"WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE."

To unite, we must organize ourselves for a historical purpose. To organize, we must agitate and educate. To educate, we must enlighten ourselves in our own class interest. The ruling class, with all its schools, churches, publications and brilliant spokesmen, will not do this thing for us. NEVER! We are compelled to do this for ourselves. We become suspicious when we see capitalists and their underlings "doing" anything to help us organize. We must be self-reliant, stand on our own feet and use our own intelligence. Otherwise we show the world and all generations to come what slaves we are.
Instructions for the Study Course in Scientific Socialism.

INTRODUCTION.

The questions and answers used in this study course are not prepared to be memorized. This is not a catechism. It is intended to supply, in the brief outlines, a comprehensive grasp of Scientific Socialism to be taken up in conjunction with the reading of books in which the principles of Scientific Socialism are elaborated. By following this course the student will know what he is reading about when he takes up a book dealing with any phase of the science. Certain books are here referred to, but we do not expect the student to be limited to them. We merely desire to direct a systematic study and reading of books with a grasp of the different phases of the subject in mind.

TO CONDUCT STUDY CLUB.

When your local or club holds a meeting, choose your chairman or conductor who can first read to the members, if desired, all of the questions and answers through the phase of the subject to be covered. Then he can return to the first question and read that for the members to discuss. After that question has been discussed by the different members the chairman can read the printed answer which can also be discussed if desired. Proceed in this manner by taking up and disposing of each question and answer in their order. Other questions may suggest themselves and also be discussed. Those members who care to read the books before taking up the different parts of the course should do so and thus be better prepared for the discussion. Then, after the discussion, the most interesting part of the book reading will present itself.

STATEMENT BY THE AUTHORS.

This study course was developed by the members of Local Puyallup, Socialist Party of Washington. It is the result of some years of local study and discussion and is a social product gained from organized experience.

The members of Local Puyallup who developed this work are com-
posed, principally, of wage workers and small farmers whose industrial experience has been as wage workers in the industries of lumber, agriculture, meat packing, transportation, communication, mining, cotton, rice, cereals, building trades, automobile, printing and publishing and in government departments and public schools. Also as farmers and tenants in the middle, southern and western states in the production of corn, wheat, oats, rice, cotton, live stock and fruit.

We fully appreciate the principle of social production and are united in the study of Scientific Socialism as a means of developing the class intelligence of the working class in order to create class solidarity and organization by which to overthrow capitalism and bring in the new society.

Through this study we recognize that classes are developed through the attainment of class power on the economic field which is reflected politically. We agree on the Marxian principle that working class power and efficiency is developed, primarily, through the organization of the workers, by the capitalists, in production itself. If we are organized for production we then possess the potentiality to organize in our own interest as a class, overthrow capitalism and continue production for use instead of profit.

We therefore ask our comrades of the farm and other forms of individual production, who are not organized by production itself for the coming change, to study the science of socialism and learn what class is potentially best fitted to clear the way for the coming order. There should then be no futile revolts of class units that are yet in the embryonic stage. To our comrades and fellow workers in organized industry, this work is especially presented for approval.

By order of Local Puyallup, S. P. of Washington, in regular meeting November 7, 1913.

R. E. DANNER,
Local Secretary.

A. C. FARNSWORTH,
Chairman.
A SYNOPSIS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

1. How do you explain the phenomena of history?
Ans: It is a record of political and intellectual changes and revolutions; principally of wars and the actions of so-called great men, wherein the economic causes for these acts and changes are ignored or concealed. When viewed from the economic standpoint it reveals a series of class struggles between an exploited wealth-producing class and an exploiting ruling class over the wealth produced.

2. What effect have "great men" had on history?
Ans: Great men were simply ideal expressions of the hopes of some class in society that was becoming economically powerful. They formed a nucleus around which a class gathered itself in attaining economic conquests in its own interest, and in establishing social institutions in harmony with, and for the perpetuation of, such class interests. These men had to embody some vital principle from the economic conditions of their time and represent some class interest. The same men with the same ideas would not be great men under a different mode of production when the time for their ideas was not ripe.

3. What great factor is responsible for the rise of "great men"?
Ans: The fact that the ideas of these men coincided with the class interests of some class in society that was becoming economically powerful. Therefore economic conditions must exist or be developing which find their highest expression in the ideas of such men.

4. Why do social institutions change and not remain fixed?
Ans: Because the process of economic evolution will not permit them to remain fixed. The development and improvement of the means of production and distribution produce economic changes, therefore social institutions are forced to change to conform with changing
5. What is responsible for the birth of new ideas, and do they occur to some one individual only?

Ans: New ideas, theories and discoveries emanate from material conditions, and such conditions act upon individuals. The same idea or discovery may be brought out by different individuals independently and apart from each other. This proves that it is not great men who are responsible for material conditions, but that material conditions produce the men best able to marshal the facts and express the idea; usually in the interest of some class.

