

## THE STRAIGHT ISSUE.

(Continued from page 1)

condition? Practically in all cases, the latter. If so, then, we come to the fact that social movement is primarily dependent on social necessity, and that until the emergent condition kindles the sense of perception we cry "woe to Jerusalem," in vain. And it negates the idea that, however it may have been in the slow moving societies of old, developing custom can play but a relatively insignificant role in the quickened sweep and change of an age and civilisation, dancing to their doom in the driven frenzy of imperialist finance.

Furthermore, it implies the improbability of revolution by "the constitution." Indeed, "constitutional means" is being itself abolished, as Russia, Italy, Ireland, Hungary, etc., have shown. Not to speak of the great freedom to the South. Naturally. For constitutional means is only capitalist opportunity, sacred only so long as capitalism can avail itself of its abstractions. And as society, by the nature of its capitalist organization, and its misinterpretation of the status quo, accepts the sanctities of its ruling class, it can, unconsciously, achieve no reform dangerously detrimental to the power of the ruling class. As vision rarely anticipates demand, its demand can be but the specific of time condition. And the ruling class can accede to almost every such specific reform—except the basis of its political democracy, territorial electorates,—and still retain its power. When we come to that final demand, we come to revolution. For beyond that we cannot go, without the overthrow of the powers that be. But it will be the development of the system that will bring us there, and keep us there, tempered and steeled with common purpose. Neither reform, nor custom. It will be the capitalist abnegation of its vaunted principles, and the intolerable conditions of our life which will, at one stroke, stiffen us with the power to will, and the will to power. And by the same reasoning, the revolution cannot come about us a sectional tour-de-force of the barricades. Numbers do not avail here. Machinery and chemistry have discounted them: rendered the "old traditions" void. And the development of the proletariat has made it an absurdity. The powers of the state are irrevocably in the hands of the class that rules; and they will be used by that class for the protection of its privilege, to the limit of social tolerance. The proletariat can capture the state only when it understands the significance of the state. Not before. No, not though desire should thunder like the gods of Sinai, or plead with the tongues of angels.

The standard of socialism is an unshaken by war or device as the rocky crests of time. We are, wage slaves, because capital exists. In no wise can we be free without its overthrow. We are in poverty because the capitalist class owns the means of our life. We are subject to their state, because the state is the protection of their privilege. We are nurtured in their law, for by their law we are exploited. We are educated in their schools, for their teaching is the ethic of slavery. We have freedom of the press, because the press is the sanctity of property. We have freedom of thought, for our thought is the cult of success. We have political democracy, because their parliaments are the safeguards of power. We have freedom of speech, for our speech is the safety of wealth; freedom of initiative, for initiative is the foundation of profit; and liberty of conscience, for conscience is the ground of their supremacy. We are suckled on the verbiage of "right," "doped" with the bondage of "justice," distraught with the vanity of "eternity." We toil when they require; we go idle to their need; we sacrifice to their ambition; endure for their glorification; by millions we perish on the battlefields of their imperialism. And we toil, and starve, and sacrifice, and suffer and die, because in our dire ignorance we are the pawns of capital and its vicissitudes, knowing not whence to turn for relief.

If we only commingle with our kind in the daily struggle, it is not because we are opposed to our class, but because, although that struggle is immediate, it is still subsidiary to our main problem. Reform is the issue of the capitalist class that must quieten the murmuring of its slaves. And if the

stirring of the slaves is one of the forces of its becoming, it is, nevertheless, in the last analysis, a majority incidence, and is usually either obsolete in time, or ineffectual in practice. The gradual improvements in working class conditions is due, in general, to improvements in technical production. Only secondary are they the fruits of labor struggles. And they materialise as sequels of economic pressure. Only fortuitously are they measures of relief. And the proof of their essential subjectivity is to be found in the gathering oppressions and intensification of exploiting efficiency. The daily struggle is only the haggling of the market—a market at all times against us, because we are slaves and know it not. And to carry the commodity struggle into the political arena does not alter its complexion one whit. For there, too, for the same reason—our ignorance of our slavery—the dice is loaded against us. We are drawn into politics by the gravity of the capitalist market; and for the simple reason that capitalist maturity involves our whole life in the exclusive realm of economics. Yet we cannot champion the commodity struggle, or its clamorous appeal. For our only relief is not the enhanced price of labor, but the abolition of capital; and our only hope of success the unity of revolutionary comprehension.

