artment for Agitation and Education

Edited by Sam Darcy

he Communist Patry is to lass, poor farmers, and all l oppressed by capitalism, of the present capitalist ofit, and the building of iety."

or Speakers

your notebook) request. Send a self-addressed Facts for Speakers", 37 Grove St.

FROM WORKERS

urplus on January 1, 1933 was $611,- ings was $115,078,383. 000 workers' families an income of

families in Seattle; about 181,000 4,000 families in Denver, according

owns cash and other current as- It is distributing dividends at the ly.

RTY".

l consuming population of the United n any sense of the world, according new book, the "Measurement of

arly one-third of the whole number in in houses unfit for human habitation. ner Wood, consultant for the Federal

VE NOTHING TO LOSE

ssociation, brings to our attention the n Robert R. Doane, which shows that greatest year of prosperity of all time, ulation were then living either at, or level. While the year 1932 witnesses ican population living at or below the and efficiency level".

	% of Total Population 1929	1932	
over)	.48	.07	*D .41%
00)	2.97	1.07	D 1.90%
00)	6.17	2.14	D 4.03%
)	13.41	8.19	D 5.22%
o $2,000)	15.82	12.81	D 3.01%
o $1,500)	18.80	16.42	D 2.38%
1,000)	22.35	25.39	**I 3.04%
nder)	18.75	22.44	I 3,69%
	1.20	11.43	I 10.23%
	100.00	100.00	

(Increased)

r Public Charges is understated since admit to 15,000,000 unemployed on 21% of the population.

h Association points out that "latest bor Statistics show that a U. S. worker week—38 in September—and receiv- s—51.5c in September—would make he worked every week without unem- 's thus in "bare subsistence" class. to be below "poverty level" line.

H & NON-JEWISH) SM AGAINST WORKERS.

ute, (The German Institute of Psy- Bavaria, also headquarters city of is the largest and most influential any.

opaganda issue from this institute in es about race hygiene which usually re an inferior race and provide more n other races. Large quantities of s are turned out to prove the anti- ler Nazis. It includes similar "selen-

or many years and is at the present kefeller funds. Huge sums are pour- sh millionaire, and members of his arburg, Seligman, etc. Also AFTER hen James Loeb died, he left more institute.. (James Loeb's father, founders of the banking house, ntly under investigation by the ngton. Felix M. Warburg is

"Cradle Song" shown in San ife of Baron von der Decker, e is now in Hollywood and eaded by Emanuel Cohen, ry direct to Germany. ite to support Fascism; the basic fight is the ners of all races and iters.

arty.

EDITORIAL

WANTED: SHORT STORIES AND SIMPLE POETRY.

About a year ago, we published a plea for short stories, short plays, poetry, etc., built around the life of workers, poor farmers and subjects of similar interest. We obtained a small response and were able thereby to uncover several promising poets, and several very good writers of short stories, plays, etc. However, with the increased publication possibilities of the Western Worker, now that we have six pages and we hope, will soon be published twice a week, we can use many more; especially short stories.

Let us hear from you, revolutionary writers!

NO ANONYMOUS LETTERS WANTED.

We have received a number of questions from comrades who did not sign their names to their letters. No question will be answered unless the name and address of the enquirer is signed.

Also, due to limited space, we cannot print lengthy theoretical discussions which several readers have sent in, and which do not bear directly on the immediate subject dealt with in the preceding sessions of our class.

Fundamentals of a Communist Political Education

Lecture 3

What Determines "Value"? Labor Power as a Commodity. How Exploitation Arises. The Production of "Surplus Value". The Forms of Capital. The Source of Profit. We Meet "Expansion".

THE EXPLOITATION OF WORKERS.

Why do capitalists engage workmen? Everybody knows that capitalists engage workmen not from a desire to feed them, but from a desire to extract profit from them. The thirst for profit makes the capitalist build his factory, and impels him to hunt around everywhere to see where he can get the lowest prices on goods and labor, and the highest prices for his products. The getting of profit wholly absorbs him.

HOW DOES PROFIT ARISE? We must briefly examine the process of production and exchange in order to establish this:

What determines how much money the capitalist receives for the goods he sells? Or in other words, what determines the price of his goods? Why is the price of one article high and that of another low?