6. How do you explain the "survival of the fittest" in the struggle for existence?

Ans: The "survival of the fittest" is in the "battle for life." "The victors are those best fitted to secure food for themselves and offspring and are the best able to fight, or flee from, their enemies. They need not be the most highly developed forms, but simply those forms best suited to the then existing environment."

7. What single great idea occurred to both Darwin and Wallace independently?

Ans: The theory of "Natural Selection" which showed that the closely allied ante-type was the parent stock from which the new form had been derived by variation.

8. What single great idea occurred to both Marx and Engels independently?

Ans: The "Materialistic Conception of History".

9. Name the three great ideas developed by Marx and Engels which now form the basis for the socialist philosophy?

Ans: The Materialistic Conception of History, or, the law of economic determinism.
The law of Surplus Value.
The Class Struggle.

10. Explain, briefly, the "materialistic conception of history."

Ans: "In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social or-
ganization necessarily following from it, forms the basis upon which is built up and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch.'’ The laws, customs, education, religion, public opinion and morals are controlled and shaped by economic conditions; or, in other words, by the dominant ruling class which the economic system of any given period forces to the front.

11. What is the most important question in life?
   ANS: "Every man and woman, in fact every living creature, prove by their daily conduct that the problem of securing food is the most important question in life."

12. What bearing does the above question have on the materialistic conception of history?
   ANS: "As the above is true of individuals so also is it true of societies; and this gives us the only key by which we can understand the history of the past, and, within limits, predict the course of future development."

13. What effect does the prevailing mode of production and exchange, in any particular epoch, have on the social organization and political and intellectual history of that epoch?
   ANS: "Anything that goes to the roots of the economic structure and modifies it (the food question in life) will inevitably modify every other branch and department of human life, political, ethical, religious, morals, etc. This makes the social question an economic question and all our thought and effort should be concentrated on the economic question."

14. Do the ideas of the ruling class, in any given epoch, correspond with the prevailing mode of economic production?
   ANS: They correspond exactly, as all connective institutions, religious, legal, educational and political have been moulded in the interest of the economically dominant class who control these institutions in a manner to uphold their class interests where their ideas find expression.

15. What effect do these ideas of the ruling class have on the interests of the subject class?
   ANS: The effect is detrimental to the interests of the
subject class as the different class interests conflict. Therefore the ruling class finds the institutions mentioned very useful in either persuading or forcing the so-called “lower classes” to submit to the economic conditions that are absolutely against their interests, even though they are the wealth-producing class.


   Ans: “Natural environment, in which man developed in the early stages, consisted of the fertility of the soil, climatic conditions, abundance of game, fish, etc., which is all important; but with the progress of civilization the natural environment loses in relative importance and the economic (man-made) environment, i.e., machinery, factories, railroads and improved appliances grows in importance until in our day the man-made economic environment has become equally important.”

17. Explain, briefly, the law of Surplus Value.

   Ans: Briefly, it is the difference between what the working class gets for its labor power, at its value in wages, for producing commodities, and what the employing class gets for the same commodities when sold at their value.

18. Since the economic factor is the determining factor, what does the law of Surplus Value furnish us?

   Ans: “Surplus Value is the key to the whole present economic organization of society. The end and object of capitalist society is the formation and accumulation of surplus value; or in other words, the systematic, legal robbery of the subject working class.”

19. Define value and state how measured.

   Ans: Value is the average amount of human labor time socially necessary, under average normal conditions, for the production or reproduction of commodities.

20. What determines the value of labor power?

   Ans: It is determined precisely like the value of every other commodity, i.e., by the amount of labor time socially necessary for its production or reproduction.
21. Since labor power is a commodity, what condition is it subjected to?

Ans: It is subject to the same conditions that all other commodities are subjected to without regard to the fact that it is the source of all value. The worker in whom the commodity labor power is embodied, does not get the value of the product of his labor, but only enough to keep him in working order and reproduce more labor power. If the worker received the value of the product of his labor he would receive much more than enough to keep him in working order and reproduce more labor power. Such an economic condition would abolish all forms of surplus value or profit, also the wages system, by substituting economic and social organization in the interest of the working class. No other class could remain in existence and the class struggle would be ended.

22. In what economic systems, past or present, does surplus value or unpaid labor appear?

Ans: It is the root of the present wages system and was the substance of both chattel slavery and serfdom.

23. Name the three great systems of economic organization upon which the structure of past history and social institutions have their basis.

Ans: Chattel slavery, serfdom and the wages system.

24. Explain, briefly, how the subject class was exploited in each.

Ans: (a) Under slavery the laborer was a chattel the same as a mule or horse and only received his “keep”, that is, enough food, clothing and shelter to keep him in working order and to reproduce labor power. All he produced was taken by his master.

(b) Under serfdom the worker produced what was necessary to keep him in working order and to reproduce labor power; and then separately and apart produced, the balance of his time, for his feudal lord.

(c) Under the wages system the worker receives wages which again equals only the amount necessary to keep him in working order and to reproduce more labor power. His entire product belongs to the capitalist, and out of this resource the employer pays the wages for the commodity labor, also for other commodities such as raw
materials, and appropriates all of the balance and converts it into capital with which to continue the exploitation of the workers.

