

The Technocrats «Refute» Marxism

(Continued from page 1) energy, according to Scott, will do away with classes and the class struggle, with revolution and with Marxists. Quite a large order!

Technocratic "Energy"

The whole structure of Technocracy revolves around the axis of "energy". Scott says, "Energy is defined as the capacity for doing work. All forces of heat transfer or of work done are said to involve a transfer of energy." Again: "Now energy appears in many forms but it is possible to measure them in units of work—the erg and the joule, or in units of heat, the calorie."

The "technocrats" hide behind the word "energy" every form of energy used in the present capitalist system of production. They do not make any distinction between determining factors of energy and contributing or auxiliary units of energy. Second, when they deal with human labor as a form of energy they primarily deal with one phase of the problem and ignore the other and most important phase.

The first phase of the problem of labor (energy) they deal with is its displacement by the machine. Scott says: "In other words a price system demands man-power if it is to succeed, and man-power for production steadily becomes more and more a thing of the past as the kilowatt hour takes its place." To refer to the displacement of labor or "man-power" and not to tell what effect this has upon that part of labor which is left in production, is to state the problem without stating the determining factor. The development of machines, new inventions and processes carry with them greater exploitation of labor.

Scott says kilowatt hours take the place of man-power. What really happens is that the higher composition of capital—an increase in constant capital (kilowatt hours, etc., means of production) and a decrease of variable capital (wage-labor in the form of labor) causes greater exploitation of the wage workers, a fall in the rate of profit but a rise in the mass of profit which goes not to society but to the owners of the tools of production.

If the technocracy school would realize that private ownership of the tools of production must be abolished and that social ownership must replace it, they would be a long way toward the proper utilization of the facts they have accumulated. Also this would be the opening of the door out of the blind alley they are now in. Failing this understanding their positive facts are lost or else they are utilized by reaction to mislead the workers.

Is Labor's Importance Decreasing?

Many are already using the "movement" for this purpose. But the technicians and scientists who want to be of service to mankind must see beyond the decay of capitalism into the future social system which is going through its birth stage in the Soviet Union now.

The change from hand-tool production to the machine age is viewed by the school of technocracy as the passing of man-power (labor) to kilowatt hours of energy units, etc. Where they see the replacement of man-power by machines, they conclude that the importance of man-power (labor) in a machine society diminishes. The truth is that the importance of labor in the relation of pro-

Engineers Have New Plan to Save Bankrupt Capitalism

fits and exploitation increases with machine development.

Let us restate the problem from a Marxist point of view and see what light it throws upon the school of technocracy. The foundation of the use-value (products or commodities) of every society is labor and nature. The determining factor in society is not nature but labor. The relation of labor to production and to the ownership of the means of production determines its status in that society, no matter how productive labor is.

All value, wealth of use-values in society, no matter what its form may be—buildings, machines, trains, roads, electric power, clothes, and other necessities—can be reduced, not to energy in the abstract, but to labor and natural properties, no matter if they were made by hand-tool production or machine production.

Two Debates in Chicago

Two debates are scheduled in Chicago which are of considerable importance and interest to the militants of that city, according to the announcements of the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

On Tuesday, January 17, Norman Satir, of the Left Opposition, will debate with T. Stettin, organizer for the IWW on the subject: "Communism or Syndicalism."

On the same date, Joseph Giganti, organizer of the Left Opposition will debate with M. Olay, anarchist spokesman, on the subject, "What Next for the Spanish Worker—Communism or Anarchism?" This debate will take place under the auspices of the Spartacus Workers League, at its headquarters, 1645 W. Polk Street.

Both debates deal with themes of current importance and the debaters will undoubtedly bring forward their respective sides of the question in as thorough a manner as possible, enabling those who attend to judge the merits of the disputing tendencies in the labor movement.

All Chicago militants are cordially invited to attend the debates.

duction under capitalism. The social relationship of labor is the determining factor and the form of "energy" of LABOR is the decisive factor in the energy of any and every society. This determining "factor" is what the Technocracy school ignores.

