

What Type of Propaganda Is Most Effective

By William Restelle Shier.

Upon what should the emphasis of socialist propaganda be placed? That question suggests another one: For what purpose is the Socialist Party organized?

The Socialist Party is organized to bring all industry under the democratic control of those who work, so that those who produce the wealth shall be the ones to enjoy it, and, until that object is completely attained, to promote such measures as will minister to the welfare and comforts of the common people.

Now, all comrades will agree that the first and most important step in the realization of this program is the political and industrial organization of the working class. Without that nothing whatever can be accomplished.

The great task, therefore, that lies before Socialists the world over is to organize the masses into labor unions, into political parties, if necessary into co-operative societies, into anything that will solidify their power and help them overcome the unscrupulous opposition of the master class.

But organization presupposes education, and that in turn persistent, systematic propaganda.

Now WHAT SORT of propaganda is most likely to lead people to identify themselves with the Socialist movement?

I take it that most Socialists agree with Marx that the mass of men are moved to action by economic motives, by the hope of material gain, by the desire for greater security, more wealth, superior comforts.

If this principle of economic determinism is correct, then people will rally around the Socialist standard not so much because it represents an IDEA as because it signifies something tangible in the form of steadier employment, higher wages, shorter hours, a care-free old age and other advantages of similar character.

Again, they will struggle for these things only if they believe them attainable within a reasonably short time. Human nature is much more strongly influenced by things immediate than by things remote.

These considerations have led the Constructive Socialist to lay more stress in his propaganda upon "immediate demands" than upon the ultimate ideal.

If the stress of propaganda is laid upon collectivism in its entirety, if the Co-operative Commonwealth is held in contrast to Capitalism, people say "Yes, Socialism is alright, but it won't be in our time." And it is simply impossible to get any really large number of persons to believe otherwise. But if the stress of propaganda is laid upon the eight hour day, upon state employment of the unemployed, upon public ownership of specific industries, plus working class political action, then the worker pricks up his ears and listens, for, whether rightly or wrongly, he considers this sort of talk much more practical than the other.

Again, if the stress of propaganda is laid upon the robbery of the workers under capitalism, upon the class character of institutions, upon the rottenness of current politics, upon the sufferings of the poor, people invariably want to know "What are you going to do about it?" And it is absurd to answer "Abolish wage-slavery." The question is a perfectly rational question, and it is one that can only be answered by a constructive program, not by a phrase.

As for theoretical propaganda, that is, propaganda that ponderously explains Marx's elaborate analysis of capitalist production, that learnedly sets forth the Economic Interpretation of History, that even goes back to the beginning of things and builds up a universal philosophy based upon Materialistic Monism, the present writer considers worse than useless. It may appeal to university professors, but certainly it has no effect upon the masses. It is even a hindrance to the progress of the movement because it has confused the minds of many, diverted attention from the things we organized to achieve, opened up a vast field of controversy and sidetracked many an able comrade into arguing with bourgeois intellectuals when he should have been devoting all his energies to educating and organizing those who toil.

After all, Socialism is a very simple thing, though the scholars of the movement have succeeded in making it appear exceedingly difficult. We as workers want more of the good things of life. How can we get them? We can get them by taxing the rich for the benefit of the poor, by transferring industry from the control of the privileged few to the control of the disinherited many, by having the state provide remunerative employment to all who cannot find work, by introducing old age pensions, by compensation acts, by eight

hour laws, by this and by that. But the government is controlled by men who will oppose all these things tooth and nail because they will mean for them diminution of profits and loss of social prestige. Hence the workers must organize into a party of their own for the conquest of the public powers. And their fight must lead them, consciously or unconsciously, into bringing one industry after another under social control until private property in the means of wealth production has become a thing of the past.

The Socialist Ideal will be realized, not by proving a theory, nor by elaborating a wonderful philosophy, nor even by painting pretty pictures of a new civilization that is to be, but by the working class fighting valiantly for what it conceives to be its immediate interests.