25. Define the "Class Struggle."

Ans: It is the direct clash between two hostile class interests wherein the employing class makes every effort to appropriate more of the wealth produced by the working class, and the working class ever struggles to retain more of the wealth which it produces. The capitalist class strives to get more surplus value and the working class strives to get more wages.

26. Define "class consciousness."

Ans: Class consciousness of the workers means that they are conscious of the fact that they, as a class, have interests which are in direct conflict with interests of the capitalist class.

27. What function does the state perform in the class struggle?

Ans: "The state is a class instrument, and is the public power of coercion created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, a power which, being clothed with force, makes laws and levies taxes." It is, therefore, used by the dominant class to keep the subject working class in subjection in accordance with the interests of the ruling and owning class. It is also used to prevent the workers from altering the economic structure of society in the interests of the working class.

CONCLUSION.

We have found that society is a growth subject to the laws of evolution. We have enumerated the conditions and causes that impel classes of people to act. We have now reached that stage of evolution where a new class, the machine proletariat, has been developed within an economic system which has become detrimental to its existence. When evolution reaches a certain point revolution becomes necessary in order to break the bonds of the old and bring in the new. As the chicken grows through
evolution until it reaches the point where it must break its shell (the revolution) in order to continue its growth, so do classes of people come to the point in their evolution where revolution is necessary in order to continue their growth, bring in the new society and consummate the next step in civilization. To bring about this revolution in a more intelligent manner than was ever accomplished in the past, the two following lines of action are now used throughout the world by the working class.

When working people organize politically to vote for and with their economic class, in order to end the class struggle and alter the economic structure of society in the interests of the working class, we call that POLITICAL ACTION.

When the working people organize industrially in order to act directly where they are employed for and with their economic class for the purpose of ending the class struggle and altering the economic structure of society in the interest of the working class, we call that DIRECT ACTION.

Books used in connection with the foregoing are: La Monte’s Science and Socialism, Engels’ Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and The Communist Manifesto.

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY OR THE LAW OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.


1. By what certain method can we most readily mark the successive steps of advancement in the evolution of the human race from savagery to modern civilization?

Ans: Through the means employed in securing food, clothing and shelter. In other words, by the nature of the tools and appliances used at any given period with
which the mode of economic production is conducted and through which the different social institutions are established.

2. Into what three great divisions can we classify the evolution of the human race?

Ans: Savagery, Barbarism and Civilization.

3. Into what three subdivisions does Morgan classify the status of savagery?

Ans: (a) The Lower Period of Savagery. Where subsistence consisted of fruit, nuts, roots, etc. The environment was determined by this subsistence as the savages must dwell in the forests and in localities favored by climatic conditions in order to get a livelihood. The first articulate speech was produced in this early period.

(b) The Middle Period of Savagery. Began with the knowledge of the use of fire and consequent ability to subsist on a fish diet. This affected the environment as the savages were thus enabled to spread more generally over the country, and take up their habitations along the shores and streams and in the forests with less regard for climatic conditions. Cannibalism was also practiced.

(c) The Upper Period of Savagery. Began with the invention of the bow and arrow and the consequent ability to subsist on a more plentiful supply of game. This weapon also afforded a measure of protection against the ravages of wild animals.

4. Into what three subdivisions does Morgan classify the status of barbarism?

Ans: (a) The Lower Period of Barbarism. Merged from the status of savagery and began with the invention or practice of the art of pottery and attended with the probable limited cultivation of cereals and the use of a farinaceous diet.

(b) The Middle Period of Barbarism. Began in the eastern hemisphere with the domestication of animals for meat, milk and hides, and in the western hemisphere with cultivation of grain and the use of stone and adobe houses.
(c) Upper Period of Barbarism. Began with the smelting and manufacture of iron, out of which primitive tools and weapons were fashioned.

5. Into what three subdivisions may we classify the status of civilization, measured by the tools and modes of production?

Ans: (a) Hand Tool Period. Merged from the status of Barbarism and began with the invention of a phonetic alphabet. This period is marked by the use of hand tools and appliances which could be conveniently owned and used by individuals. Primitive industry but little separated from the farm lands which formed the original unit of all industry, except fisheries, etc.

(b) Machine Period. Began with the invention and use of the steam engine which stimulated the invention of machinery to be driven by its power. Such machinery being expensive, became more and more difficult for the individual worker to own and impossible for the individual worker to use. It was necessary for this machinery to be used by groups of workers hired by the machine owners. Thus division of labor, socialized production and the wages system began to become well established institutions. Here we find the old sub-industries of the primitive farm taken by the machine and grouped in industrial centers or cities and divorced from the original unit of farm industry.

(c) Period of Modern Industry. Began with the trustification and centralization of industry by eliminating competition between machine owning manufacturers. This period is also marked by the greater use of electricity and the invention of machinery and utilities with which to utilize its power. Here also is the beginning of more highly socialized industry in agriculture.

6. What relation does the family life assume in the different stages of development? Name the forms of marriage.

Ans: (a) The early stages of savagery appear to be without a definite form of marriage.