In other words, if we were to find the basis of the equation of all use-values of society we must reduce the use-values to the amount "of socially necessary labor time embodied within them." (Energy?). Constant capital (machines, buildings, raw material, power, etc.) can be reduced to congealed labor time. The other part, necessary for capitalist production and the vital part—variable capital (wage labor)—can be transformed into labor, living labor, in the process of production. All forms of energy, measured by the kilowatt hour can be reduced to so many hours of socially necessary labor time. The equation of Dr. Rauteenstrauch and Peral-Reed deals with an entirely different phase of the problem and does not touch the basic factors of the present day economic problems. The problem their equation does not touch is the problem that must be solved if we are to have an orderly and planned society. Many technicians desire this but do not know how it is to be attained.

The Key to the Problem

Let us consider the "energy of technocracy" in the field of capitalist production. So many yards of linen in value equal so many pounds of wheat not because we have some arbitrary "price system" but because each can be reduced to so many hours of labor embodied within the commodities. The only way to measure all forms of energy which are the result of man's labor is to reduce them to socially necessary labor time embodied in them. This labor time is the measure of value and the key to the understanding of the problem the technicians have unearthed but have not explained properly nor solved.

To regard "energy" in the abstract and leave out of consideration the measure of its value, labor time, is to leave the ground of concrete reality and lose the key to an understanding of the class problems and the contradictions of the capitalist mode of production. To find a way out of the capitalist contradictions, it is necessary first to state the problem correctly. This Marx and the

Marxists did long ago. The displacement of man power by the machine, which is a progressive development under capitalism, was analyzed by Marx long ago and its consequences predicted. The school of technocracy has just now discovered the fact but has not yet drawn the conclusions which flow from them. What a difference between the dialectic materialist method and the bourgeois methods! And how superior it proves itself to be in analyzing and pointing the way to the solution.

Kilowatt hours, capital, commodities, or any other form of use-values can be reduced to congealed labor—to "dead labor". Under capitalism we have a system where "dead labor"—capital—controls and subjects living labor—the labor of the workers, in the process of production. Thereby capital controls the lives of the wage earners.

Only when the control of the capitalists over the means of production is broken can the workers be liberated. For this a revolution is required. Technocracy cannot solve the problem in a vacuum. It cannot eliminate the class struggle. There is no substitute for the proletarian revolution and the expropriation of the expropriators. For that reason "technocracy" remains an imposing deception.

—H. O.

ZINAIDE TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

bullet through his head in 1927 in protest against the Thermidorian vices of the party rulers. Three years before his death, in 1924, Trotsky's devoted secretary and collaborator, Glazman, took the same way out of the nightmare of venomous intrigue brought into the life of the party by the dominant clique. One by one—Glazman, Joffe, Butov, Heinrichsen, Silov, Blumkin, Rosanoff, and now Zinaide Trotsky—these serene but unyielding spirits have been cut down in their youth or their rich prime—tormented to death, driven to suicide, or shot in obscure courtyards. While scoundrels and parasites, ex-Petlurists and Mensheviks, scavengers and camp-followers, penetrated to the highest posts of the Soviets and the party, the bravest of the brave and the cream of Bolshevism, the organizers of the insurrection and the heroes of the Civil War, were driven out of the party and... into the grave. It is the fate reserved by Stalin for the Left Oppositionists in prison and exile, for that fearless revolutionary chief, Rakovsky, for all those who have stood unflinchingly by the side of the Bolshevik exile who incarnates the international proletarian revolution. The blood of these Bolshevik victims is on Stalin's head!

To the bereaved exile in Turkey and to his family, we send our most deeply felt sympathy. At the graveside of our dear comrade Zinaide Trotsky, the American Bolshevik-Leninist pledge themselves anew to the unending struggle to liberate world Communism from the monstrous regime which has devastated it and sent a new victim to a premature death.

The International Workers School of the St. Louis Branch is conducting a class in the "Fundamentals of Communism" with Martin Payer as the instructor. The class is held every Monday evening, 7:30 P. M. at the Small Club Room of the Cruden Branch Library, 14th and Cass Avenues. All Militant readers and friends are invited to attend. The admission is free.

