts of the Epic program have been dropped, however. In order to insure himself the support of the Democratic Party, and in order not to hurt Roosevelt, he has thrown overboard his platform even before he is elected. The state-farms, factories run by the state, old age pension, etc., he dropped; nothing remains but empty phrases. He is willingly and knowingly betraying his voters in order to satisfy his film-star ideology; he cannot sleep well without being mentioned at least once daily in the papers

He claims that he and Roosevelt agree on everything, and that the "New Deal" has advanced to the position of 'Epic'. This is true. Epic has lost its main points and the New Deal is bankrupt. They are both bankrupt before they start working. Where there is nothing, there can be no disagreement; so the Democratic Party adopts Sinclair as its own.

Daily Sinclair becomes more patriotic. He now expresses what he always felt. It was formerly more outstanding to play at being a socialist, now there is more fame by showing fascist tendencies. There is no likelihood that he will become a California Hitler, as he is seeking advertisement - not power. He fills the space between the real acts in this historical drama, and when the social forces begin to move, he will probably be disposed of in short order by the real Fascists or pushed aside by a revolutionary Proletariat. The future will not be determined by freaks of his size, but will be determined by the social struggle for power.

HOME COMING.

The End of the Trotsky Movement.

A short time back the "Militant" expressed quite a lot of pity for some of the Lovestone group who were trying to find their way back to the Socialist Party. A few weeks ago, too, they became vehement in complaints against "the treacherous Third International" because it started a United Front from the top with the Socialist Parties, with a proposal of merging the two organizations. "The Stalinists are liquidating the Communist Movement", cried the Unser Wort, the Trotsky organ in France. "Down with such a merger. It will weaken, not strengthen the revolutionary movement".

Then came a surprising move; the liquidation of the Trotsky group in France, and the offer of the American Trotskyites to enter the American Workers' Party. Yesterday, the liquidation of independent Communist parties was open betrayal of the revolutionary cause. Today in France, these same people subject themselves to the discipline of the Socialist Party, and in the United States merge with the petty bourgeois American Workers' Party.

These events suit us fine. The common sense displayed by the "leaders" is to be congratulated. It helps clear up the real situation in the labor movement. The revolutionary workers know now by actuality that behind the "revolutionary" slogans nothing else was concealed but the old labor fakery of the Socialist Party. These are times of stress for "Labor's Leaders". It is dangerous now to hide behind revolutionary slogans. There is the perspective, too, of

the eventual destruction of the old labor movement, and with it the income and prestige of "Leaders". Faced with this common danger, the petty differences of organizations are forgotten; unity on the basis of "Status Quo" is established, and the professional revolutionists are saved from what they call "The Horrible Reaction of Fascism". We will be good; no more revolutionary slogans; give us a chance; fascism is not necessary; labor and only labor, under a safe and sane leadership, can oil the troubled sea of economic chaos!

"Comrades", calls the National Conference of the Communist League of France, "join us in the ranks of the Socialist Party for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Without renouncing our past and our ideas, but also without any mental reservations of sectarianism, we speak out what is. It is necessary to enter the Socialist Party, not for the sake of exhibitions nor of experiences, but for serious work under the banner of Marxism". J.P. Cannon, in the Militant #39, writes: "Prior to the decision of the conference to take this step, the National Committees of the Communist League of America decided by a majority of eight to one, to recommend this course of the French comrades, despite the great dangers and difficulties involved in such a drastic reorientation. We recommended this course with full confidence that they would remain true to their banner and carry it with them into the Socialist Party".

The above, in plain English, is a command to join the party of social chauvinists; to join with the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg; to join with the Otto Bauers, the Thomases and Vandervelts. The members of the Communist League in France who could not stomach this "reorientation" were expelled. Do the Trotskyites really believe that this "turn" will speed "social convulsions" and lead to a "radicalization of the masses"?; that in this "revolutionary rise" the Socialist Party will fight for the "Fourth International" and for Communism? Is this why they "orientate" from the "wing" of the Communist Party to follow at the "tail" of the Socialist Party? They don't!! The new orientation of the S.P. is based upon the thesis that the Socialist Movement in Austria and Germany fell because it was too revolutionary; that the S.P. must drop its revolutionary slogans, win the middle class, gain power and in that way make fascism impossible. The S.P. is offering to perform the task of the fascists themselves, and in this enterprise finds help from the Third International and its "wings", which in reality cannot be distinguished from the "Noske" and "Scheideman's".

We have said that the old labor movement reaches from "Noske" to Trotsky. It has departed only temporary. The departure was only a family fight; now they are united again. The "Left Leadership" of the old labor movement have gone over to the petty bourgeoisie. They have come home not to die, but to eat. In order to eat, these fakers offer themselves to the capitalist class as a way out that is better than fascism. In doing so, they become, in the words of Trotsky: "the party of counter-revolutionary despair." They prove to the workers by these zigzags that they are cheap demagogues, servants of capitalism, enemies of the revolution who live by betrayal. They prove by deeds that this "Bolshevik Leninist kernel" is as mouldy and worm-eaten as the other peas in the pod. They prove that the Socialist Party, Communist Party and Left Opposition have always been afflicted with a capitalist ideology. They prove that they are revolutionists in name, constitutionalists in deed. They fight with their flag

unfurled, and must be crushed with the capitalist traditions of yesterday. They are fakery again making history, struggling in a feeble effort to ward off the dialectic movement of reality. Meanwhile, the class struggle deepens - real revolutionists must carry on!

* * * * *

It has come to our notice that the Weisbord group, another "wing" of the Bolsheviki, who have "adhered" to the Trotsky movement internationally while opposing the Left Opposition in America, have repudiated Trotsky and his whole movement on the basis of this new orientation.

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