POINTED PARAGRAPHS

The politicians and the capitalist press talks a great deal about "protection" and "free trade." This subject is of the utmost importance to manufacturers, but not to their workpeople. If cost of living is high owing to heavy custom duties on imports, then wages must also be high. If cost of living is low owing to competition of foreign capitalists, then wages also will be low. If "protection" develops this country's industries at the expense of foreign countries, then foreign workmen will rush in here to meet the demand for labor. As trade follows the flag, so wage-slaves follow belching smoke stacks. That tariff reduction will not help the workers much is proven that in Free Trade England the working class is in a very pitiable condition. It is not tariff rates, but capitalism, that is blighting the common people.

Up until quite recently the proletariat was drained of its ablest members by their absorption into the so-called upper classes and by emigration into new lands. But the trustification of industry on the one hand and the conquest of the west on the other has clogged these two safety valves of capitalist society. By an inexorable process the capitalist class is being reduced to a few immensely wealthy families, while the middle class, by the same process, is being reduced, relatively, in numbers. Instead of workmen as of old becoming masters, the masters, many of them, are becoming wage-workers. The independent bosses are either pushed ruthlessly down and out by the trusts or taken into their employ as salaried managers and superintendents. The more ambitious workers are quickly learning that their salvation lies in rising WITH instead of trying to rise ABOVE their class.

It is not the socialists who are in advance of the times, but the non-socialists who are behind them. The times are ripe for vast changes in the control of industry, but the people have not advanced as rapidly in their ideas as industry has advanced in consolidation and concentrated ownership. But the intellectual revolution is rapidly taking place. The political awakening of labor is proceeding fast, and once labor is politically awakened, the working-class party that flies the red banner of revolt will achieve splendid victories at the polls. And these victories at the polls will stimulate working class organization in every sphere, the thing that is needed to establish working class control of industry.

W. R. S.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CHEAPNESS.

"Why should wage workers become excited over graft? Take Chicago for example. Suppose we had a reform administration that discharged every boodler, made the best possible terms for the city with every public service corporation and reduced taxes by one-third. All this might be a fine thing for the landlords, and for all the capitalists except the ones now holding franchises; but where would the wage worker come in? All the difference for him would be that he would find a few thousand ex-boodlers competing for his job. Suppose he were even allowed to ride ten miles on the street car for three cents instead of five? Then the landlord would take occasion to tack an extra dollar a month on his rent. But, reformers may tell us, that a model city administration would encourage the building of more houses and that competition among landlords would bring rents down. Perhaps so. Then competition among wage workers for jobs whose rent had been reduced would bring wages down. Just so with the tariff. Suppose the protection were taken off woolen and cotton, so that the average workman could buy his clothing as cheaply as if he were in England and Belgium. Then his wages would simply be reduced to a corresponding extent."—Chas. H. Kerr in International Socialist Review, July 1909.

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LABOR DAY.

By Robert Hunter.

Come, comrades, let us band together. Let us encircle the earth with our fellowship.

For we must build a new world. We need toilers, men who can bake and brew and weave, who can break ground, sow it with good seed, and harvest the good fruit.

Are you a farmer? Do you know how to raise cattle and grain and till the soil and make the earth blossom? Then we need you.

Are you a driver of horses or of engines? Can you speed a train by day or through the night? Then we need you. Can you make shoes and clothing for mankind? Can you bake bread and cook and feed the world? Can you cut stone and polish marble and build houses? Can you rivet iron girders and make great domes to shelter mankind? Then we need you.

Men of brain, men of brawn, men who feed and clothe and shelter the world. Men of architecture, men of invention, men of mechanics, we need you.

We are going to build a new world. We want all who labor. We can spare none of you. We must have all of you; every producer; every worker with hand and brain.

Idlers, loafers, exploiters, you who love cushions, sip wines and dance—we can spare you.

You who take interest and rent; you profit-seekers and slavedrivers—we can spare you.

But all you who clear forests, who bridge streams, who till soil, who reap grain, who feed the world; all you who build spacious avenues, drive tunnels, clean drains, build palaces—we need you.

