

REVOLT

Vol. I, No. 5

Published by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary
Workers League, U. S. 28 E. 14th St. N.Y.C.

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CHICAGO UNEMPLOYED FACE STARVATION OR FIGHT

DESPERATE SITUATION MUST BE MET BY A BOLD POLICY

CHICAGO, May 15.- Arrangements have just been completed by the Chicago Relief Administration for closing down relief stations on May 18th. Only a skeleton staff will be maintained to handle medical emergencies. Enough money is on hand, according to the city officials, to "provide" for half of the 96,000 families on direct relief. Even this provision is inadequate. Those not "provided" for must starve. Evictions are already taking place. Many others will follow.

A year ago there were 85,218 families on relief, a little less than 400,000 workers. Today, this figure has risen to 96,000 families, or about a half million workers. There are about 100,000 workers on the WPA projects. Altogether over one third of Chicago's working class is on relief.

The WPA workers get paid out of the Federal treasury. Uncle Sam gives us \$55 a month. If a WPA worker's family is five persons he gets a small supplement. But his family is not eligible for relief. That means his family has to live on about 30¢ a day apiece. A small minority of WPA workers gets more than \$55 dollars a month. But the huge majority get the lower figure.

BURIAL ON RELIEF BUDGET

The budget of the Chicago Relief Administration is supposed to provide for food, rent, clothes, coal, electricity, gas; and way down on the list is burial. The Chicago Relief Administrator figures that \$45,000,000 is sufficient for relief for a year. Eight percent of this goes for administrative expenses which leaves the unemployed a little less than a \$1.80 per week per worker. That's why children go to school with empty stomachs and worn out shoes; and their fathers scrape in garbage cans in alleys.

For some time the Relief Administration has been paying only half a month's rent; has given clothing only on medical recommendation; and has not paid electricity. Now even this is going to be shut off. The way things are going the only thing left on the budget is burial.

For the remaining eight months the Relief Administration figures it needs \$29,000,000; \$3,380,423 for the month of May. \$14,000,000 is supposed to be available from the state funds. But it can't be had immediately. Of the close to \$4,000,000 needed for May the state has only a little less than \$2,000,000.

Lyons, Chicago Relief Commissioner, states that the only possibility for raising the money needed is to get state aid. A special session of the State Legislature will be convened May 13th or 23rd according to reports in the capitalist press. At the same time rumors are current that the city officials are considering raising the sales tax

from three to four percent. Behind this shameful situation is the clique fight of the capitalist politicians. The Kelly-Nash machine which controls Chicago wants to hammer Governor Horner and put the responsibility for the situation on him and his political allies. Horner wants the Kelly-Nash machine to take the rap.

\$10,000-A-YEAR JOBS

While the politicians are playing football with the unemployed, the Associated Press announces: "17 Federal Plums Ripe For Picking; Roosevelt Expected To Fill Some Of \$9,000-\$17,500 Jobs Quickly. . . In the diplomatic service President Roosevelt must choose an Ambassador to Russia paying \$17,500 a year, and Ministers to Canada and Persia, each paying \$10,000. . . The President soon may appoint a successor to J.F.T. O'Connor, who resigned the \$15,000 a year job of Controller of the Currency. . . The nomination of John W. Hanes to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. . . Left a \$10,000 a year on the Securities Commission. . . One \$10,000 a year job as Federal Power Commissioner has been vacant. . . Four \$10,000 a year positions will be open. . ." What do these people care about the fate of hundreds of thousands of \$55-a-month WPA workers, and hundreds of thousands of \$1.30-a-week workers on direct relief?

The Illinois Workers Alliance in Chicago is only a shadow of the former militant movement. It has a few thousand on its books, controlled by the Stalinists, which means that it is not working to organize a giant protest movement on fighting lines. The huge bulk of the unemployed workers are unorganized.

MUST TAKE OVER

The Illinois Workers Alliance has planned to take over 9 out of the 19 relief stations as a protest. That's only a beginning. But taking over the relief stations will not give us relief. There is much more to be done. The corrupt Kelly-Nash and the equally rotten Horner machines have shown that they are bankrupt. To rely on them is to face a hopeless future.

The crisis is getting worse every day, every hour. Now is the time to demand that the organization and administration of relief be turned over to the working class, to the employed and unemployed workers of Chicago. The trade unions and unemployed organizations can take over and administer the relief needs of the unemployed.

Only the working class can solve the problems of the working class. The time is coming when the workers will have to take over the whole system of production, run the capitalists and their office boys out, and build a new system to eliminate the ghastly struggle for bread and shelter. We can make a good beginning now by taking over the organization and administration of relief.

Right now, we must demand that relief be continued; that it be increased, ALL evictions must be stopped at once. The sales tax must be abolished. Take over the relief stations and REMAIN until our demands are granted, prepare and organize demonstrations at the City Hall and the State Capitol. Make the capitalists whose economic system is responsible for the crisis foot the bill. Let the workers' organizations administer relief.

W.P.A., HERE WE COME!

AMERICAN YOUTH HAVE NO FUTURE UNDER CAPITALISM

"WPA, HERE WE COME!"

"Graduating class slogans always have been expected to view the future hopefully..... It is something of shock therefore, to read that a Louisiana high school senior class chose for its class motto:

'WPA, Here We Come!'

.....
 "The outlook is gloomy when trained young people looking out upon life say, "what's the use?" Worst of all is the condition which prompts the least ambitious to say, 'There is no use to exert ourselves; we shall not succeed and, anyway, we shall be taken care of somehow!'

It is time for a mighty, united effort to clear the skies of such clouds and to bring to American youth a brighter outlook." (Detroit News, May 7, 1938)

We agree. The outlook for American youth is gloomy - under capitalism. Each year five hundred thousand American Youth join the ranks of the unemployed. Year by year they confront a world which is decaying, a world whose horizons are contracting, a world which has no use for their abilities, skill, talents; a world which gives them no opportunity to live like human beings, which cannot any longer offer them even the miserable lot of working for wages. Each year half a million youth confront the horrible truth that they have become ripe for an imperialist slaughter which will create greater misery for countless millions. This is the world which American youth confront the world of capitalism, monstrous destroyer of men and wealth,

The Detroit News has a right to be gloomy. The slogan of the Louisiana high school seniors is only one straw in the wind. The gale is gathering force. Let the capitalists look out.

It is time for a mighty, united effort... to put an end to the capitalist system; to organize a better, decent life; to create a new society - free of unemployment, hunger, war and Fascism. It is time to think seriously about the proletarian revolution in the United States and to get down to work to prepare for it.

JOIN THE LEAGUE

AUTO WORKERS PUSH FIGHT AGAINST WAGECUTS

BUREAUCRATS TO APPEAL TO EMPLOYERS AGAINST MILITANTS

DETROIT, May 10. - While the bureaucrats of the U.A.W. are waging a bitter, factional fight for leadership, and, at the same time, showing their unity in trying to suppress the militancy of the workers; the rank and file auto unionists are again proving their militancy. The aggressiveness and resoluteness of the workers is moving into direct opposition with the factionalism and labor fakery of the top leadership. Recent developments here indicate a rapid intensification of this process.