It is not difficult to see that because machinery is constantly introduced into production, labor becomes more productive. In other words, goods are produced more easily, and the prices of commodities go down. If, on the other hand, production becomes more difficult, the prices of commodities will rise. The price is also affected by other conditions, as, for example, cheap money and gold standard money—but these are not the basic, but only the modifying conditions. The fluctuation is always around a certain point. Then what determines that point?

If there is expended on the average, a great deal of necessary labor in the production of a certain article, the price of that article will be high. If little labor is required to produce it, its price will be low. **The quantity of socially necessary labor of the average degree of skill necessary for the production of commodities, determines their value.**

Now remember what we said about the hiring of the worker. This transaction is the sale of a special commodity which bears the name of labor-power. When labor power becomes a commodity, it is subject to the same conditions as other commodities. When the capitalist engages the worker, he pays him the price for his labor power. In other words, he pays for it according to its value. How is this value determined?

We have seen that the value of all commodities is determined by the quantity of labor necessary for their production. The same applies to labor power.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY THE PRODUCTION OF LABOR POWER? Labor power is not produced in a factory like linen or automobiles or machinery. Let us consider the situation when workers have stopped work for the day. They are worn out, their energy has been expended, their labor power is almost exhausted. How can it be renewed? In order to renew it, the worker must rest, eat, sleep, have certain recreation, see to his clothing, housing, etc. In other words, before it is possible for him to work again, his ability to labor or his "labor power", must be restored. The things necessary to satisfy the requirements of the worker, represent the cost of the reproduction of labor-power. This varies; for example, as between skilled and unskilled labor, because of apprenticeship, schooling, and other necessary preparatory investment.

Everything that the workingclass consumes in order to renew its laboring ability has a value. Consequently the value of the necessities of life and the expenses of preparatory education will be the value of labor power. Different kinds of commodities have different values, according to what it took to produce them. Different kinds of labor power, therefore, also have different values according to what it took to produce it.

Now, to return to the factory: The capitalist buys raw material, fuel, machinery, oil and other things necessary for production. He then buys labor power: that is, engages workers. For everything, he pays out of the money he has for investment. He begins production. The workers toil, the machines run, the fuel burns, the oil is consumed, the factory buildings suffer wear and tear, labor power is used up. From the factory a new commodity comes. This commodity like all other commodities, has a value. How great is this value? In the first place, the new commodity contains within itself the value of the means of production consumed in its manufacture—the raw materials, fuel, the wear and tear of the machinery, etc. All this has now passed into the value of the product. Secondly, the labor of the worker is contained in it. If 30 workers each work 30 hours in producing the commodity, the total number of hours worked will be 900. The total value of the commodity will consist of the value of the materials used (let us suppose that this is equal to 600 hours work), plus the new value which the workers have added by their labor (900 hours). The total value, then, will be represented by 600 plus 900 hours equals 1,500 hours.

BUT HOW MUCH DOES THE NEW COMMODITY COST THE CAPITALIST? For the raw material he pays in full; that is, a sum of money corresponding to the value of 600 hours work. And how much does he pay for the labor? Does he pay for the whole 900 hours? The solution of the whole problem lies here. He pays according to our assumption the full value of the labor-power for the number of days worked. If 30 workers work 30 hours—4 days of 7½ hours each—the employer will pay them a sum of money sufficiently large to enable them to renew their labor-power for that number of days. But how great is the sum? The answer is simple. It is clearly smaller than the value of 900 hours' work. Why? Because labor produces more in a week's work than it takes to reproduce its energy. The difference between what it takes to reproduce its energy and the 900 hours' labor is not paid for.

For example, suppose I work 8 hours daily, and suppose that in 4 hours I produce the value of everything I consume during the whole period of 8 hours. I therefore work much longer than is required to meet the expense of the maintenance of my labor-power. In our example the workers get wages enough to consume in four days food, clothes, etc., to the value of, say, 450 hours work; and they perform work to the value of 900 hours. The value of 450 hours' work remains to the capitalist. **This number of hours is the source of his profit.** The commodities actually cost the capitalist, as we have seen, 600 plus 450 equals 1,050 hours and he sells them at the full value of 600 plus 900, or 1500 hours. The difference (450 hours) is the SURPLUS VALUE created by labor. In the half of the labor time (3¾ hours out of each working day of 7½ hours) the workers, therefore, produce an amount equal to their wages, and during the other half they work wholly and solely for the capitalist. Let us now consider society as a whole. The capitalist class employs a vast number of members of the workingclass. In innumerable factories, mines, forests and fields millions of workers labor like ants. Capital pays them their wages. This money enables them to renew their labor-power, to be again expended in the service of Capitalism. But the workingclass not only pays for itself by its 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 a share—profit; a part goes to the landlord; a part goes to the Capitalist State in the form of taxes; a part to the merchants, shopkeepers, clergymen, actors, bourgeois writers, etc. **On this surplus value live all the parasites who are created by the capitalist system.**