(b) The first step towards the formation of the family appears with the Consanguine Family which is the
lower form of group marriage with female supremacy and descent.

(c) The next step towards the formation of the family appears later in a higher form of group marriage, termed the Punaluan Family. Here again is female supremacy and descent.

(d) Out of the Punaluan form there next developed the Pairing Family; a loose form of marriage in the last unit of the group marriage appearing in the upper stage of savagery or in the lower stage of barbarism. This was the characteristic form for barbarism as group marriage was for savagery.

(e) With the appearance of the private ownership of property, the subjugation of women and the formation of classes in the upper stage of barbarism and in early civilization there developed the monogamic form of marriage with male supremacy and descent. The supremacy of man in the family required that he be able to determine the identity of his offspring in order that it could inherit the property of the father.

7. What relation does the development of the political state assume to the economic progress?

Ans: (a) The first unit of social development appears in the GENS within the status of savagery and based upon kinship and sex with some variations. The gens formed the unit for the organization of the phratry, the tribe and league of tribes. These organizations were conducted democratically by both men and women.

(b) With the appearance of private property (land) in the upper stage of barbarism and with the co-existent formation of classes, the early gentes and tribes gradually merged into a coercive power for the holding of slaves on the land. This was the early formation of the state.

NOTE: We here take particular notice that the state developed and conformed to territorial limitations which correspond exactly with the industry of that time when land was the unit of industry. Industry was then basic-
ally territorial. Modern industry disregards territorial limitations owing to the development of machinery and modern centralization of appliances. This points unerringly to a development of administration based upon MACHINE INDUSTRY instead of upon mere territory.

(c) Later on we find the state responding to the same economic forces which brought it into being. That is—the formation of economic classes—one class dominating another class through economic power reflected in the political power of the state with its coercive machinery. The class which possessed the economic power continued to use the state to hold the serfs in economic servitude. As the church achieved economic power we find it also ruling with the state in the interest of the land owning class.

(d) In modern times we still find the state used by the ruling class to furnish its militia, its injunctions and its laws to strangle any symptoms of virile life on the part of the wage working class looking to its emancipation.

8. What economic condition produced the outgrowth and formation of classes in society with opposing interests?

Ans: With the more general cultivation of the soil in the upper stage of barbarism, land became an object of conquest and ownership. The conquered people were made slaves to work on the land as a subject class, and the conquerors became their masters through the private ownership and control of the land. Note that here is the first formation of what later developed into the state.

9. What subsequent conditions developed other classes with opposing interests?

Ans: (a) The lands were later allotted to feudal lords by the kings in return for military support. The lords let out their lands, under feudal tenure to their serfs who worked the land as a subject class, producing wealth for a class that did not work.

(b) With the advent of machinery another class was formed out of the machine owners and commercial traders who thus became economically powerful as a class;
enabling them to overthrow the feudal system and take their place as a dominant class which again ruled through the state. Within this condition there formed another subject class consisting of the workers who worked with the machines in the employ of the machine owning capitalists, FOR WAGES.

10. As the economic power of the ruling classes grows out of their ownership and control of the machinery and means of economic production, in what manner is it possible for the working class to develop economic power with which to emancipate itself?

Ans: The economic power of the working class grows out of its organized ability to control its labor power and through that to control or assume the collective ownership of the machinery and means of production; this machinery will not produce food, clothing and shelter without human labor being applied to it.

11. How was Roman civilization extended beyond the border of its territory to other territory which it was unable to conquer by arms?

Ans: Through the cultivation of industry and the establishment of commerce; that is, through economic power.

12. What economic condition contributed so much to the fall of the Roman Empire?

Ans: "The excessive taxation of the farming class for the support of the military establishment made farming impossible; the lands were abandoned and the rural population crowded into the city where they had to be fed with provender taken from conquered provinces either at public expense or private charity. This so enfeebled the empire that it was unable to carry on further wars of conquest or to guard its long frontier from the barbarians of central Europe."

13. What effect did the economic condition of this time have on the church?

Ans: "The church was so organized that it formed a shelter for the dispossessed who flocked to it for food, shelter and protection. The rich went to it because they would be safe from being attacked and plundered of their wealth. The able politicians went to it for the opportunity it afforded them to exercise their powers in the
administration of the vast estates which had been acquired by the monastic orders. The craftsmen went to it to secure protection in the practice of their trade."

14. What effect did the economic importance of the church have on politics in the Middle Ages?

Ans: "The church, through its vast holdings of property had achieved great political power, and through this became a military power and reversed its former position of non-resistance and humility."

15. What effect did the Renaissance or revival of industry have on the church?

Ans: It brought about the Reformation and protestant rebellion within the church. The new economic development reflected itself in the division of the church. The old feudal aristocracy may be said to have found its expression in the old church while the rising capitalist class found its expression in the rebellion and the new establishments.

16. What made Great Britain "the mistress of the seas"?

Ans: The development of its industry and commerce. This economic power enabled Great Britain to extend its possessions and become a world power, politically.