Opposition at Anti-War Meet

Left Delegates Issue Statement at Chicago Student Conference

The present world crisis in capitalist economy, occurring as it does in the epoch of imperialism, which is at once the period of the highest development of capitalism and the period of its decay, contains within itself the seeds of war. The spread of industrial capitalism during the past half century has increased the number of capitalist powers, the antagonisms between which with the growth of monopolies, trusts and cartels have created ever-sharpening rivalries between the imperialist nations. Before the Great War it was still possible for capitalism to escape from the recurrent crises by a continuous extension of the world market. That is no longer possible. The rival imperialist powers now find it impossible to lift themselves out of the crisis by expanding the over-seas markets. Today they are shackled with a vast army of unemployed workers who are becoming increasingly impatient. In order to avoid an internal upheaval which would jeopardize their own existence, the rival imperialist powers are compelled to struggle incessantly for markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of financial control. Inevitably the disproportion between the size of the productive forces (especially of the proletariat) and the markets in the possession of the different imperialist nations causes a break, and capitalism proceeds to settle its differences on the back and with the blood of the great masses of the population, the workers. But imperialism war cannot achieve a permanent solution of the problems of economic disequilibrium. Owing to the unequal development of capitalism in different countries, a time soon comes when markets and sources of raw materials must be re-distributed and the struggle for economic hegemony appears on the order of the day once more. Obviously, therefore, imperialist wars are a product of the development of capitalist society and are inherent in it. In this epoch of socialized production, the historic task of putting an end to all wars falls upon the working class because of its indispensable role in the production process. The proletariat, itself the product of capitalist industry, is the only social force capable of overthrowing capitalism and establishing in its place the dictatorship of the proletariat which, when achieved on a world scale, lays the basis for the development of socialism. Only in such a society when the private ownership of the means of production has been abolished and class differences have disappeared, will the causes of war finally have been removed. To us, therefore, the problem of war is a problem of class conflict flowing from the extant mode of production and exchange today it is a problem for the working class because it is the workers who must do the fighting and the dying and it, the workers, leading all the oppressed masses, who alone can overthrow capitalism. Hence, we, as students, can play no independent role. While carrying on work in our respective fields, our task is essentially one of supporting the working class in its day-to-day struggle against capitalist exploitation and of helping it resist the outbreak of further imperialist wars by working with it towards the overthrow of capitalism.

While we oppose imperialist war, we affirm our support to all oppressed peoples seeking liberation from imperialist exploitation. We look upon wars of national liberation as progressive and as a step further on the road of final emancipation for the down-trodden masses. An uprising of the Chinese or Indian masses directed towards throwing off the yoke of foreign imperialism must receive our support. The struggle in the colonial countries does not end, however, with the eviction of the foreign imperialists, for the exploited masses will still have to deal with their own national capitalists. It is for this reason that the emancipation of these backward peoples can only be achieved under the leadership of revolutionary workers who must strive to extend the national revolt into a struggle for power which will eventuate in the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship.

Imperialist war assumes increased significance for the world proletariat when it takes the form of an interventionist attack upon the USSR. The Soviet Union is the first and only Workers' State in history and as such it is the duty of every revolutionary organization to defend the achievements of the Soviet Union and to insure the continued existence of the proletarian dictatorship in that country pending the further development of the world revolution. The events of the past few years have shown precisely how the flames of war lunge at the frontiers of the Soviet Union simultaneously from the Far East and from the closer West. At the same time strangling the independence of China, Japan constructs in Manchuria fortresses from which to strike at the Soviets. On the other hand, the advance of Fascism in Germany opens up the perspective of a struggle for life or death between a Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. The struggle against war signifies under these conditions the struggle to save the lives of dozens of millions of workers and peasants belonging to the new generation which has grown up since the Great War, to preserve all the conquests of labor and of thought, to save the first Workers' State and the whole future of humanity.

It follows naturally that we cannot support any program which condemns all wars in general. Each must be considered in its own context and from the point of view of the historical interest of the world proletariat.

Lastly, we must point out the irreconcilability between our position and that of pacifists, who, blind to the causes of armed conflict, dismiss all wars with a wave of the hand. Too long now have the masses been misled by statements such as that made by Henri Barbusse and Romain Rolland at the recent Amsterdam Anti-War Conference to the effect that a wave of opposition must be raised against "whatever war it may be, wherever it may come from and whoever it may menace". We repeat that we are opposed to such pacifist utterances and will consistently oppose adherence to a similar position at this conference. The problems of war can be discussed only on the basis of class interests.

We consider it absolutely wrong to create a permanent individual membership anti-war organization. Such an organization will only separate the struggle against war from the general struggle against capitalism.

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THE HISTORY OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Max Shachtman

will speak every Sunday evening, 8 P. M. on the following subjects in the course:

Jan. 15 1922—The Last Leninist Congress.

Jan. 22 1924—The First Great Victory of the Right-Center Reaction and the Fifth Congress.

