

THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY.

(Continued from page 2)

could that country be safeguarded, have, on the advice of their leaders, helped to cut away the ground from under their own feet. From the standpoint of industrial development all these changes are valuable because they make it possible for the wants of all to be satisfied without any being called upon to engage in laborious toil for ten or twelve hours per day all the year round. The machine, as the servant of man, has come into its own, but it must be kept as a servant. In the hands of the master class, to whom it represents only so much capital upon which interest must be made by those who operate it from day to day, and to whom it is but an alternative—a great profit-producing alternative—it can, as it did a century ago, be used to enslave the workers and make the servile state a deadly reality.

Increase in the Power of Capital.

The power of the capitalist class lies in its hold upon the means of production. Modern industry requires great masses of capital in the shape of tools, engine power, means of transport, and access to raw materials. The vast increase in the amounts of this fixed capital during the past three years has greatly increased the power of the world's financiers. The increased productivity of the workers has made greater profits possible, even after all war taxation is allowed for. How great these profits have been is effectively masked by the method of watering the capital of the companies concerned. What this means is best shown by the following quotation:—“The terms under which the Eagle and British Dominions Insurance Company will absorb the old-established Star Insurance Company have now been published. Shareholders of the Star will receive for each five of their shares (£1 nominal, with 1/- paid-up) first £10 of 5 per cent war loan stock, and second, one fully paid £3 share in the Eagle and British Dominions Company. These latter shares have recently changed hands at £6 10s. (Daily News, September 12th 1917.)

(To be continued)

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF POLITICS.

(Continued from page 3)

officers and for voters were proposed in the convention, but it was impossible to agree on their precise form. Inasmuch as many of the troubles had arisen from attacks on capital by state legislature elected by freeholders, and inasmuch as the convention was especially eager to safeguard the rights of personal property, a freehold qualification did not seem to offer an adequate remedy. On the other hand, to impose a large personal-property qualification on voters would have meant the defeat of the Constitution by the farmers who were, of necessity, called upon to ratify it. Under the circumstances the framers of the Constitution relied, not upon direct economic qualifications, but upon checks and balances to secure the rights of property—particularly personal property—against the assaults of the farmers and the proletariat.

At this point we may summarize. Our six political philosophers regarded property, in its various forms and distribution, and the social groups which arise out of economic processes, as the fundamental materials for the science of government. We have seen also that the constitutions of government of great nations were, for centuries, deliberately fitted to the division of society into separate orders, groups, and estates, each of which pursued a separate calling and cherished its own sentiments about economic interests.

This great fact stands out clearly, that through the centuries—down until our own day—group interests were recognised as forming the very essence of politics both in theory and practice. Statesmen spoke of them, negotiated with them, placated them, legislated for them, and sought sometimes to secure the predominance of one or other or the balance of several against one or another. At all events, statesmen spoke not of abstract men and abstract rights, but of real men and real rights. What has happened to sweep away the practices of centuries, to challenge the philosophy of the world's greatest political thinkers, and to introduce the rule of “the people” instead of the rule of

estates? Have the economic conditions of the world been revolutionized, the estates and orders abolished?

EMPIRE UNITY.

(Continued from page 1)

on by other means,” apparently needs no amendment in the light of existing social relationships. Capitalism, competition, wage-labor and the struggle for markets, are ugly facts—and Huxley's aphorism concerning the sad fate of a beautiful hypothesis when confronted with an ugly fact is worth remembering when selecting a humanistic or moral basis on which to rear speculations as to the purposeful, peaceful and democratic evolution of future society.

That all pacifist philosophers, unlike some Clarion scribes, are not just “Keeping their eye” on Britain is evinced by Bertrand Russell's declaration that: “An Empire of American finance over the entire planet is the nightmare prospect of the entire world.” And it is an empire based on something more substantial than military adventures, the subjugation and direct plundering of backward peoples, etc. The power of American finance is based upon the most highly developed industrial apparatus the world has yet seen. Within the confines of the U. S. A.—the largest integral economic and political unit in the history of modern states—are contained all resources necessary to the maintenance of modern civilization.

If there is anything in historic materialism then in America rather than Britain are to be found these highest developments of capitalist production which Marx postulated as the antecedent of socialism. “Cheapness,” according to Herr Marx, “is the weapon which batters down all Chinese walls,” or words to that effect. That the U. S. A. has effected that weapon through mass production methods, improved technique, great natural resources and the most vigorous and productive working class in history, is demonstrated by America's unique position as a world power. Already eleven Latin-American republics have capitulated to the American Empire. Canada and Australia are irresistibly drawn within its orbit and away from the influence of Britain.

The Clarion editorial mentions Britain's loss of the Continental market, the abortive Imperial Conference held under the auspices of Bonar Law and the Coalition Government. Canada and Australia rejected the offer of Inter-Empire preferential tariffs, deferring in the main to American interests, the latter country repaying the solicitude of Rockefeller's ex-humanizer of industry, MacKenzie King, by increasing the duty on Canadian wheat from thirty to forty-two cents per bushel. Hughes, the war premier of Australia, toured the States appealing for American support to maintain a “White Australia.” His visit was co-incident with the recent Japanese exclusion agitation, and its culmination. A publicity agent of the Australian Government, through syndicated articles in the American press, is making a further appeal for an American guarantee against Jap aggression. He argues that since Britain abandoned the Singapore defense scheme Australia is helpless against the Jap. Further, that Britain is in no position financially or otherwise to give adequate protection to the Colonies, her interest at present being engrossed by European affairs, the Ruhr, France, Germany and Russia demanding her attention.

Not Britain or France, but a force more powerful than both combined—the U. S. A.—stands forth as the real world conqueror. To maintain the capitalist system Britain and Europe must bow before the American Empire and accept its mandates. We see evidence of this fact in the Labor Government accepting the Dawes report—the dictatorship of the dollar. British governmental policies, of whatever political complexion, Liberal, Conservative or Labor are of necessity circumscribed by the material conditions extant in Britain. There, in the one-time workshop of the world, now somewhat antiquated and with a declining business, forty odd millions of people, are cooped up. Dependent on outside sources for far the greater part of their food supplies

and raw material, “credit” must be sustained, or they starve. Many of these bases of supply are situated in countries, subjugated and exploited by the Empire, which are anxious to enter business on their own account. No vital policies of social reconstruction can be initiated in the “tight” little island—to which the present masters of America are opposed.

From these considerations I conclude that those persons in Canada who watch with twittering hearts the doings of MacDonald & Co. at Westminster were better employed gazing on Bob La Follette and his merry men. His followers are just as radical as the B.L.P. Moreover they have a great productive country to experiment with, if they ever reach the seats of the mighty, a country in which the grub-pile features large in the landscape, unlike Great Britain. The workers of Canada are bound by economic ties to the “Republic” whether they like it or not. Policies or philosophies based on racial ties or Imperial traditions are apt to turn awry when confronted with the decrees of economic evolution.

F. C.

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