17. What economic motive was responsible for the discovery of America?

Ans: The desire of the Spanish traders to secure a direct route to the East Indian trading points. Also the hope of finding large quantities of gold.

18. Name some of the countries where a higher social order was forced upon a partially evolved development by the introduction of more modern tools of production and more advanced ideas.

Ans: America, South Africa and Australia through immigration, and Japan and China by adoption and imitation.

19. What were the principal economic causes for the political revolt of the American Colonies against Great Britain in 1776?

Ans: The British interference with the smuggling operations of some of the most influential traders in the Colonies, and the British restrictions against the acqui-
sition of large tracts of land by American slave owners and landlords.

20. What economic condition contributed so greatly to the abolition of chattel slavery in the United States?

Ans: Chattel slavery was employed on the plantations of the south where the factory system HAD NOT been developed. In the New England states the factory system with wage labor had reached its highest development in this country at that time. It is significant that the early hot-bed of agitation for the abolition of chattel slavery found its strongest expression in the factory states. There also arose a conflict of interests between the wage-labor employing classes of the north who wanted "protection," and the slave owning classes of the south who wanted "free trade." The factory owners found also that wage labor was a cheaper form of labor for the factory than slave labor.

It is possible that the backbone of chattel slavery would have been broken by the development of the factory system in the south had the civil war never been fought nor Lincoln's proclamation ever been issued.

21. What effect did the chattel slavery question have on the church?

Ans: Churches divided on this economic question, north and south. Thus again we see that the economic question rules the church through the economic/classes in society. They differ on what is right or wrong, moral or immoral, in harmony with their economic differences, or class interests.

22. What class interest manipulated matters in order to bring about the Spanish-American war and the consequent control of Cuba and the Philippines?

Ans: The owners and beneficiaries of the trustified industries of tobacco and sugar in the United States who wanted free development in those islands without the interference or exactions of other governments over which they had no control.

23. In what manner does the craft organization of labor conform to economic conditions?

Ans: The craft organization is the outgrowth of the
hand tool stage of industry and the consequent method of the workers to control their skill or craftsmanship without the recognition of class interests. It has been extended through machine industry and into modern industry with its great machinery and CENTRALIZED OWNERSHIP but unable to resist the later development as the machine supplants the skill of DIVIDED CRAFTSMANSHIP.

24. In what form do we find the economic power of the capitalists entrenched?

**ANS:** In their centralized ownership and control of industry, commerce and exchange—the means of producing food, clothing and shelter. They control industry in its entirety. Once industry becomes centralized or trustified, they do not divide their forces over any differences of territorial boundary, department or craft.

25. In what manner does the industrial union organization of the workers conform to economic development?

**ANS:** The industrial organization of the workers is the outgrowth of centralized industry with the great machines. It is built on the principle of CLASS interest with the REVOLUTIONARY purpose of developing the future administration of all industry by the workers in the interest of the working class when the power of the working class has been sufficiently developed to overthrow the private ownership of industry and substitute collective ownership with the abolition of classes and class interests.

26. What function have political parties in connection with the economic development?

**ANS:** (a) Political parties represent class interests for the purpose of controlling the coercive power of the state for class benefit.

(b) Certain political parties represent the different capitalistic interests, that is, the owners and controllers of industry, commerce and exchange.

(c) The socialistic parties are organized for the purpose of representing working class interests. We can now perceive that the controlling economic factor which
gives the working class party its real political power is the ECONOMIC POWER of the workers as it is manifested in their economic organizations for the control of their labor power which is necessary for the creation of wealth and the development of civilization.

SUMMARY OF THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

The history of the past has been written to suit the master classes who were more concerned in the wars and conquests of the ruling classes than they were over the actual development of the productive processes where human labor was always directly involved. Such histories are therefore not written from the standpoint of productive labor which is the foundation of society.

In summing up our study on the Materialistic Conception of History, we find that all social institutions have developed out of economic conditions and that wars are only the barbarous struggles over the sources of life and the products of labor. We also find that from the first formation of classes, the laws, customs, morals, ethics and religions that prevailed in any given epoch were those of the dominating class of that epoch, and reflected the economic interests of that class. We likewise find that the literature and education of each period was that which best suited the interests of the master class.

Times were when it was moral and right and of divine origin that slaves should submit to the imposed conditions. The literature and education of that time was also in harmony with that system which was of material benefit to the master class.

The same was true during the time that the serf was held in economic servitude by the feudal lords and the nobility.

The same is also true under the capitalist system where again it is moral and right and of divine origin to exploit wage labor. This system is sanctioned by the laws, customs, religion, ethics, literature and education which again are those of the ruling class and moulded in its own image,—its own material class interests.
We therefore find that right or wrong, moral or immoral are terms that are in conflict just as the interests between exploiter and exploited are in conflict.

We can now see how the ideas and the actions of groups of people are so apt to be reflected from the manner in which they get a livelihood; that is, when acting intelligently along economic lines. Material interest is a very potent law.