Thus the issue is straight and clear between the owning class who have all the wealth and luxury and leisure, and benefice of production; and the working class who have all the toil, all its class degradation; all its unending anxieties of doubt and fear; and over and above, its poverty and the soul destroying pinching of its penury. Out of that inevitable class conflict and the inevitable restrictions of capitalist maturity will come the knowledge of our slavery; the apprehension of its cause, that must be known before the cure can be applied.

The abolition of capitalist society: the establishment of socialism: that is the clear drawn issue. And whoever is striving for the immediate appearance, the tempting reform, the luring promise, the inviting conciliation, has no common aim with us. For unless it can be shown that the abolition of capital will not give us economic freedom, will not abolish poverty,—is not in a word—slavery, then we are confident that, strive as it may, reform as it may, before labor can co-operate with unity of purpose it must first acquire unity of thought. That is our great necessity, and come it as it will it is the necessary antecedent of revolution. All else is illusion. We submit, therefore, that by their very nature there must be political antagonism between the clearest issue of socialism and the commodity policies of labor; and that fraternal attempts at fusion and conciliation confuse the issue; confound our energies; conceal the reality; veil the contradiction of aim; and impede the imperious necessity of social understanding. R.

## THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY

(Continued from page 2)

## Greater Development in Industry.

Just as the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century was the culmination of a long series of developments that preceded it, so may it also be regarded as the starting point for a greater and wider industrial development. The production of myriads of machine-made commodities for a world market made it necessary for other and contributory lines of advance to be made. New roads, canals, railways and steam ships were called into being in order that goods might be swiftly transferred to any part of the country or any part of the world. Local industrial specialisation, which began when industry was in the domestic stage, became more pronounced as the means of conveying goods and passengers improved, and even countries began to specialise on the production of certain commodities. Invention followed invention, and a discovery that was applied to one industry affected many others. The need for a harder metal than iron for making railway lines led to the discovery of the Bessemer process of steel-making, and that in turn meant that the machines—previously great ponderous masses of wood and iron—could be built up of high quality steel, and, as a consequence, could last longer and be more efficient.

In the textile industry each improvement in either spinning or weaving had to be followed by an improvement in the other and complementary branch. Chemistry came to the aid of the manufacturer, and waste products were found to be valuable as the raw materials for new industries. The use of high speed steel made possible the automatic lathe with its revolutionising of output. The production of machinery by machinery, the manufacture of modern capitalism brought wealth untold to the employing class, and changed the character of the struggle between the workers and their employers.

(To be continued)

## TOWARD MODERNIZATION.

(Continued from page 5)

theory of the historical process and refresh their memories with a review of it. The quotations will fill in another issue, if I am so privileged.

No proper critical understanding of Marx's theory of history, in which class struggles play so prominent a part, is possible, unless first an understanding is had of the intellectual influence, the winds of doctrine, that swept through the Europe of his time and played upon him during his formative years and the years of his creative work. Though I shall attempt a brief sketch of these influences I have little faith in my capacity to be informing on the matter, but I may turn thought in that direction. To those who care to follow up on the subject I recommend the three essays on Preconceptions and the two essays on Marxian theory in Veblen's "The Place of Science in Modern Civilization," and also M. Beer's "Life and Teaching of Karl Marx," the latter published by the National Labor Press, Johnsons Court, E. C., London, England, and the former by Huebsch, New York.