You capable of labor, you users of hand and brain—we need you ALL.

This world of today is of your making, but it is not YOUR world. For it is a world of slums, of poverty, of insecurity, of fretted childhood, of dependent, anxious old age.

For those who sit idle it is a world of palaces, of luxury and of leisure. AND IT MUST BE MADE ANEW.

Come, comrades, let us band together.

Let us encircle the earth with our fellowship.

For we must build a new world—and we need you.

The Fool and the Wise Man.

Once upon a time two men met. One asked the other, "Who are you?" He answered, "I am a fool, I am called a worker. Now tell me, who you are?"

"I," replied the former, "am a wise man; men call me a gentleman."

"What do you do?" "I teach fools like you."

"Will you teach me?" "With pleasure, come with me."

The fool went with the wise man, who took him to a pile of bricks and a quantity of wood.

"Build me a grand mansion and a small hut," said the wise man.

The fool did so, and when he had finished the wise man gave him some money, saying: "I will live in the mansion because I have earned it by my intellect; you will live in the hut, which will be better for you as you are a fool; you would not appreciate the artistic merit of the mansion, and the nails of your boots would destroy the rich carpets; and as the hut belongs to me (you know you made it for me,) it is quite correct you should pay me rent for the right to live there."

The fool lived in the small hut, and paid the rent, saying: "What a clever man; I should never have thought of building a hut for myself if he had not mentioned it, and I could not pay the rent if he did not pay me a daily wage."

The wise man took the fool to the entrance of a mine, saying: "Draw out the coal from the bowels of the earth, and when I have finished with it you may have the cinders to warm yourself."

The fool drew out the coal and said: "This man is not only wise but good, because he gives me the cinders to warm myself when he could easily have thrown them away."

The wise man said to the fool: "I require someone to dress me, to prepare my food, etc.; give me some of your children to wait upon me."

The fool sent his children, saying to himself: "This is good, he will teach them to know as much as he knows, and some day they will become gentlemen like him."

A few days afterwards the wide-awake one said to the other: "When I took your children into my service I was compelled to increase my expenses; such being the case you will have to be content with a lower wage so as to enable me to remunerate them fairly."

The simpleton scratched his head for a while, but said at last: "Oh, yes, my children must be paid for all means. Very well, we must all live."

The man of brains said to the ig-

noramus: "Build two schools for my use, a spacious one and the other of smaller dimensions, where our children may be educated."

"Why," said the latter, "should one be larger than the other?"

"The reason is, that my children being gentlefolk, like myself, require a high education in order to develop their intellectual faculties, hence the need of a large school. On the other hand, your children being the issue of a fool will have to do manual labor, the same as you, and therefore the smaller will suffice them. As a matter of course you cannot expect your children to be educated for nothing, so you must pay for the service."

One day the clever one betook himself in a very bad mood into the fool's presence, saying: "You have been thinking?"

"Yes," answered the other: "I will not allow it; if you do it again I shall punish you."

"Oh!" cried the simpleton, dropping his tools, "you have given yourself away. Were you as intelligent as you imagine you would be aware that it is an impossibility for even fools as I to forego thinking at some time or other. I know you now, you are a knave!"

The following day the slave hoisted a red flag, armed himself, and rebelled against his master. Thinking was the beginning of the revolution, the consummation of which has not yet arrived.

—W. Andersen, in "Et Cetero," Semanario, Honduras.

THE NEW YORK STRIKE

The seventy thousand cloak makers of New York city, have won their strike. For ten weeks the cloak makers fought their bosses. For ten weeks the wage slaves who have hitherto been among the most oppressed, starved themselves that their conditions might be made better. The New York judges hurled injunctions at the strikers. The police clubbed the strikers. The landlords of the strikers evicted them from their homes in many cases. And still they fought on till victory crowned their struggle for the abolition of the sweatshops of the trade.

These are the conditions of settlement.