**SURPLUS VALUE, OR UNPAID LABOR.**


1. What is a commodity?

Ans: A commodity is an object containing those properties which satisfy human wants of some sort or another, produced by human labor for sale or exchange.

2. Into what three divisions may we classify commodities as they appear under capitalism and the wages system of production?

Ans: (a) Human labor power for sale or exchange on the labor market for wages.
(b) Money, based upon gold, as a common measure of exchange value.
(c) All other commodities produced by human labor to be placed on the market for sale or exchange.

2½. In what important feature does labor power, as a commodity, differ from all other commodities?

Ans: Labor power is the only commodity that produces a greater value than itself, as a commodity.

3. What determines the value of a commodity?

Ans: The value of a commodity is a social relation determined by the average amount of labor time socially necessary under average normal conditions for the production or reproduction of labor power, gold and other commodities.

4. What is social labor?

Ans: In addition to a given quantity of labor it includes "the quantity of labor previously worked up in
the raw material of the commodity and the labor bestowed on the implements, tools, machinery, buildings, etc., with which such labor is assisted—the quantity of labor necessary for its complete production in a given state of society under certain social average conditions, intensity and skill of labor employed.

5. Why does skilled and professional labor bring a higher price on the labor market than common labor?

Ans: Because it requires more hours of necessary social labor to provide the facilities and the subsistence with which to provide skilled labor with an education.

We find that common labor must first be applied to the building and upkeeping of schools and universities; to the production of tools and appliances; to the production of paper for the printing of books and all other necessary things that enter into the production of education. Thus we learn that skilled labor is based upon common labor and could not develop without it.

6. Why does gold exchange at a greater value than silver?

Ans: Because it requires a greater quantity of social labor to produce a given quantity of gold than it requires to produce the same quantity of silver.

7. Distinguish exchange value from use value.

Ans: The exchange value of a commodity is a value form that is common in its relation to all other commodities; usually in the money form, or price, expressed in quantity independent of use value. Exchange value is applied to commodities only.

Use value is summed up in the utility of a thing regardless of whether it is a commodity or not. It can have a use value without having an exchange value where its utility is not due to labor: as air, virgin soil, etc. A thing can be the product of labor and useful only to the maker, but would not then be a commodity. A commodity must have a social use value; that is, be useful to others.

8. Upon what common basis do all commodities exchange?

Ans: They exchange, on an average, at their value, which is determined by the amount of necessary social labor contained in them or applied to them.
9. What do we do when we hire to our employers for wages?
   
   Ans: We sell our labor power as a commodity at its exchange value in wages.

10. If our employers pay us the value of our labor power, how then can they make a profit when they sell the commodities, produced by our labor, at their value?

   Ans: By buying labor power, as a commodity, at its value which equals the amount of social labor necessary to reproduce it, and by selling the commodities produced by this labor at their value which also equals the amount of necessary social labor contained in them. For example:

   We will say that, on an average, it takes two hours' social labor or $2.00 to pay for the food, clothing, shelter and upbringing to enable each of us to work a ten hour day. This $2.00 is what our employers pay us in wages for a ten hour day.

   We can see that when we have worked two hours we have expended two hours of labor, or enough to pay our wages for ten hours. We do not stop then, but continue and finish our day's work and add eight more hours of labor to the commodity which belongs to the employer and which he sells at its value which is ten hours of labor, or $10.00.

   The difference between the ten hours ($10.00) which our PRODUCT, as a commodity, is sold for, and the two hours ($2.00) which our LABOR POWER contained in it is sold for, as a commodity, is eight hours ($8.00). Therefore, on that basis, $8.00 in SURPLUS VALUE is extracted from each individual ten hour work day.

11. Where does the above $8.00 of surplus value go to? Into what is it decomposed?

   Ans: It is decomposed into INTEREST, RENT, PROFIT, etc., and is absorbed by the different elements of the capitalist class; that is, the money lenders, landlords, owners of the machinery of production and commercial utilities and their retainers.

12. What is the most important feature in the disposition of surplus value?

   Ans: This surplus is constantly accumulating in the
hands of the capitalists and by them re-invested as CAPITAL in land, buildings, machinery, etc., for the purpose of extracting more and more surplus value from the exploited working class.

**SUMMARY ON SURPLUS VALUE, OR UNPAID LABOR.**

We have found that in early history the slaves were forced to deliver up their entire product to the masters who owned them bodily. The slaves received their "keep" in food, clothing, shelter, etc., just sufficient to keep them in working order and reproduce themselves.

Later we have found that the serf was subjected to the same condition under feudalism, only that the form and method of taking the product, by the master class, had changed.

We now find that the taking of the product by a new master class has assumed other forms and methods which are not unlike the former methods in substance, but much improved in the manner of deception employed by which the same end is attained by the master class.

We have seen how values are determined, and how the juggling of value forms under the wages system is so intricate as to make the deception complete to the uninformed.

We have learned how the working class can produce so much wealth and at the same time own and enjoy so little of it.

We have also learned how the capitalist class can acquire so much wealth which labor has produced, without any work except "owning" the machinery of production which was also extracted from labor, through the exploitation of the working class. It is also apparent how this process, if continued long enough at the same rate, would finally result in a very few people owning the entire productive forces and sources of life of the entire earth.