Jan. 29/30 1928—The Triumph of the Epigones at the Sixth Congress.

Feb. 5 The Future of the Third International: Collapse or Regeneration?

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS SCHOOL

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JAPAN

Its Rise from Feudalism to Capitalist Imperialism and the Development of the Proletariat

By Jack Weber

The High Speed of Japanese Development

A striking feature of post-war Japanese development is its rapid tempo. Born in the epoch of imperialism, Japanese capitalism, even before it has attained full maturity, undergoes all the sicknesses of decay—the stifling of expanding productive forces by the shrinking of markets. Its internal woes are so profound that desperate remedies are sought; hence the imperialist venture in China, a venture that not only sacrifices the lives of Japanese—and Chinese—workers for capitalist profit, but that demands for its accomplishment ever greater diversion of resources, growing budgets and mounting deficits, hence more intense exploitation of workers and peasants. The national income must be reappropriated; the middle class is taxed at the unbelievable rate of 30 percent of its earnings (every citizen with an income of \$150, or more is taxed); the workers must receive even less than their previous pittance. In short, the class struggle is intensified at a pace corresponding to the unbounded program of imperialist expansion.

But not only does Japanese imperialism accomplish forced marches in the strain of catching up with the rival powers. The working class, too, undergoes rapid transformations. In the single decade since the war, the Japanese proletariat has condensed the long experience of a whole century of British development. Today the Japanese workers are strung out along the road of development with a rear-guard of opportunists and reformists always ready to desert and betray the vanguard of Communists in time of battle.

During this decade of proletarian growth the economic and political changes have followed each other with great rapidity—a sure indication of the revolutionary possibilities. The workers have shown themselves acutely sensitive to the international labor movement, but unless a leadership is built up that is grounded in Marxian principles, the

workers are in craft unions, thus eliminating the artificial and fratricidal struggles between unions over jurisdiction.

If workers too often fail to realize the decisive importance of the class controlling an organization, the employers have no illusions on this score. The bosses in Japan have organized shop committees and company unions on a wide scale. In fact they now embrace 340,000 workers, as many as have been permitted to organize in all the workers' unions combined.

The year 1919 saw the gradual spread of information concerning the Russian Revolution among the workers. The spread of Communist ideas terrified governing circles and brought on a period of white terror that has not abated to the present time. The crisis of 1920 with its mass unemployment did not help to reassure the upper class. Nor did the Kobe strike of 1921 with its great solidarity parade of 30,000 workers. In 1922 the Comintern established relations with Japanese comrades and started an illegal, underground movement. The movement has remained small but exerts a profound influence despite the committing of many blunders under Stalinist control.

The earthquake of 1923 gave the government its opportunity to behead the proletarian movement. The police and the military incited the reactionaries and their dupes among the masses to murder all Koreans under the pretext that they were responsible for the terrible conflagrations that broke out as a result of the quake. Simultaneously with the most brutal massacre of thousands of Koreans, those most exploited workers in Japan, performing the dirtiest work with the outcaste Etas, the soldiery seized hundreds of radicals of all shades and put the most prominent ones to the sword. In cruelty and cold-bloodedness this exploit of the Mikado outdid any of the Czar's pogroms of the Jews.

The Communists and the Labor Party The promise by the government of universal suffrage in 1925 (the actual voting not to take place till 1928), started widespread agitation for the formation of working class political parties. The Right wing leaders in the unions at first looked askance at this new development, seeing in it a threat to their bureaucratic control through the organization

of a rival leadership. But the example of the British Labor Party, then coming into power, heartened them and caused the attempt of creating a political party under union auspices. This same year saw the split of the General Federation of Labor—with what aid from the Communists is not clear but quite easily to be inferred from international developments in the "third period"—into Right and Left wings, the latter including syndicalists to an even greater extent than Communists. Had the Communist party, despite the persecution and the handicaps of illegality, presented as clearly as was possible under the circumstances, their own political outlook had they differentiated themselves sharply from the opportunist elements a large section of the syndicalists could have been won over to Communism, not to speak of other Left wing workers. But the Anglo-Russian Committee, the bloc of the Chinese party with the Kuo Min Tang, in short the obliteration and dispersing of the vanguard in the mass of uncrystallized workers, the voluntary yielding of initiative by the only force capable of leading the workers correctly to that force designed only to mislead—all this saw its counterpart in the attempts of the Communists, under the direction of the Comintern, to form a mass labor party.