1. Electrical power to be introduced into the workshops and no charge therefore to be made to the cloak makers.
2. No charge to be made for material except for negligent or malicious waste.
3. A uniform deposit of one dollar on the part of the employees.
4. No work shall be given to or taken to employees to be performed at their homes.
5. No time contracts with individual employees.
6. Manufacturers to discipline any member who discriminate unfairly among his employees.
7. Employees shall not be required to work during the ten legal holidays, and shall not be permitted to work more than six days a week.
8. Weekly payday and cash payments. Piece workers to be paid as soon as their work is accepted.
9. All subcontracting within the shops shall be abolished.
10. The standard minimum weekly pay to range from twenty-five dollars for cutters to ten dollars for skirt finishers.

Other sections of the agreement provide for the maintenance of union shops, for arbitration of future disputes, for sanitary conditions, and several more minor things. Seventy thousand workers have improved their conditions. They have become thoroughly organized and recognize that their interests are not the interests of their bosses. Through-out the strike the Socialist press was active for the strikers. Large numbers of the strikers were Socialists. The strikers fought for better pay, better shop conditions, better hours, and more control over their own jobs. And they won.

Reformers have been pitying the condition of the sweated workers in the garment trade. Ministers have prayed to God for better conditions for the workers. Charitable institutions have whined to the labor thieves for contributions to take the children of the sweated workers into the country for a week. And the same old conditions kept on till the sweated workers themselves roused to fight for a greater share of the values they produced. It was only then that their conditions improved.

The workers must depend upon themselves for their own improvement and for their final emancipation from wage slavery.

THE HELPING HAND.
Assist Cotton's staff by signing your name and address to everything you write.
Make all money orders payable to "Cotton's Weekly."
Write book, bundle, card, or sub orders on separate sheets of paper from letters on other matters.
Always give expiration number when renewing sub.

"Quality printing at economy prices" from Cotton's. Send for samples.

DIRECTION OF LABOR

Labor is the foundation of wealth.

It is labor power applied to the means of production that produces the necessities and luxuries of life.

This labor can be set to work to produce food, clothing and shelter and the comforts of life for the workers themselves. Or this labor can be set to work to produce the bare necessities of life for the workers and luxuries and extravagances for a parasite class. The capitalists hold that the workers should get a small daily wage while the balance of the products of labor shall go to the capitalist class and their hangers-on.

Socialists desire to see labor applied for the benefit of labor. For this the Socialists declare that the means of production, the mines, mills, and so on, now owned by the capitalist class, shall be vested in the collective working class. This sounds simple yet the transfer of the means of production will work a vast revolution in the social organization of the country.

The working class do not want police. The workingmen can regulate their own peace by common consent. It is the capitalists with their heaped up treasures who need protection against thieves. Capitalists take labor and make it pound the pavements of our cities in policemen's boots.

The working classes do not want war. It is the capitalist class, whose members are trying to steal world markets from each other, who want soldiers and guns and warships and barracks for troops. The capitalists take labor and set it to work in the direction of erecting barracks, manufacturing cannons, building warships and doing the goose step.

The working classes do not want valets and liveried footmen. It is the capitalists who take labor and dress it up in servant uniforms. The working classes do not want lawyers. It is the capitalists who take labor in the shape of professors and set it to work teaching youths the intricacies of capitalist law. It is the capitalists who take labor in the shape of lawyers and in the shape of judges and set it to work fighting and deciding the private squabbles between rival capitalists for the control of the surplus values robbed from labor.

The capitalists direct labor for the benefit of the capitalists, not for the benefit of the workers. Under the Socialist system labor would be directed in the interests of labor. Labor would be directed to producing food, clothing, shelter, instruction and amusement for labor. When labor had produced what labor wanted, then labor would rest. Under present conditions, labor keeps on toiling to build palaces and provide luxuries for the parasite capitalist class. Is it any wonder that the Canadian workers are getting disgusted with capitalism and becoming enamoured of Socialism.

THE TOILERS.

Let me live in the city with spire and mart,
Where the toiling millions team,
Let me feel the throb of humanity's heart,

Like a creature of steel and steam.
With the ebb and flow as they come and go,
On the surge of the blood red tide,
Let me view their skill as they rear with a will,
The domes of a city's pride.