A portion of the surplus value is used over again by the capitalists. They add to it their CAPITAL. Their capital grows ever greater. They extend their undertakings. They engage more workers. They install better machines. A greater number of workers create for the capitalists a still greater amount of surplus value. Capitalist enterprises grow larger and larger. Capital goes ever forward with giant strides. More and more surplus value is heaped up. **Because capital extracts surplus-value from labor, because it exploits labor, it grows continuously greater.**

CAPITAL.

WE NOW SEE CLEARLY WHAT CAPITAL IS. Above all, it is a definite value, either in the form of money or raw materials, factory buildings, or finished products. But it is that value which invested by the owner gives him the right in capitalist production to acquire the "surplus value" created by the workers. Capitalist production is the production of surplus-value.

In capitalist society machines and factory buildings appear as capital. Are machines and buildings, then, always capital? Clearly, no. When there is a communal industry embracing the whole of society, which produces everything for itself, then neither machinery nor raw material will be capital, because it will not be employed as a means of extracting profit for a small handful of rich men. **Machinery, therefore, becomes capital only when it is the property of the capitalist class, when it is used for the exploitation of wage-labor; when it serves for the production of surplus-value.** The form of this value does not matter. It can have the form of coins, or of paper money, for which the capitalist buys the means of production and labor-power; it can have the form of machinery suffers wear and tear, ers toil, or of finished products, which later will be sold. **Where this value serves for the production of surplus-value, it is capital.**

CAPITAL changes its outward appearance. Let us now consider how this transformation takes place.

1.—The capitalist has not, as yet, bought any means of production or labor power. He has in his hands nothing but money. Here capital appears in its money form.

2.—With this money the capitalist goes to the market. Here the purchase of means of production and of labor-power takes place. He returns with workers, machinery, factory space, fuel and raw materials. The money has changed itself into means of production and labor-power; the money appearance is thrown off; capital now stands before us in the form of Industrial capital.

Work then begins. The machinery is set in motion, the workers toil and sweat, the machinery sufers wear and tear, the raw materials are used up.

3.—All the raw materials, that part of the substance of the machines which has been worn out, all the labor-power which performs the work, are gradually turned into a mass of commodities. Capital then throws off the appearance of industrial capital and appears as an aggregation of commodities. This is capital in its commodity form. But now, after production, CAPITAL has not only changed its form; **it has become greater in value because it has increased during the process of production by the amount of the surplus-value.**

4.—The capitalist does not produce goods to satisfy his own wants, but for the market, for exchange. The commodities which are heaped up in his warehouses must be sold. The capitalist went to market, at first as a buyer. Now he must go as a seller. At first he had money, and wanted to buy commodities—means of production. Now he has commodities, and wants money for them. When his commodities are sold, capital throws off its commodity form and assumes again its money form. **But the amount of money which he receives for his wares is greater than that which he originally spend, because it has increased by the amount of the total surplus value.**

But the movement of capital is not yet finished. The increased capital is again set in motion and receives a still greater quantity of surplus-value. This surplus-value is, in part, added to the capital, and begins another circulation. Capital as a whole rolls, like a snowball, ever farther and farther, and with every turn larger masses of surplus value adhere to it. **And so capitalist production extends farther and farther and sucks ever more surplus-value from the workingclass. This rapid growth is a feature peculiar to Capitalism.** Exploitation of one class by another existed in former times. Let us take for example, a landowner in the feudal period or a slave owner of antiquity. He lived on the labor of r or slaves. But everythi was produced was cons ther by himself or by h and his numerous h **Commodity production v non-existent.** Product fore, was limited to ing of bodily wants c ters and their fami quite otherwise unde Now things are prod use, but for profit. produced so that sold, and profit t up. The more pro Hence, the mad capitalist class for greed for profit kr It is the pivot force of capitalis

(END LEC

ANY QUESTIONS?