On the one hand, the employers are carrying out a systematic and methodical campaign for wage cuts. The success of the workers of the Federal Screw Co. in resisting a 10-20% wage cut appears only to have pushed the capitalists to more vigorous measures of attack. The attack is being concentrated on small plants, the aim of the employers being not only to demoralize the members of the union by wage-cuts but, also, at the same time, to smash the union in these plants.

SHOW-DOWN LOOMING.

This attack on the union in small plants may branch out into a show-down battle of major significance. It was in these small, part plants that the workers were able to achieve gains of importance compared to the larger plants. This means that the workers here are more confident, determined to prevent their victories from being turned into defeats by wage-cuts. Second, these part plants are of strategic importance to the big assembly plants. Smashing or demoralizing the union in the first will enable the capitalists to push ahead with wage-cuts and union busting in the large assembly plants.

It is in this light that the recent 10% wage-cut, ordered March 28th in the Michigan Steel Casting Co. plant here in Detroit, must be viewed. Although only a small plant employing 120 men, the struggle going on here is being waged by the rank and file union militants with enthusiasm. The intensity of the conflict was heightened last Monday morning when eight union men were sent to the hospital after a battle with the police begun when someone representing himself as a salesman tried to break through the picket line. The night before twenty scab workers had been brought in, in a canvas-covered truck, and the workers were taking no chances. Early in the morning two hundred and fifty workers returned to the picket line, militant as ever. In the afternoon picket line, the number increased to about two thousand. Whereas the sentiment of the workers seemed to be that of invading the plant and physically ejecting the scabs, the leadership of the strike under the strict supervision of the International Executive Board, contented itself with arousing the workers against the chief of police, Pickert. Indeed, according to the words of one of these: "The day will soon come when Detroit will have a real police force, when three years service in the labor movement

will be a prerequisite for becoming a private, and five years service for becoming a lieutenant or captain in the police force". With this leadership, the workers cannot carry on a successful struggle.

That the police were determined to break up the picket line on the slightest provocation was witnessed by the fact that the police detail at the early morning picket line outnumbered the pickets, two hundred and fifty to a hundred and fifty; while in the afternoon demonstration, the detail was increased to about 350, with mounted police and emergency cars standing by. The workers met this force with two by two clubs, with a piece of paper or anything attached to them to make them legal as placards! As one worker remarked: "What the hell! Is this a civil war or what?" The instincts of this particular worker are sound.

PERMANENT STRIKE COMMITTEE

The report of one worker on the picket line who worked in the Michigan Steel Casting Co. indicated that many union men had returned to work, and that only about twenty members of the U.A.W. local were out on strike. The particular local, number 281 headed by Albert Hargreaves seems to have decreased rapidly in numbers. This can be attributed to the fact that the strike had been in progress for about six weeks, but that it was only yesterday that the U.A.W. International Executive Board authorized the strike. Even here it was pushed to this action by the formation of a permanent strike committee by the District Council for Detroit and Wayne County. Such bureaucratic maneuvers help turn the workers against the union, and thus directly put wind in the sails of the capitalist union-busters. To win this particular strike - and win it the workers must if they hope to stop wage cuts in other and larger plants - the workers will be pushed to more vigorous action such as entering the plant and ejecting the scabs and extending the strike to the assembly plants using the parts manufactured by Michigan Casting Co.

But in doing this the rank and file auto workers must resist the ever-hardening bureaucratic crust in the leadership of the union. This bureaucracy not only unites to keep the workers down but carries on a factional fight for posts which can only turn the workers against the union.

The most recent attempt of the U.A.W. bureaucrats to suppress the militancy of the rank and file auto workers is embodied in a resolution passed yesterday at the International Executive Board meeting. The resolution gives the International Executive Board power to impose penalties on all those who call unauthorized strikes, a power hitherto retained by the locals. Furthermore, the bureaucrats even entrust the punishment of the "guilty" members of the employer. The resolution goes on to say that punishment can consist of suspension from membership or the Board can ask the "culprits!" employers to discharge or suspend him! So it's to be employer and union bureaucrats against the rank and file militants!

SEVERE PUNISHMENT

Who is to decide when a strike is authorized? In the end, the International President, Martin, will have this power. According to the resolution, an unauthorized strike is one called before the locals,

by a two-third majority, in a secret vote, vote for it and before it is authorized by the International President or Executive Board. "Severe punishment" is already being considered against the strikers of the Bohn Aluminum and Brass Co. strike in April, the Chevrolet parts plants strike in Bay City, Michigan last week and the one-hour stoppage in the Packard plant several days ago. What effect such punishment will have on the workers' attitude toward the union is obvious.

However, as stated, the bureaucrats carry on war against one another for positions which can only demoralize the workers. The storm center of the present struggle is Frankenstein, who, at the Lansing State C.I.O. convention several weeks ago made his bid for the U.A.W. presidency by declaring himself against factions and for the abolition of all caucuses. That the Stalinists were serving this food to Frankenstein is proved by an article in the Stalinist Daily Worker of May 10. This article comes out against factionalism in the U.A.W. Their purpose, of course, is to eliminate the Lovestone caucus and other opposing groups in the U.A.W. so that they will have free rein in the union. For this purpose they have decided to support Frankenstein.

MARTIN COUNTER-ATTACKS

Homer Martin immediately counter-acted this bid of Frankenstein's for leadership by demoting him from Assistant President, to which he appointed him last fall, to a Vice-Presidency which places him on an equal footing with the other four Vice-Presidents elected at the Milwaukee convention. Likewise, Martin announced punishment against those responsible for the recent "wildcat strikes". It was Frankenstein who called the strike in the Bay City, Chevrolet parts plants last week and in the eight Bohn Aluminum plants. Martin contended that Frankenstein "did not go through the required steps".

Frankenstein, supported as he is by the Stalinists and the New Deal, advanced, rather than withdrew, along the path he began at Lansing. In a letter addressed to the International Executive Board meeting this week, Frankenstein repeated in stronger terms his program for the abolition of caucuses, establishing discipline against the militants, loyalty for the International officers, and an increasing centralization of the U.A.W. by having all this "done on the basis of the program of the International Union". In essence it is the same program as the Martin-Lovestone section of the U.A.W. bureaucracy with the exception of the one item against caucuses. Frankenstein's bid for power is based on the proposition of the abolition of opposition and the acquisition of complete control over the U.A.W.