We have also arrived at the point where the "money
question” becomes very simple since it is reduced to its lowest terms.

We have now laid bare the process by which the working class is systematically robbed of all its product except a bare living and enough to reproduce itself as labor commodity.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.


1. Over what has the class struggle been waged throughout history?
   Ans: It is the class contest over the products of labor which labor does not receive.

2. In about what period of economic development did the class struggle begin?
   Ans: The class struggle began in the upper stages of barbarism when land became valuable because of its cultivation, and through the consequent conquest of it by the tribes of the strongest and the most cunning and warlike men. The strongest men began to assume private ownership of the land they had taken and forced the conquered tribes to work on the land as slaves.

3. By what methods were the slaves held in subjection?
   Ans: First—Through force, which brought about the early formation of the state as a coercive power and an impressive show of dignity by the ruling class.

   Second—After a leisure class of freemen had thus been formed they devoted their time to the development of cunning plans to hold the slaves without so much force. The most cunning men were used by the warlike kings to work on the ignorance and superstition of the slaves who had no time nor opportunity to learn. The slaves were threatened with an unseen force which only these cunning men knew about. The slaves were thus kept in bondage through fear of the unknown.
4. What were the principal classes we find opposing each other in the upper stages of barbarism and early civilization?

ANS: Freemen versus slaves, patricians and knights versus plebeians during the time when industry was based upon slavery. This condition prevailed also during the time of the Roman Empire.

5. What were the principal classes we find opposing each other later on in the hand tool period of civilization?

ANS: Lord and vassal versus serf on the land, guild-master versus journeyman and apprentice in the handicraft guilds under the feudal system. This condition prevailed during the Middle Ages.

6. What are the principal classes we find opposing each other in the machine period and in modern industry?

ANS: Employing machine owners and capitalists versus wage workers under capitalism and the wages system up to the present date.

7. Over what is the class struggle waged under capitalism and the wages system?

ANS: It is a contest over SURPLUS VALUE, or the wealth out of which the working class is exploited by the capitalist class.

8. By what means can we most easily distinguish between the capitalist class and the exploited working class?

ANS: The capitalist class is composed of the owners of productive industry and the sources of life. They BUY labor power as cheaply as they can from which to make profits.

The subject working class is composed of proletarians who have nothing to sell but their labor power. This they are compelled to SELL to the capitalist class as dearly as they can in order to live.

9. How does the class struggle usually appear under capitalism in the open?

ANS: Generally in strikes and lockouts in which the workers make an organized effort to obtain more of their product through the increase of wages and the shortening of the work day. Also in resisting a cut in wages and in demanding better working conditions. It is also reflected politically.
10. What different stages does the struggle of the proletariat or modern working class pass through?

Ans: "With the birth of this class its struggle with the capitalist class begins. At first by individual workers. Then by work people of a factory. Then by the operatives of one trade in one locality against the individual capitalist who exploits them. Then by a whole trade organized into craft unions. And finally, with the unceasing improvement of machinery and the centralizing of industry it becomes a struggle by the workers in an entire industry where it now assumes its true class character." It will logically develop into a struggle for the complete control of all industry by the organized working class.

11. Which class possesses the best advantages for the contest?

Ans: First in importance is the class that is best organized and understands its class interest as opposed to the other class. The control of the police, the militia, the courts and other means of coercion is also an immense advantage. A complete and conscious organization of labor power would be impregnable as it would carry with it the control of the sources of life.

12. Why does the working class not gain more than it does?

Ans: Because so many members of the working class think they are going to be capitalists when it is impossible. They have a mind filled with capitalist education, capitalist ethics and morality and are therefore not class conscious and do not organize with their own economic class.

13. What particular characteristic do we find in the struggle of the working class as compared with the struggles of other classes in previous historical movements?

Ans: The previous movements were in the interest of the minority while the struggle of the working class is in the interest of the great majority of society.

14. What effect does the struggle have on the disposition of the products of labor?

Ans: As there is just so much wealth produced in
any given period, the amount gained by one class is bound to be lost by the other class.

15. What constitutes the real power of a class?

**ANS:** Its ORGANIZED ability to control the means of life—ECONOMIC POWER. This is what constitutes the potential characteristic of any class. A mass of people not organized through production itself cannot be said to possess the potential character of an economic class.

16. How did this class power first manifest itself?

**ANS:** In the ownership and control of land and the machinery of production, first attained by barbarous armed force.

17. By what process did the machine owning capitalist class develop its economic power?

**ANS:** Through the continued and accelerated accumulation of wealth exploited from wage labor. In many instances piracy and land grabbing formed the starting point in the ability to exploit labor from which the ever increasing surplus provided the means for the continued extension of private ownership of the means of life; that is, productive industry and its machinery.

18. What other class power is now developing?

**ANS:** The organized class control of human labor power which is necessary to operate the machinery of production. The economic power of the working class, first organized by the organized nature of machine production itself.