The first answers to Questions will be with the next installment.

The task of the Socialist Party, Fascists, Technocrats, Social Credit groups, and the new crop of discoveries of "new" freak theories, is to prevent such unity, to split the masses with a confusion of high-sounding panaceas, and essentially to strengthen the capitalist class.

Literature and . . . Book Reviews

Every year, the memorial of Lenin's death becomes the occas- for increased interest in his great work and in the literature of Leninism. This year, the tenth anniversary, the light he shed is more brilliant than ever. We recommend the following special Lenin literature:

1.—"THE LENIN HERITAGE" by Joseph Stalin.

Here is a clear, simple and precise explanation of the great heritage left by Lenin to the international working class.

This pamphlet is illustrated by numerous photos, which give this pamphlet an added popular character and the necessary direct appeal for mass distribution.

The pamphlet consists of Stalin's speech delivered before the Congress of Soviets, five days after the death of Lenin. Here he sums up the meaning of Lenin's teachings in the form of directives which he appeals to the workers to carry out. The photos illustrate the nature of capitalism, the development of the revolutionary movement, the Russian Revolution, the building of Socialism and the work of the Communist International.—Price 3c.

2.—"LENINISM" by Bubnov.

This pamphlet is an exposition of Leninism and its application to the present world situation. The teachings of Lenin are discussed against the background of the world crisis, on the one hand, and the building of Socailism in the Soviet Union, on the other hand. It is the kind of pamphlet which can be given to anyone who wants to have an introductory and popular exposition of Leninism. It is especially intended for us, as a basis for the discussions to be held during Lenin Month.—Price 5c.

3.—"LENIN" by Joseph Stalin.

Contains "Lenin as Leader and Organizer of the Communist Party", a speech delivered in 1920 while Lenin was still alive; "Lenin's Heritage", described above; and Stalin's famous "The Mountain Eagle", a speech delivered a week after Lenin's death, in which Stalin gives his reminiscences of Lenin and depicts his great qualities as leader of the Communist Party and the workers. This pamphlet, issued as Number 16 in the Little Lenin Library, sells at 10 cents.

4.—"A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKERS".

Lenin's letter to the American worker, written in 1918, in which he explains to them the significance of the Russian Revolution, and calls upon them to block the interventionist war against the Soviet Republic. Lenin here points out the revolutionary traditions of the American working class and shows the path to the further realization of the tradition. Number 17 in the Littl Lenin Library, 5 cents.

5.—"IMPERIALISM—The Highest Stage of Capitalism".

One of Lenin's most important basic works, his brilliant lysis of imperialism which is the foundation for the policies an tactics of World Communism in the present period. This is t first complete and accurate translation of IMPERIALISM to published in English. Previous English editions have been complete, having omitted some of the most important passa where Lenin criticizes Kautsky and the theories of the Second ternational. Explanatory notes are supplied in this new edi to help the reader in understanding this basic work. Price 30c.

6.—"REMINISCENSES OF LENIN" by Clara Zetkin.

Clara Zetkin wrote her reminiscences immediately after nin's death. In them she tells of meetings and long conversat with Lenin, while her impressions are still fresh. She gives intimate picture of Lenin, the leader and man, tells of his reaction to the numerous problems facing the Soviet Republic and the international working class. Of special interest are the conversations with Lenin in which he gives his views on problems that are still with us.

The subjects covered in these conservations are the German situation at the time which is of special interest in view of the present events; the question of the Polish War and the "Left Communists"; various questions of culture, education and art. Of special importance is Clara Zetkin's report of a long conversation on the subject of women, marriage and sex and the problems of the youth movement. — Price 20c.

7.—"DAYS WITH LENIN" by Maxim Gorky.

Recently issued in English, rounds out the intimate picture of Lenin. Gorky's reminiscences cover a period of 15 years intimate association. — Price 25c.

8.—"LENIN'S WORKS", 8 vol. published to date bound in red cloth.

An authorized translation issued under the authority of the Lenin Institute at Moscow. — Price $11.75.

All books can be purchased at the local Workers Booksh through the Western Worker.

—Jeff Goodm