NEW DEAL BEHIND FRANKENSTEIN

This same relationship of forces is expressed likewise on the political field. Behind Frankenstein stands the Murphy machine in Michigan and the New Deal nationally. Frankenstein has been appointed by Governor Murphy to the state relief commission and it is rumored he will be a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. The failure of Homer Martin to organize an apparatus, capable of keeping strikes down means he must be shelved; and in his place Frankenstein - a real one for the auto workers - will be elevated to the top. His alliance

with the Stalinists will make him more dangerous than Hauser, former Martinite head of the U.A.W. "beef squad", as an organizer of flying squads against radicals; and strong arm squads against militants in the trade unions.

In the Federal Screw strike several weeks ago and now, in the Michigan Steel Casting strike, the workers are showing themselves capable of great struggles even during the heart of the crisis. Their interests are running counter to the factionalism and struggle for posts among the Martin-Lovestone-Frankenstein-Stalinist bureaucrats. When the workers really get into action this bureaucracy will be washed to the side of the stream.

- AUTO WORKER.

The following Bulletin, issued by Local 281 of the auto union, tells its own dramatic story.

S T R I K E B U L L E T I N

On March 28th wages at the Michigan Steel Casting Co. were smashed 10%. Whether or not this reduction was in line with the manufacturers meeting held during January is not known. But it is known that during January the manufacturers decided to cut wages wherever possible.

This strike was called after all efforts to settle the dispute had been exhausted. Attempts by the Union to obtain a true statement of the companies financial standing had been ignored. Attempts to arrive at a compromise have likewise been turned down. It seems clear that the issue here is not a wage-cut, BUT A CALCULATED ATTEMPT BY THE MANUFACTURERS TO BEGIN A UNION-BUSTING CAMPAIGN upon the smaller organized shops.

On Sunday, May 7, an all night picket line was established around the plant. No attempt was made to break the line. But about 11 P.M. a closed truck carrying some 20 strike breakers was escorted into the plant under police protection. Peaceful picketing continued until about 8 A.M. Monday morning. At this time a salesman for the firm, who is a strong advocate of company unionism, attempted to break the line. A picket objected to being shoved by the police. This was the sign for a brutal attack by the police upon the pickets. During the struggle which followed seven unionists were severely beaten. One picket - Oliver Godfrey, a member of the Hudson Local, after being knocked down by the police, was kicked and beaten over the head, while lying unconscious on the pavement. He is now being held as a police prisoner, charged with felonious assault.

According to the reports being circulated by the company that the employees are satisfied with the wage cut, the overwhelming majority are bitterly opposed to any lowering of their already miserable standard of living. We, the strike committee feel sure that this strike is the common interest of every worker in the City of Detroit.

Are we going to permit these unchecked demonstrations of police terror? Are we going back to the Hoover hunger marches? WE think NOT. Union busting manufacturers intent upon destroying our hard fought gains must be met and demonstrated that the United Automobile Workers Union of America is HERE TO STAY.

- Strike Committee, Local #281-UAWA.

The following resolutions were introduced at the Lansing, Michigan C.I.O. Convention, April 23 and 24, by left wing auto delegates. The bureaucrats in control of the convention refused to permit them to reach the floor of the convention. The convention was reported in the May 7th issue of REVOLT.

WAR

WHEREAS- The present situation in Europe and Asia is such that a world war may break out at almost any time,

AND WHEREAS- Such a war would be, like the was war, a war for profit and markets for one set of war mongers against another,

AND WHEREAS- The Fascist countries and the so-called democratic ones are alike in this respect, as the history and line-ups in the last war show,

AND WHEREAS- The capitalists of this country through their government in Washington are preparing to fight in the coming war in the interest of their wealth for the purpose of increasing it, at the expense of the capitalists and workers and peasants of other countries,

AND WHEREAS- The workers of the entire world on both sides of the trenches will have nothing to gain from fighting a war for the capitalists of their countries,

BE IT RESOLVED- That this convention goes on record as opposed to the entry of this country into the coming war and for the most active and determined opposition against it and the present preparations for it,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That if despite the opposition to the war the capitalists succeed in plunging this country into the war the workers represented here will continue to oppose the war and will refuse to bear the cost of waging the war by submitting to lower wages and longer hours and speed-up and will continue their struggle against the capitalists by the same methods of struggle which they use in peace time and in every necessary way,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That should the government "conscript capital" or nationalize certain key industries the workers will struggle against any attempt to undermine or disrupt their unions or suppress them in the name of sacrifice to win the war,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That if the workers are conscripted as they are sure to be they will bear no hatred for the workers wearing the uniform of the "enemy" but will attempt to fraternize with them.

UNITY

WHEREAS- The workers in the United States are in the main unorganized,

AND WHEREAS- The capitalists in this country are the most powerful in the world and will stop at nothing to prevent the workers from organizing,

AND WHEREAS- The only way in which they can be fought is by an uncompromising struggle against them,

AND WHEREAS- This can be achieved only by the unity of the workers in unions which are dedicated to the struggle against the capitalists and which correspond to the structure of the industries of the United States,

AND WHEREAS- The struggle of the workers in one union or one industry is the concern of the workers in the entire country,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED- That this convention goes on record for the organization of the workers of the United States, and especially the workers in the mass production industries, into industrial unions with a program of fighting the capitalists by strike action and in every other necessary way,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That the workers who are now organized in the unions which are affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, and those workers who are organized in the unions which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and those workers who are organized in unions outside both of these union centers must be united in the shortest possible time in industrial unions in one federation on the basis of a program for fighting the capitalists in each and every industry,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That the workers in all of these unions have nothing to gain and everything to lose from carrying on a fratricidal civil war of union against union, brother against brother and sister against sister,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That the duty of the workers in all of these unions is to refrain from actions and words which break or weaken labor's solidarity such as passing picket lines, or giving support to the practice of certain union officials of organizing picket lines to undermine, raid or disrupt existing unions and to raise their voiced for unity to fight the capitalists.

DEMOCRACY

WHEREAS- It is democratic practice that workers who have to live up to the terms of an agreement between the union and the company or companies, should have the final say as to acceptance or rejection of that agreement,

AND WHEREAS- Agreements have been made in the S.W.O.C., and in the I.U., U.A.W.A. in the last twelve-month period ignoring or violating this democratic, reasonable, and just consideration,

AND WHEREAS- Certain unions have even gone so far as to provide in their constitutions for further ignoring and violating this very important point of union democracy,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED- That this convention goes on record favoring the exercise of this democratic principle in the concluding of all agreements and contracts with employers, to the end that no agreement is considered binding until and unless it has been thoroughly discussed by the workers it directly involves, and voted upon by them without any coercion or duress, and accepted by them with a clear majority vote. Where a majority vote is against acceptance of an agreement, the proposed agreement to be considered void or rejected,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That this convention communicate with the Presidents and Executive Boards of all the C.I.O. unions informing them of this resolution and prevailing upon them to effectuate this practice in concluding all their agreements from this date on.