19. By what process does this working class power develop?

**ANS:** Through the organized social nature of machine production itself which in turn organized the units of labor power in social production under the capitalist system. Thus we come to know that those industries which have developed the highest degree of socialized machine labor have also developed the highest degree of potential organized labor power at the point of production. It only remains for these workers to become uni-
versally conscious of their class power for them to organize in their own interest with their own class.

20. What did the struggles of the young capitalist class achieve?

ANS: “It overthrew the preceding feudal system. It stripped the ruling class of feudalism and the nobility of its power” through the development of capitalist economic power in machine manufacture and commerce. Through this economic power political power was achieved, and thus did the young capitalist class substitute itself as the ruling class. This constituted a complete industrial revolution of that epoch and “demonstrated the immense possibilities of the INTERNATIONAL character of social labor.”

21. Since the capitalist class has organized the forces of social labor, what is the logical result of such organization?

ANS: The creation and development of a new economic class of international character—the machine proletariat—whose labor power is sold as a commodity on a competitive market and is exploited of surplus value by the capitalist class. This class will struggle for the organized control of its labor power as did the early capitalist class struggle for the free development of its economic power. This will logically result in the emancipation of the working class and the ending of the class struggle as there would then remain no subject class to be exploited.

22. Why are so many workers out of employment under the capitalist system?

ANS: First—Because improved machinery requires less human labor power to produce an increased amount of product.

Second—Because the owners of the machinery of production can make more profits by forcing the workers to work more hours per day and thus produce a larger surplus which the workers are unable to buy back with mere wages. In other words, we are unemployed because we produce so much wealth for the capitalists when we do work, that we must be separated from a chance to get a livelihood. (See questions in Surplus Value).
23. What would be the result of a universal reduction of the number of hours in the workday?

Ans: It would make employment for more workers and reduce the profits which the capitalists take from us. If we maintain our wage rate* it would mean a gain for the working class. If this process is continued, it would logically result in so shortening the work day that the capitalists would get no surplus value and the working class would receive the full social product of its labor. We could then all be employed, including the capitalists who would be forced to join the working class in production for use. (Monopoly of labor power. See monopoly prices in "Shop Talks on Economics").

24. What processes do we include in the complete production of commodities?

Ans: The production and transportation of raw materials. The manufacture of the finished products and the final transportation and distribution of them. The final process is very wasteful under capitalism as a large army of small traders are involved whose activities would be unnecessary under the complete socialization of labor.

25. In production by social labor, what becomes of the individuality of the worker?

Ans: It is submerged into the collectivity in so far as the labor of each individual is simply a contribution to the production of the finished product. The worker is no longer a disorganized individual producer.

26. Where can we class the farmer in the capitalist economy?

Ans: The farmers are mostly individual producers whose labor has not yet been socialized at the point of production; because the industry of agriculture has not, as a whole, become highly socialized. It is only partly socialized. Where agriculture has become highly socialized we find the owning capitalists and wage workers as in other industries.

* Note: It would cost as much to sustain us to work a four, six or eight hour day as it costs to sustain us to work a ten hour day. Therefore the wage rate would necessarily have to be maintained.
27. Why do the most advanced workers organize into unions?

Ans: They have organized into craft unions to control their skill, but since the machine is supplanting this skill, they, along with the previously unorganized mass of common laborers, are now organizing into industrial, or class unions, in order to control their labor power as a class; thus "forming the structure of the new society in the shell of the old" in order to take and operate all socially used industry without exploiting any class.

28. Why does the working class organize a political party?

Ans: In order to gain political control of the police, militia, courts and other coercive forces which are used by the capitalist class to beat back the workers in the struggle, destroy their organizations and keep the workers in subjection for profit.

SUMMARY ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

We have now reached the one big vital fact of history which is so important for the working class to understand, and the last thing that the ruling class, with its subsidized press, its prostituted spokesmen and pulpit-teers and its perverted education, will permit the working class to learn in its true significance.

The historical struggle of the working class against its exploiters for the possession of the product of its labor is a growth that has constantly assumed more and more definite shape just in the scale that the forces of economic production have been constantly developed and assumed a more highly organized form of socialized labor with the great machines.

The forces of machine production have so organized the working class that it now takes its place in history as the one class with the revolutionary potentiality to overthrow all systems of exploitation, abolish class antagonisms, emancipate itself and make the machine the slave of man. In the words of Marx, "the capitalist system has produced its own grave digger".
We have seen and felt the brutal force used by the capitalist class to keep us in subjection when all persuasion and false teachings have failed.

We are learning that this force must be intelligently met with our class enlightenment through our organized power.

We can see how our forces have been so organized by productive industry that we are no longer confined as a class to national boundaries, but to the industries in which we toil. Thus are we welded together as one great international class with common interests and a common aim,—the overthrow of the capitalist class system of private ownership of industry and the establishment of industrial democracy based upon the collective ownership and control of all productive industry which our class now operates but does not control.

The new structure is now in the making and will be an industrial administration bounded by the limits of industry itself; owned and controlled by the organized forces of international social labor.
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