Here is a tempting place to make an end for this issue. I am an amateurish, undisciplined scribe. I am in camp, furthermore, under such difficulties as you will imagine. Starting out with this reply I proposed to make it in two installments. The quotations will take up my space for one Clarion, but now I have reasoned myself into thinking I can't get along without a review of Marx's theory of history. What to do! Do it! Well, next issue the theory of history. I wilt in anticipation of what Mac will do to me for this reply which is not a reply. C.

## Literature Price List

Cloth Bound.	Per Copy
Critique of Political Economy	1.65
Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx)	1.15
Ancient Society	1.85
Capitalist Production (First Nine and 32 Chapters)	
"Capital," vol. 1, (Marx)	1.00
Vital Problems in Social Evolution	80c
Science and Revolution	80c
The Militant Proletariat	80c
Evolution Social and Organic	80c
Puritanism	80c
Ethics and History	80c
Germs of Mind in Plants	80c
The Triumph of Life	80c
Feuerbavk	80c
Social Revolution (Kautsky)	.80
Origin of Species (Darwin)	1.15
Essays on Materialist	
Conception of History (Labriola)	1.50
Social Studies (Lafargue)	.80
Paper Covers.	Per Copy
Evolution of Man (Prof. Boische)	30c
Wage-Labor and Capital	10c
Independent Working Class Education	10c
Communist Manifesto	10c
The Present Economic System (Prof. W. A. Bonger)	10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	15c
Slave of the Farm	10c
Manifesto, S. P. of C.	10c
Causes of Belief in God (Lafargue)	10c
The State and Revolution (Lenin)	25c
Value, Price and Profit (Marx)	15c
Two Essays on History (C. Stephenson and G. Deville)	5c
Economic Causes of War (Leckie)	25c
Civil War in France (Marx)	25c
Christianism and Communism (Bishop W. M. Brown)	25c
Quantity Rates on Paper Covered Pamphlets.	
Two Essays on History	35 copies 75c
Communist Manifesto	35 copies \$2.00
Wage-Labor and Capital	25 copies \$2.00
Present Economic System	25 copies \$1.50
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific	25 copies \$1.25
Slave of the Farm	25 copies \$1.50
Manifesto of S. P. of C.	25 copies \$2.00
Evolution of Man	25 copies \$2.75
Causes of Belief in God	25 copies \$2.00
Value, Price and Profit	25 copies \$1.25
Economic Causes of War	10 copies \$2.00
Christianism and Communism	5 copies \$1.00

All prices include postage.

Make all moneys payable to E. MacLeod, P. O. Box 710, Vancouver, B. C. Add discount on cheques.

A Journal of  
CURRENT  
EVENTS

No. 924.

TW

THE Clarion Guest's letter Inter-Emphatically exhibited a comprehensive.

Contrasted with "ist Review" and the Scurr's views on E. cates the illusion Party as a whole on ticularly Canadian—

Newbold, Johnst granted that there solidarity between and Great Britain, the strain of develo cal revolution. Wh had prior to 1914 it foundation, due to ment.

The illusion to v fined to the averag the wish is father whose understanding look on Empire pr visit to Canada—the the hierarchy of th but it also colors t socialists, who have

In an article wh letin (Aug. 21) und ers and Wars," Cha cal outburst, quite bold, Johnston, et a tor's article deals tween Japan and th tary journal to the the part of Belgium pire fights or no."

While agreeing principle, it is more cockpit of the Ori Lester goes on to s ental movement ar I presume he mean impossible to cons Canada, as havin Lester asserts that Canada can best be the A. F. of L. an Continental movem it is "our duty" to Commonwealth; " world over," says i

This view of the part among those little island" as th of proletarian cultu periment in social cation from the new among some of " tutelage of "C."

Still, Lester has is not quite the big For he says: "The back the better. A has no past and n destroy itself. W