NATIONAL C.I.O. CONVENTION

WHEREAS- The Committee for Industrial Organization has been in existence approximately three years and still has original set-ups and appointees in many instances,

AND WHEREAS- This situation does not make for greater stabilization of existing international unions,

AND WHEREAS- The wishes and desires of the broad membership cannot be easily ascertained, much less satisfied, without a fairly frequent exercise of the elective principle,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED- That this convention prevail upon John L. Lewis and other C.I.O. leaders and the various international unions and committees of the C.I.O. and itself go on record for the immediate calling of a national convention of the Committee for Industrial Organization to be thoroughly represented and democratically conducted,

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED- That this convention recommend that such national convention be held in Detroit, Michigan.

PACIFISTS TO 'FIGHT' WAR WITH TELEGRAMS

SOW ILLUSIONS AMONG WORKERS

On May 28-29-30, the Keep America Out of War National Committee will convene the National Anti-War Congress in Washington, D.C. According to its literature the Congress will represent "widely varied sections of American citizenship". On the Keep America Out of War Committee are three Bishops, two Rabbis, two Senators, two members of the House of Representatives, an active Major General, a retired Major General, two Professors, several well-known pacifists, authors, columnists, editors, attorneys, leaders of farmers' organizations, a number of officials of unions including Homer Martin, President of the auto union, Joseph Schlossberg, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Charles Zimmerman, Secretary Treasurer of Local 22 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; and Norman Thomas, National Chairman of the Socialist Party. The chairman of this Committee is a labor arbitrator.

In political language this Committee is a combination of bourgeois pacifists, Socialists, Lovestoneites and labor fakers. A fine crew! If the composition of the Committee does not make this clear, its program does. The Committee's literature makes an appeal "to warn the Congress of the United States and the Administration through; immediate letters, telegrams and resolutions against super-navies, conscript bills, and any involvement in foreign war". The Congress "will press these demands and plan a future course of action". Among the aims of the Committee are "the democratic right to vote on war, a sound prosperity through a program of construction, conservation, and expanded education...., an end to unemployment through jobs at home....., to work with increasing solidarity with the peoples of all nations in the world-wide struggle to abolish economic injustice and colonial repression, and to remove the causes of dictatorial militarism". These are the grandiose aims to be achieved by "letters, telegrams and resolutions", and a "future course of action".

VARIED OPINIONS

The Youth Committee Against War of the Keep America Out of War Committee, in its appeal to support the Congress, says: "Although of varied opinions as to the ultimate solution of the war problem the undersigned call on you.....". Among the "undersigned" are the National Secretary of the Young People's Socialist League and Minnie Lurye, prominent Lovestoneite.

What can such a Congress do to put an end to imperialist war? Absolutely nothing. The history of the last war shows us that pacifism and confusion are powerless to combat this scourge of mankind. Their only effect is to sow illusions among the workers and prevent them from taking effective action against war. That is what this Congress will do to the extent that it has any influence in the

working class. This danger, fortunately, is not very great. The Committee is forced to state that "The appearance of an organization name (in connection with the names of the members of the Committee) does not necessarily imply official action by the organization".

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PACIFIST AND MARXIST PROGRAMS

How can we fight imperialist war? The difference between the pacifist and Marxist programs is that the former assumes the possibility of preventing war in capitalist society; whereas the first point in the Marxist program is that imperialist war is inevitable under capitalism and that the struggle against it is a part of the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

In failing to state this elementary truth the Keep America Out of War Committee stamps itself as opposed to it and the consequences which flow from it; the Lovestoneites as well as the Bishops, Homer Martin and Norman Thomas as well as the Senators and Generals.

What consequences flow from this truth? The pacifists want to send telegrams and letters and pass wordy resolutions to warn Congress and the Administration. Congress and Roosevelt don't need any warnings from these people. They know what they are about. They are planning day and night to come out of the next war the economic and political dictators of the fate of the world.

The Marxists organize working class action to combat the war: strikes and demonstrations. In an imperialist war the capitalists divide the workers of the world and force them to kill themselves to the advantage of imperialist interests. The Marxists strive to unite the workers of the world against the capitalists in all countries. They work for the defeat of the army and navy of the capitalists of their "own" country because military defeats disorganize the capitalist war machine, shatter the discipline of the officers over the worker and peasant soldiers, arouse the masses at home to struggle against their capitalist oppressors, and, in general, accelerate the development of a revolutionary situation. They strive to have the workers turn their guns against the capitalists.

In not projecting this program the Keep America Out of War Committee shows that it is opposed to the only program by which the world can be rid of war. It is an obstacle to the achievement of that aim. In the last analysis, it serves the interests of the war mongers.

Against this Congress of pacifism and confusion we counterpose the need for the construction of a revolutionary party which will lead the workers in struggle against the war danger and for the overthrow of capitalism. There is no other road to put an end to war.

LENIN'S PROGRAM FOR FIGHTING WAR

"DEFEAT OF ONE'S OWN GOVERNMENT IN THE IMPERIALIST WAR"

The following extracts are taken from Lenin's writings; Selected Works, Volume V, English Edition, pages 142-8. All emphases are Lenin's.

A revolutionary class in a reactionary war cannot but desire the defeat of its government. This is an axiom.... revolutionary action in wartime against one's own government undoubtedly and incontrovertibly means not only desiring its defeat but really facilitating such defeat. (For the 'penetrating reader': this does not mean 'blowing up bridges', organizing unsuccessful military strikes, and in general helping the government to inflict defeat upon revolutionaries.)....

Revolution in wartime is civil war; and the TRANSFORMATION of war between governments into civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ('defeats') of governments; on the other hand, it is IMPOSSIBLE really to strive for such a transformation without thereby facilitating defeat..... THIS SLOGAN ALONE implies a consistent appeal for revolutionary action against one's own government in wartime.....

.... the tsarist government was perfectly right that the agitation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor (Bolshevik) fraction .. among the masses against the government... weakened the 'military power' of Russia and was likely to cause its defeat. This is a fact. It is foolish to try to hide from it....

.... there is an inseparable connection between revolutionary agitation against the government and facilitating defeat.

.... The transformation of the imperialist war into civil war cannot be 'made', any more than it is possible to 'make' a revolution - it GROWS out of a multiplicity of diverse phenomena, phases, tracts, characteristics, consequences of the imperialist war. Such a growth is IMPOSSIBLE without a series of military reverses and defeats of those governments which receive blows from THEIR OWN oppressed classes.

.... The only real and not verbal policy of ... accepting the class struggle, is for the proletariat TO TAKE ADVANTAGE of the EMBARRASSEMENTS of its government and its bourgeoisie IN ORDER TO OVERTHROW THEM. This, however, cannot be achieved, it CANNOT BE STRIVEN FOR, without desiring the defeat of one's own government, without facilitating this defeat."

Lenin's idea is clear. He saw that revolutionary mass struggle against the capitalist system in wartime would lead to military defeats and that these in turn would accelerate the revolutionary struggle.

