

frequently since 1817, had hitherto been shattered by the alliance of the slaveocracy with the Northern Democracy . . . The struggle for Kansas caused the first split within the Democratic party and called the Republican party into life . . .

The Republican Party And The South

At their second national convention for the presidential election, May 17, 1860, the Republicans repeated their program of 1856, only enriched by a few additions. Its chief content was this: not a foot of new territory is henceforth to be ceded to slavery! The bucaneeering foreign policy must cease. The reopening of the slave-trade is

One of the leaders of the South, Senator Toombs, speaking at the Secession Congress of Montgomery, strikingly formulated the economic law imposed by the continual extension of slavery. "If," he said, "no great increase in slave territory takes place, the slaves will run the whites out within fifteen years or else the whites will run the slaves out . . ."

Secondly, in order to assert influence in the Senate and, thru the Senate, over the entire United States, the South needed the continual formation of new slave states . . .

Finally, the number of actual slaveholders in the South does not amount to more than 300,000, a

A confinement of slavery within its old terrain would thus of necessity lead to its gradual extinction in accordance with economic law, would politically destroy the hegemony which the slave states have exercised thru the Senate, and would finally expose the slaveholding oligarchy, within its own states, to threatening danger from the poor whites. With the principle that all further expansion of slave territory is to be legally forbidden, the Republicans therefore attacked the domination of the slaveholders at its very root. The Republican election victory naturally had to drive to an open struggle between North and South. This electoral victory itself, as already

and its replacement by feudalism. (The Romans performed feats of engineering which were not duplicated for a thousand or more years after the fall of Rome.) Even a slight knowledge of history will reveal the answer. These civilizations were not destroyed from without; they were shattered from within, by the sharpening of the class struggle. Rome was "conquered" by the barbarians only when it had lost its internal cohesion.

According to technocracy, historical development is in a straight line—"unidirectional and irreversible." That is not true. Human society has developed in a zig-zag fashion, in cycles, in spirals and thru contradictions. The development of human society can be understood only thru the application of the yardstick of Marxian dialectics (according to Scott, an "interesting intellectual pastime.") The technocratic method cannot reveal the historic process, cannot indicate the direction of development, cannot even trace the development of engineering itself.

The Newest "Substitute" For Communism

TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKING CLASS

(Concluded in this issue)

Under a system of technocracy, every family will receive the equivalent of a \$20,000 a year income for a working week of eight hours. That sounds very nice, but what must we do to attain such a society. Nothing! It seems that the mere desire to have it will eventually bring it about. The technocrats scorn political action, economic action, demonstrations, strikes—any form of struggle. They deny the need of a social agency to change this society into their own. A few more pertinent questions remain unanswered by the technocrats. What will happen to private ownership of the means of production? Will they be socialized, bought, confiscated? On what basis will distribution take place. They tell us that individuals will receive certificates of energy units, not to be saved or invested, but to be spent. But such certificates can just as readily be issued in terms of dollars, man-hours, or anything else, once there is the social mechanism for doing so. How will that social mechanism be established? Who will run it? On what basis will these certificates be issued? Merely to say, as do the technocrats, that "individual income under technological control would consist of units commensurate with the quantity by which the rate of flow of the physical equipment is measured thruout the entire continental area" is to state an engineering ambition to keep the means of production operating constantly and efficiently. The advocates of capitalism will assert that such is the case in "normal times". What is left out of the picture is again the fact of exploitation as the dominant feature of capitalist society.

Technocracy promises permanent prosperity and great leisure (to the chosen people of the American continent) without the necessity of lifting a finger in its attainment, without the sordid business of strikes, demonstrations, Hunger Marches, political campaigns, revolution, without coming into conflict with the "law", without breaking friendly relations with one's boss, without arousing your neighbor's ire, without injuring or destroying shop windows, parks, museums, and buildings. A pretty utopia for a quavering petty bour-

geois—a deceitful illusion for a militant worker. The emancipation of the working class can be the work of the working class alone. It can have no truck with anything which counsels passivity, inaction and submission—the trade marks of technocracy.