The Peasants' Union (50,000 members) issued the call for all workers to unite in a proletarian party. In No. 16 of the Communist International may be found the attitude of the Comintern on the entire question. Vasiliev writes enthusiastically hailing the call. "Not only labor and progressive peasant elements are interested in the organization of a new party aiming at the thorough democratization of the State—the whole country demands this!" Further "the Communist wing of the Comintern for the formation of the proletarian party formulated its own platform as follows: The aim of the proletarian party is struggle against imperialism and the menace of imperialist wars. The slogans are: Korea's and other colonies' rights to self-determination; hands off China; those who till the land must own it; the 8 hour day; work or full maintenance for unemployed; workers' control; universal suffrage for all citizens over the age of 18; democratic liberties; abolition of laws directed against the labor movement; abolition of the Upper Chamber and the Genro Council." Its immediate slogan is the

"workers' and peasants' government". Vasiliev adds naively that "after a perusal of the draft programs of action of the Left and the reformists, one is struck by the similarity of the most important points of the political and economic demands." He sees the conditions for a united front as very propitious. "Through their work within the proletarian party, the Japanese Communists will no doubt soon be able to grapple with the task of developing their ranks into a mass Leninist party with a strictly revolutionary program and iron discipline."

In No. 17 of the Communist International, after the complete fiasco of the all-embracing mass party, we find the following gem: "The reformists, after their unsuccessful attempts to balk the formation of the Proletarian Party by refusing participation, decided to achieve their sabotaging work by drawing up a program provoking the Left to a split. The latter took up a firm position, and acquiesced in making every concession if only to obtain the organization of a legal mass party. In their desire to preserve the legal physiognomy of the new party, the Left went so far that they abandoned without any reserves the demand for the independence of the colonies (they agreed to autonomy) and agreed to the abandonment of the demand for the confiscation of the land without compensation. But the reformists, who had previously come to an agreement with the police, quit the inaugural congress of the Proletarian party, declaring that they did not desire to be a weapon in the hands of the Left. The Lefts, continuing their policy of guaranteeing legality to the new party at all costs, also left the congress. The delegates of the Peasants Union and the Suiheisha remained in the congress." Of course, the police closed the congress down anyhow. But to go on: "But the reformists will not enjoy their victory for long. Even if at first the Proletarian party did not have a program of action worked out according to all the rules of Lenin, etc., even if in its program it made opportunist, reformist, false steps, all this is not so essentially important. What is important is the fundamental fact that the working and peasant masses are being brought into the proletarian party and it is also important that the objective situation of the country unrestrainedly urges the Japanese workers and peasants to decisive acts and big tasks."

FOR A UNITED WORKER-STUDENT YOUTH CONFERENCE

The great weakness of this Congress lies in the fact that it has segregated the student youth from the working class youth. In view of this, the Congress goes on record as favoring:

(a) The organization of a nation-wide united front anti-war conference of all youth organizations, worker and student.

(b) The organization of a preliminary conference of all leading youth organizations to prepare for such a national conference.

(c) The election of an executive committee of the Student Congress Against War, that will help in the work toward such an end.

(d) We call upon the Young Communist League, the historic leader in the struggle against imperialist war and militarism, to initiate this movement.

SIGNED:

Yetta Barabefsky, Crane College, Chgo. B. Landau, Crane College, Chicago. Belle Landau, Crane College, Chicago. Daniel Shelley, University of Chicago. Meyer Freeman, University of Toronto. Max Caplansky, University of Toronto. Eric Renouf, University of Toronto. Norman Knight, University of Toronto. Norman Satir, Chgo. Branch C. L. of A. Irving Bern, Spartacus Y. C., Chgo. Ruth Stamm, Hunter College, N. Y. Wally Karsner, Hunter College, N. Y. Mennie Getlman, Brooklyn College. Sam Freidfeld, Tuley High, Chicago. Walter Dannyuk, Tuley High, Chicago. Charles Barie, Tuley High, Chicago. H. Rosenfeld, Tuley High, Chicago. Sally Goltz, Crane College, Chicago. Al Glotzer, Youth Section C. L. of A. Mennie Gottlieb, Spartacus Y. C., Des Moines, Iowa.

By an error, the above statement was announced for publication in the last issue of the Militant. It was carried over to this issue instead. The next issue will contain a critical analysis of the proceedings of the Chicago conference.