When Lenin wrote these lines in the summer of 1915 he had in mind the revolution of 1905 in Russia which followed the defeat of the Russian armies by the Japanese. A year and a half after writing the above lines the defeats of the Russian army by the German army were a tremendous factor in the outbreak of the Russian revolution in February. The Russian revolution demoralized the German armies on the Eastern front and was a powerful factor in the outbreak of the German revolution in the fall of 1918. The defeats of the Austrian armies and the revolutions in Russia and Germany were the decisive factors in the outbreak of the Hungarian revolution of 1919.

Since Lenin was a man of practical, revolutionary action he concluded that it was necessary to work for defeats. As he saw, from the standpoint of the capitalists, this was "high treason". But from the standpoint of the revolution it was justified, necessary and inevitable.

This policy of working for military defeats is called revolutionary defeatism. The emphasis should be put on the first word, to distinguish it from the defeatism which the capitalists practice when their class interests are at stake. When the revolutionary workers of Russia threatened to overthrow the capitalist system in the summer of 1917 the General Staff opened the front to the German army which took Riga.

Lenin emphasises that the policy of working for defeats is not the same as a policy of blowing up bridges, or sabotage, which plays into the hands of the capitalists, because it directs the struggle against the war into channels of individual actions, terrorism, conspiracy; and away from open, mass struggles by tens and hundreds of thousands of oppressed workers against their oppressors.

Courageous acts of sabotage may express the profound bitterness and hatred of the saboteur against the criminal insanity of war, but they can never wipe it out. But when the workers in the trenches fraternize with the "enemy" and join with him to turn their guns against their common oppressors the revolution will have begun.

Enemies of the coming revolution offer us pacifist panaceas against war, noble phrases, high ideals. Professional confusionists advocate sabotage of the war machinery. Only the revolutionists advocate revolutionary defeatism.

Let us be guided by the words of Lenin who taught that the revolutionists "must explain to the masses that there is no salvation for them outside of a revolutionary overthrow of 'their' governments and that the difficulties of those governments in the ... war must be taken advantage of for just that purpose".

RETAIL CLERKS CLAMOR FOR ORGANIZATION.

BUREAUCRATS CONVULSE UNION BY UNPRINCIPLED STRUGGLE

In the twenty-odd years of the existence of the Retail Clerks International Protective Association, affiliated with the A.F. of L. the last fifteen under the leadership of C.C. Coulter, little or nothing had been done to organize the thousands of clerks and salesmen who were clamoring for organization. On the contrary, acting as front-line agents for the bosses, Coulter and his lieutenants did all in their power to prevent and stifle organizational activity. Finally Denise, Eastern Representative for the R.C.I.P.A. was run out of town by the N.Y. locals in 1936, and Riven, who followed him was sentenced to serve a term in prison for fraud.

The tremendous upsurge of the workers in the basic industries; auto, rubber and steel, finally climbed over the cloistered walls of the "white collar" workers, and at the Pittsburgh Convention last November, those locals that were able to break away from the strait-jacket of the R.C.I.P.A., set up an International under the C.I.O. United Retail and Wholesale Employees of America. Samuel Wolchok, Manager of Local 338, Grocery Clerks, was elected President of the new set-up. He was supported by the Social-Democratic Federation, the right wing split-off from the Socialist Party.

The Stalinists had a majority at the Convention but could not take over the International because the right wing threatened them with a split. A Committee of Seventy, all Wolchok's men, members of Wolchok's own local, 338, Grocery Clerks, served notice that Wolchok had to "go home". They offered to pay him \$7,500. a year as manager of his own local; he was getting much less.

WOLCHOK THREATENES TO "GO HOME"

The Stalinists were not sure whether Wolchok was bluffing but could not afford to take a chance. They nominated him for President and supported John V. Cooney, a Wolchok man, for Secretary-Treasurer. They hoped to surround Wolchok with their people. But Wolchok, using the threat of going home, spiked their strategy and emerged from the Convention in control of the Executive Board.

Since the Convention the fight has sharpened. It centers in New York City which has the largest membership, the biggest locals; where the Stalinists have their greatest strength; and where Wolchok has a small, organizational majority. There are twenty one locals in the area. Eleven support him and ten are controlled by the Stalinists. This means that control of the Joint Council which has just been set up will be in Wolchok's hands.

The Stalinists are trying to hamper Wolchok by refusing, neglecting, and refraining from paying per-capita to the International. It is

TWO CONSTITUTIONS . . .

Elsewhere in this issue there is an ad for the Constitution of the Revolutionary Workers League which has just been published as a pamphlet. The capitalist press announces that the Communist Party has just made public "the draft of a proposed new constitution for the Communist party in the United States...." which ".... will be acted upon at the party's tenth national convention in Madison Square Garden, May 26 to 31."

The Constitution of the League was adopted at its third Convention, April 30-May 2. The adoption of these constitutions at this time gives us an excellent opportunity to compare the political positions of the two organizations. Attempts to get a complete copy of the Stalinist draft at their book-store met with a reply that it had not been published yet. Our comparison is limited, therefore, to those parts of the draft which are quoted in the capitalist press. These are sufficient for the purpose.

ARTICLE I

Section 1 - The name of this organization shall be: Revolutionary League, U.S. Its purpose shall be the organization of a revolutionary Marxian, that is, a Communist party; the education and organization of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism, establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the establishment of a Communist society.

The section from the Stalinist draft could have been lifted from the constitution of the Liberty League, if it has one; from the program of the Republican party or any good, hundred percent, patriotic organization. This is the exact opposite of what Marx and Lenin taught; and what the Communist International stood for when it was founded.

The article from the Constitution of the League repeats in a very terse form the ideas which were the basis of the position of Lenin's party.

The Stalinist draft provides that to be a member of the Stalinist party a man or woman must be a citizen of the United States or declare his intention of becoming a citizen. In other words the Stalinists accept as the criterion for determining their membership the decisions of the capitalist state. Thus, the thousands of doubly oppressed and exploited Mexican workers who are imported into the U.S. each year to harvest the fruit and vegetable crops of California are ineligible for membership in this party. This is a good thing.

DOWN WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY! JOIN THE LEAGUE!

ARTICLE VI

Section 1: The Communist Party of the U.S.A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree.

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JOIN THE LEAGUE!

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE RECOGNIZES:

That in capitalist society the lot of the working class is exploitation, economic and political oppression, poverty and the horror of ever-recurring imperialist war;

That for the working class there is no escape from this fate except through the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system which, with its destructive wars, chronic crises and permanent paralysis of immense productive forces cannot play a socially useful role;

That the capitalist state is an instrument in the hands of the capitalists for the subjugation of the workers; an instrument of the dictatorship of the exploiters over the exploited, either masked as a "democratic" government, or openly revealing its true role as a fascist or military government;

That the interests of the workers can never be reconciled with the interests of their oppressors and exploiters; and that, consequently, between these two classes a class struggle must go on until the working class overthrows the capitalist class;

That the emancipation of the working class can be attained only by the working class itself.