Technocracy As A System

Technocracy is a self-sufficient system of ideas. It contains a critique of the present social order, a proposal for another one and an interpretation of history, all based on a unified conception of "energy-level" as the motivating force in human society. Technocracy has produced what we can call the technological interpretation of history, a competitor of the materialist conception of history. According to technocracy, all history is the history of the change from one energy-level to a higher one. The original energy-level of man (the human machine) was 2,000 kilogram calories per day. With the domestication of animals and the discovery of a few simple tools, man's energy rose to 4,000 kilogram calories per day. Then a period of "seven thousand static years" intervened. One hundred and fifty years ago (the beginning of the industrial revolution) began the great transformation in humanity's energy-level, resulting in the present high level of 150,000 kilogram

calories per man per day. These are the three great changes in human society, the three stages in history. There is no room for social changes, only for mechanical ones, and, at that, only mechanical changes accompanied by changes in the means of the production or utilization of mechanical energy (not human energy).

This conception is utterly false. Man has progressed not merely thru improved mechanics, thru greater production of energy, but also thru better social organization, as exemplified by cooperation and division of labor. But even if we grant the point about energy changes, the picture is still inaccurate. The period preceding the industrial revolution was not a static one. In those seven thousand static years we saw the rise of slave civilization and its decline, the rise and destruction of feudalism, the birth and rise of capitalism. The capitalist system was born before the industrial revolution, before we reached the 150,000 energy-level of the technocrats. The industrial revolution is the child of capitalism, and not the other way around. As we pointed out before, the development of the means of production is the great historic contribution of capitalism to human history.

History is the product of class changes, even within the same energy-level. Different property relations have existed in the "static" years preceding the "energy revolution." Within the same energy-level, civilizations rose and fell, world centers shifted from one country to another, from one continent to another. Changes in class relations were the primary movers here, not changes in energy production or consumption. The complete omission of class relations from the canvas leaves us a frame without the picture. The technocrats presumably explain the conquest of one nation by another on the basis of a higher energy-level. (Chase thus explains the conquest of the Incas and Aztecs by Spaniards.) But in that case, what is the explanation of the conquest of a nation (or civilization) at a higher energy-level by one at a lower one? How explain the conquest of Rome by the barbarians? How explain the destruction of slave civilization

From Fad To Cult

Technocracy started out as a fad and rapidly is being transformed into a cult. Among the requirements of a cult must be mystery and exclusiveness. Technocracy has made every effort at mystery and secrecy, expressed in its language, ideas and methods. How we come to the exclusiveness. The scientific utopia which we were promised and which we were led to believe depended upon a certain energy-level (150,000 kilogram calories per man per day) should certainly hold for any country meeting the energy requirement. But no! Technocracy as a future utopia is reserved for the chosen people—the inhabitants of the "American continental area," which, "from the stand-point of its geologic set-up, equipment, personnel, and the state of its technology, is competent and ready to inaugurate a new era in the life of man." Not having this geologic set-up, etc., the people of the rest of the world are doomed to either extinction or a return to medieval conditions. This is a sort of technocratic Monroe Doctrine. The "American continental area"! With Mexico? With Central America? Perhaps even with South America? Canada is, of course, included. A nice little imperialist dream covered with engineering terms and utopian promises!

The working class in Germany, in England, in Italy, in France, in the Soviet Union, the millions of toilers in China, India, Africa—technocracy has no future for them. They do not fit into its engineering strait-jacket. The international character of capitalism, of the class struggle, of imperialism, having converted the world into an international system of economy and established the basis of international working class solidarity, have also made possible the overthrow of the system of capitalism on a world scale and the erection of a world socialist society. As in all other questions, technocracy would destroy the international solidarity of the working class, eliminate the struggle against imperialism and

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TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKERS

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substitute the illusion of the "chosen people" for the American workers. Technocracy is no promise to the workers; it is a menace, a menace which would tie the workers hand and foot and make them helpless, a menace to be fought and destroyed.

Technocracy as a phenomenon of the crisis is an expression of the exceptional development of American capitalism, a development which, so far, has not been understood by American Communists, and for lack of understanding of which Communism in this country has failed to make any appreciable progress. It is also an expression of the political backwardness of the American working class—and not only of the working class. Instead of the general, widespread, nationwide radicalization, the crisis in the United States has produced technocracy, the barter system, and the farm holiday movement. Not Communism has swept the ranks of the workers, of the unemployed, but these various fads and cults. All this only indicates once more that the American workers will not be won to Communism on the basis of the blueprints drawn in Moscow, Berlin or Prinkipo. If Communists are to make headway, they must learn to understand, grasp and utilize those features which are peculiar to America and which offer the key, the entering wedge to an approach to the masses of the population. And not until this is done will the Communist movement in this country become a factor in the life of the tailing masses.