RECOGNIZING THESE THINGS TO BE TRUE, THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE IS DEDICATED TO THE FOLLOWING AIMS:

The relentless waging of the class struggle to develop it into the proletarian revolution;

The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the instrument for the construction of communism, a classless society based on collective work and ownership of the means of production;

The establishment of the council (Soviet) form of government;

The building of a revolutionary party as the leader of the working class in the daily class struggle and in the proletarian revolution. Since the emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers of all countries, the League strives to build a world party, uniting the revolutionists of all countries in the Communist Fourth International;

When the workers are called upon to go to war in defense of imperialist interests, the League will strive to persuade the workers to turn their arms against the imperialists of "their" country, to turn the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow capitalism.

WORKERS WHO ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH THESE AIMS AND ARE WILLING TO WORK FOR THEM, SHOULD JOIN THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE.

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 for today:... place REVOLT at three different stands
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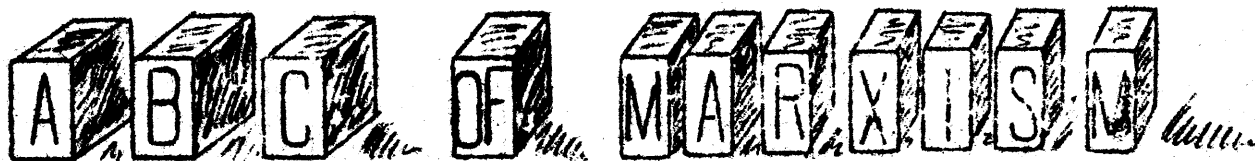
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7. Imperialism - the Final Stage of Capitalism
8. The State. Dictatorship of the Proletariat
9. The Struggle for Power. The Revolutionary Party
10. The Fourth International

APPENDIX: Guide for Organization of Study Groups

* * * * *

NOTE: The above study course is designed to assist in training workers in the principles of scientific communism, knowledge of which is indispensable for effective work in the class struggle and for party membership.

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Lesson Four

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

The clearest understanding of the Marxist conception of history can be obtained by studying the actual evolution of the mode and technique of production and tracing the effects of these changes on social institutions and class relations. We will now single out some of the more important factors to help build a background for our future study. The following is a brief survey of the rise of capitalism and its further course of development.

A. THE RISE OF CAPITALISM. Capitalism arose after a long period of struggle between the feudal nobility and the church on one hand and the rising class of merchants and manufacturers on the other. The latter were the revolutionists of their time. They represented a new order of society and swept aside the remnants of feudal power in a series of revolutions which began in Britain in 1642, reached a climax in France in 1789 and found further expression in the revolutions of 1848 in Germany, Italy and Austria. As a result of this combined economic and military struggle, the merchants and manufacturers triumphed and established the system of society known as capitalism. They became the new exploiters of labor. The old feudal state and the church were transformed into instruments at the service of this new class.

B. THREE CONDITIONS NECESSARY FOR THE RISE OF CAPITALISM. However, before capitalism could arise, three major conditions had to exist: One, trade or commerce must have been developed to world-wide scale; Two, a certain degree of wealth must have been accumulated by a small group of people; Three, there must have arisen a new class of people who have nothing to sell but their power to labor and who are compelled by these circumstances to sell their labor-power in order to live.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND MONEY ECONOMY. Trade existed in primitive form even in prehistoric time, first as simple barter of goods for goods, and then through the employment of tokens to facilitate exchange (wampum, cowrie shells). Precious metals were used as tokens later. Finally, with the rise of villages and early manufacture, the need for money, a universal commodity, arose. So, the precious metals were coined and stamped.

The use of money has the following effects: (1) all goods used in exchange become commodities; (2) wealth is concentrated in the hands of merchants; (3) products of labor pass out of the hands of the producers and are no longer under their control; (4) nobility is forced to use money; (5) the merchant class becomes dominant within the framework of, and undermines, the old feudal society.

D. THE AGE OF DISCOVERY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORLD MARKET. During the middle ages, two main commodities were imported from the East: spices for the preservation of food; silks for the ruling class. Italian and Hanseatic cities became rich and powerful through this trade with the Orient. But in the 14th century, the overland route to the Mediterranean was conquered and closed by the Seljuk Turks. The need for new routes brought on the age of discovery and colonization. The discovery of the compass made possible extended sea travel. Metals, textiles, clock-making, navigation, astronomical instruments, printing and scientific research in general, kept pace with the tremendous development of industry.

Bourgeois economists ascribe the origin of wealth to individual initiative, industry, frugality and far-sightedness. Truth of the matter is that private wealth has always grown through theft, plunder and conquest. The invention of gunpowder and cannon revolutionized warfare, putting the common man in the military sense on an equal footing with the armored noble on horseback. Standing armies of common people were used to subdue the nobility and consolidate nations. The discovery of Africa, America, India and China meant an enormous growth of markets and trade. Production spurted. Europe went mad for precious metals to act as money. The frightful extermination of natives was part of this frenzy (Cortez in Mexico, Pizarro in Peru). The second half of the 16th century was a period of colonization aided by exploitation of virgin lands with slaves. From 1508 to 1860 15,000,000 negroes were landed in America from Africa. About the same number, it is estimated, died on the way. Many cities got their primary accumulation from the slave trade. The vast improvement in transport and communication resulting from the extension of world trade, helped transfer culture from one land to another. Thus cotton was introduced to England from India, potatoes and tobacco from America to Europe.

E. EARLY MANUFACTURES IN ENGLAND. The factory system first came to England from Flanders. Wool manufacture became so important to English merchants that they revolutionized the entire English agricultural system. For the purpose of raising sheep large tracts of land were taken by force and fraud from the peasant villagers who held the land in common and were "enclosed" for pasturage (See the "English Laborer, 1300 to 1925" by M. and T.R. Fordham). The peasants, driven off the land and into the towns, were converted into wage laborers in the newly rising factories.

Division of Labor. The factory system was not marked at first by any subdivision of labor within the crafts. A factory merely housed the craftsmen. But this assembling of workers and artisans under one roof made possible the minute division of labor within each craft, and later to apply machinery to the simpler mechanical tasks. The first simple division of labor gradually gave way to more complex division and finally, with the industrial revolution, to MACHINUFACTURE. Thus we see how the need for goods to exchange for imports from the Far East leads to new methods of production. A series of remarkable inventions: spinning jenny, power loom, steam engine, etc. by Hargreaves, Arkright, Compton, Watts and others, completely revolutionized the methods of production. Skill was transferred to the machine. Less skilled labor was substituted for more skilled; female for male labor; child for adult labor. These developments mark the beginning of the period of modern industry.

F. EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION:

1. Workers become machine tenders. Highest division of labor arises in the factory, in society and on an international scale.
2. The two main classes of modern society arise.
3. Industry concentrates in towns and cities. Large costly machines require special buildings. Workers are thrown into poverty-stricken homes around the factories.
4. Sharp division between town and country. "The foundation of all highly developed division of labor that is brought about by the exchange of commodities is the cleavage between town and country. We may say that the entire economic history of society is summed by the development of this cleavage between town and country."-- Marx (Capital)

G. THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1649 TO 1688. This was the first social revolution; that is, the transformation of the foundations of society on a vast scale and a brief time, and the establishment of new class relationships. At first the bourgeoisie united with the king in a common struggle against the lords. The Crown was granted large sums by the House of Commons. In return it received remission of duties and other aids to free trade. The merchants helped to make the Crown powerful, thus establishing and unifying the national state. But the Crown then became the last stronghold of feudalism, making ever greater demands for money on the merchants. Under the prerogatives of feudalism, the King granted trade monopolies to his favorites. Gradually the merchants achieved a national outlook. They felt a need for a strong political power to protect their interests, a centralized capitalist government with a powerful navy to protect their ships against pirates. They needed a stable currency untampered by the King's whims. When Cromwell finally overthrew the King and a "capitalist" monarchy was set up, the bourgeoisie established the Bank of England, a public debt (to stabilize money and values by acting as a safe, guaranteed field of investment), a strong currency and a strong navy.

H. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1789 TO 1793. (P. Lafargue- "Evolution of Property") Here again the merchant class could overthrow feudalism only with the aid of the exploited masses, the peasants and workers. Under the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", this revolution was an attack of one form of property on another. It achieved the liberty and equality of capitalist property owners. The French Revolution, like the English, rid the merchants of trade restraints, permitted the unhampered development of new forms of property, set up a national bank, a public debt, a stable currency and a strong national military force.

I. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION OF 1776. Here also those who did the actual fighting were betrayed. The revolutionary masses were composed of small farmers and artisans. From 1783 to 1789 the Left Wing of the revolution still remained in control and prevented the formation of a strong centralized capitalist government which could be used against their interests. By a coup d'état the richer sections of the population led by Hamilton maneuvered the adoption of the Constitution over the opposition of the "Lefts". Under this constitution the propertied interests established their national bank, public debt, stable currency and strong central authority supported on bayonets.

J. NEW FORMS OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION. In all bourgeois revolutions the exploited classes are betrayed at a certain stage. The capitalists, having succeeded in gaining power, compromises with the older ruling class to "put the lower classes in their place." The first act of the Cromwell revolution was to crush the Levellers. As Cromwell said: "You have no other way to deal with these men but to break them, or they will break you." Similarly the French Revolution declared against all combinations of labor almost immediately.

The capitalist was actually released from all responsibility of labor upkeep. This was now up to the "free" laborer himself. The worker is "free to work for wages in the new factories - or starve. The peasant was promised the land and freedom from feudalism. But the bourgeoisie subjected them to new and more intense exploitation. The land was once more taken from them and put into the hands of large property owners.

"History shows that when a subject class becomes the ruling class it is prepared to compromise with the old ruling class in order to consolidate all the propertied interests of society against the interests and demands of the propertyless." - Lafargue.

Required reading

Communist Manifesto - Marx and Engels; finish Part I
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific - Engels; Chap. II
 Capital - Marx; Volume I, Part VII
 Whither England? - Trotsky; Chapter on Chartism
 Evolution of Property - Lafargue; p. 166 on

Suggested reading

Capital - Marx (Eastman edition); Chaps. 15 and 21
 French Revolution - P. Kropotkin
 Condition of the English Working Class in 1844 - Engels
 English Laborer, 1300 to 1925 - M. and T.R. Fordham

* * *

Lesson Five

SURPLUS VALUE AND CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

The application of the materialist conception of history to the problems of the class struggle under capitalism demands a knowledge of scientific economics. While Marxist political theories are based on the concept of the state, scientific economics is based on the labor theory of value. First we will analyse the relations between labor, wage-labor, labor-power, value and the transformation of living labor into crystalized labor.

A. THE HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF LABOR. Under chattel slavery, the slave's labor appeared to be unpaid labor. Under capitalism, the worker's labor appears to be paid labor. Both these appearances are false. The slave got the minimum necessities of life as "pay", while the wage-slave under capitalism gives the boss the greater portion of his product as unpaid labor. Historically this difference represents a change in the form of slavery. With the development of feudalism slavery was transformed into serfdom. This form in turn was changed into wage-labor with the spread of the capitalist mode of production. The slave himself was a commodity bought and sold by slave-owners. The wage-worker is not a commodity but his labor-power is. Deprived of the ownership of the means of production, the worker is forced to auction off hours of his life in order to survive. Apologists for capitalism deny labor-power is a commodity though they concede that the slave was a commodity.

B. THE COMMODITY. Simply defined, a commodity is a useful thing produced for sale on the market. It is the basic unit of all capitalist production. Labor power appeared as a commodity with the advent of the capitalist mode of production. The wage-worker sells his labor-power for a definite period of time: by the hour, day or week; not for all time. That is why the wage-worker is called a free man. He is "free" to sell his labor power on the market as a commodity, or starve. He has no other commodity to sell.

C. THE MOTIVE FORCE OF CAPITALIST PRODUCTION. When we examine the method of capitalist production, one thing strikes us immediately: goods are produced not for use but for sale. To be saleable all goods must have use-value, must supply some human want. But not all use-values are commodities, do not embody labor. The manufacturer or farmer does not produce goods because they are useful alone, but because he can sell them. In capitalist society food is not grown to eat, nor is clothing made to be worn, nor are houses made to be lived in. No matter how great the need for it, the good will not be produced by a capitalist unless it can be sold. Capitalist production is commodity production - for the market.

D. LABOR AND LABOR POWER. Labor closely resembles and is often confused with labor power. Labor power is owned by the worker and is his until it is sold and used in the production process. It is potential labor. It is the commodity sold by the laborer. The capitalist buys labor power as a commodity, takes it to his factory and puts it to productive use. Here potential labor is converted into dynamic or realized labor. Dynamic labor and the commodities it produces become the private property of the capitalist by virtue of his monopoly of the means of production. As soon as labor power enters the productive process it is consumed in the form of labor and ceases to be a commodity. Labor is as different from labor power as the machine is from the work it performs.

E. THE VALUE OF COMMODITIES. Commodities exchange for one another on the market by virtue of some common quality or character that can be measured. As use-values, commodities, being different, cannot enter into quantity relations. As exchange values, however, commodities, being the same, can enter into quantity relationships. If we ignore their natural qualities (use-values) there remains only one common quality or likeness: they are all products of (abstract) human labor, a social, not a natural quality. How is the exchange value of a commodity measured? By the number of hours of labor socially necessary to reproduce it. Value must not be confused with price. The latter fluctuates according to supply and demand. But the level around which it ebbs and flows can be determined only by the amount of labor embodied in them. It would seem then that "the lazier or clumsier the man, the more valuable is his commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recall I used the word 'social' labor, and many points are involved in this qualification. . . we mean the quantity of labor necessary for its production in a given social average intensity, and average skill of labor employed" (Marx - Value, Price and Profit, p. 61). Labor power, however, is also a commodity, since the worker sells it on the labor market. The value of labor power "is determined by the value of the necessaries required to produce, develop, maintain and perpetuate the laboring class." (Same, p. 75) In other words, the amount of labor it takes to produce the labor power. Wages are the price of labor power. Behind wages is concealed a relationship of exploitation.

F. SURPLUS VALUE. Marx discovered that labor power is different from all other commodities in one fundamental respect. He found that a worker, in consuming commodities which takes, let us say, four hours of socially necessary labor to produce, stores up enough energy to work much more than four hours. In other words, labor has the ability to produce surplus value. By means of his monopoly of the means of production, and because the worker must sell him his labor power, the capitalist takes advantage of the ability of the worker to produce surplus value. He takes from the worker 8 or 10 hours and in return gives the worker the four hours pay which the worker needs to restore his energies.

Surplus value is the unpaid portion of the value of the commodity produced by the worker. It is the source of profit. The degree of exploitation is the ratio between paid and unpaid labor. It is not dependent on the amount of wages. Colonial workers whose wages are low are not exploited to the degree that the highly developed industrial workers are, although the latter receive a far higher wage. The worker receives in wages the full value of his labor power. The capitalist realizes surplus value by selling commodities at their value.

"Let us now consider society as a whole. We are not interested in any individual capitalist or any individual worker. We are concerned with how the whole gigantic machine called the capitalist system is arranged. The capitalist system employs a vast number of workers. Capital pays them wages, the value of their labor power. This money enables them to renew their labor power, to be again expended in the service of capitalism. The working class not only pays for itself by its own labor, but creates also the income of the upper class - surplus value. Through innumerable channels this surplus value flows into the coffers of the ruling classes: the capitalist himself receives his share - profit; a part goes to the landlord - rent; a part goes to the capitalist state in the form of taxes; a part to the merchants, shopkeepers, clergymen, etc. On this surplus value live all the parasites who are created by the capitalist system."

The exploitation of labor is the source of the irreconcilable conflict between the classes. It is the driving force behind the working class for the abolition of capitalism and the wages system.

G. THE TWOFOLD CHARACTER OF LABOR. Marx first demonstrated that labor power, like all other commodities, has use value and exchange value; that is, it has the quality of being concrete and abstract. "This is the pivotal point on which a clear comprehension of political economy turns." The twofold nature of labor does not signify two different kinds of labor, but two qualities of one and the same labor. (1) Labor creates use-values. Use-values invariably take a special, particular (concrete) form such as tailoring, shoemaking or an operation in machine production. (2) Labor has the second quality of creating exchange value. As such it takes a general or ABSTRACT form. Abstract labor is homogeneous, undifferentiated social labor. It can be measured in time units.* Craft or skill generates a distinction between simple and complex labor. In computing the value of a commodity complex labor must be reduced to simple labor of which it is composed. It is now clear that value originates not in nature but in society. It is not a relation between things but between men.

H. MONEY. Money is the standard of price and the measure of value. In this sense it serves as a medium of circulation. Gold and silver by nature are not money. They are used for money because the physical properties of these metals enable them to function best as money. This is possible because gold and silver coins are themselves commodities embodying crystallized labor. Money does not express value directly, but indirectly, as price. "Price is the money name of value realized in a commodity." It is a monetary expression of value. Paper money facilitates circulation and functions as part of capitalist bookkeeping. It can replace gold as a medium of circulation but cannot be a standard of value. Gold and not paper is the equivalent of socially necessary labor time embodied in commodities.

* NOTE: Two "technology" engineers, L.P. Alfred and J.E. Hannum, advocate measurement of production by "kilo-man-hours" or kmh's as a basis for capitalist planning. In the final analysis this is the recognition by eminent capitalist engineers of the labor theory of value.

I. **CAPITAL.** All commodities are reduceable to crystalized labor time. Capital is a special form of commodity which multiplies itself by causing labor to create surplus values. It exists in various forms: as money; as machines, buildings, land, etc.; and as accumulations of goods, raw materials, etc. It is a social relationship, by which the capitalist uses labor for the creation of new surplus values. "It is the lordship of past stored-up, realized labor over actual, living labor that transforms the stored-up labor into capital." (Marx - Wage-labor and Capital, p. 31) "Capital does not consist in the fact that stored-up labor is used by living labor as a means for further production. It consists in the fact that living labor serves as the means whereby stored-up labor may maintain and multiply its own exchange-value." (Same)

The mere development of commodities and money does not suffice for the advent of capital. Capital was born only when the development has proceeded to the point where the owner of commodities and money meets in the market and purchases the "free" laborer's labor power. The appearance of capital in history marks a new economic epoch.

J. **THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL.** Not all the surplus value that the capitalist expropriates is used up by the capitalist for his immediate needs. Most of it is used over again in further production. He adds it to his capital. He extends his undertakings. He installs more productive machines thereby displacing workers and creating an "industrial reserve army". He builds greater plants. This new industrial machinery, this increased capital, set in motion by labor, receives still greater quantities of surplus value. Thus capital rolls on like a snowball, with every turn gathering larger masses of surplus values.

K. **THE ANARCHY OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.** As is now apparent, capitalism is not a well-ordered society. Resting on exploitation, it is split into classes. No real organized production and distribution of the necessities of life is possible. Plans like those of the Technocrats, Sinclair's Epic Plan, or the social schemes of the New Dealers, designed to organize production and distribution under capitalism, are utopian. As long as goods are produced for profit and not for use, anarchy in production must prevail. As long as the working class is exploited, real social planning that would benefit society as a whole is impossible.

Required reading

Value, Price and Profit - Marx
 Wage-labor and Capital - Marx
 Socialism, Utopian and Scientific - Engels; Part III
 Capital - Marx; Vol I, pp. 1-32

Suggested reading

The People's Marx - J. Borchardt
 The Marxian Economic Handbook - Emmett
 A Short Course in Economic Science - Bogdonoff
 Critique of Political Economy - Marx

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REVOLT is published to present the ideas of Marxism to the working class. The aim of Marxism is to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a workers' government. REVOLT is dedicated to that purpose.

To overthrow capitalism the workers need a revolutionary party. All existing parties are non-Marxian. REVOLT agitates for the creation of a new Communist party in this country and on a world scale. It agitates for the creation of a Communist Fourth International.

To overthrow capitalism, to build a revolutionary party the Marxists must tell the workers the truth about the world they live in. REVOLT exposes the rottenness of capitalist society and will explain the connection between the daily struggle of the oppressed for bread and their need to overthrow the capitalist system in order to obtain it.

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