Let me see their arms so brown and strong,
As they swing from a dizzy height,
And hear their voice with a cadence long,
In the subways awful night.
Midst deadly wires and molten fires,
They hang the ribs of steel,
With a courage born, by a nature shorn
Of a sense most humans feel.

As the hands of their sires now claimed by earth,
Laid the city's foundation wall:
So the toilers heritage from birth, is to labor or to fall—
Tho' for them was meant the pine trees scent,
And the fragrance of summer bloom,
Each worthy man 'neath the system's ban,
Finds life but a living tomb.

So cities rise and the tumult wars,
And he gives to the current wings,
And his prowess preys in a thousand ways,
Into earth's mysterious things.
Let us give them more thought,
Whom our comforts have wrought,
For we cannot know half their worth,
Till we view their strife in the battle of life,

The toilers of the earth.

Written for Cotton's by Mrs. B. J. Seaman.

THE HELPING HAND.

Assist Cotton's staff by signing your name and address to everything you write.

Make all money orders payable to "Cotton's Weekly."
Write book, bundle, card, or sub orders on separate sheets of paper from letters on other matters.
Always give expiration number when renewing sub.

"Quality printing at economy prices" from Cotton's. Send for samples.

GOING DOWN.

Cotton's goes back ninety-one. Did you ever hear that little advertising jingle?

"He who has a thing to sell And goes and whispers down a well Is not so apt to collar the dollar As he who climbs a tree and hollars."

Cotton's Weekly is out to make Socialism known. But it cannot do it if the sub hustlers go off and whisper down a well.

To make Socialism known Cotton's must be made known to the public. And the means of its reaching the public is the army of sub hustlers.

The sub hustlers have been confident that the paper was going forward. The paper has gone backward.

The enemy has beaten us back. The onward progress has been stayed. We are retreating in the face of triumphant advancing capitalism.

Is it not worth something to you to fight the robbery of the working class? Is it not something to you to stop the thieving and corruption that goes on over the spoils of the robbery of labor?

If this is worth while then get back into the fight. Cotton's needs subs. Cotton's needs a chance to talk to the people of Canada. You are the ones to get Cotton's known to the public.

Will you give Cotton's a circulation that will conquer Canada for Socialism?

Circulation Statement

Following is the statement of circulation for the issue of September 8th.

	OFF	ON	TOTAL
Ontario.....	102	98	3585
British Columbia.....	42	37	1339
Nova Scotia.....	17	39	1308
Alberta.....	38	30	1000
Prov. of Quebec.....	49	11	670
Manitoba.....	86	4	587
Saskatchewan.....	2	27	643
New Brunswick.....	3	0	311
Elsewhere.....	3	3	104
Yukon Territory.....	0	0	41
Prince Ed. Island.....	0	2	23
Newfoundland.....	0	0	5
Total.....	342	251	9,616

Total issue last week was 11,000.

Loss for week 91

"COTTON'S COMPENDIUM OF FACTS."

Is an assured fact in the near future. This "little book" is to be the Canadian handbook of the revolution and a source of confidence to socialist speakers and agitators. Information that Canadian comrades have been looking for for years will be contained inside its covers. It can't be bought for money, but every hustler sending in a club of 7 yearlies or 15 half yearlies at \$3.00, will be entitled to a copy. Three dollars worth of sub cards or bundles, or combination subs, cards and bundles, also takes a free copy of "Facts."

ADVERTISING RATES

Advertising Rates for Cotton's Weekly are \$1.00 per inch, per insertion till circulation goes over 10,000. Guaranteed circulation is 9,500 copies per week. Average issue per week is 10,000 copies. All advertising copy is subject to Editorial approval and no contracts made. No cash goods advertised. No fake ads. taken at any price.

Attractive Printing

is being turned out from our Job Printing Department. Printing the services of the minute, and at prices that mean economy. Better investigate. Send a post card and our special representative will go to you by return mail. Cotton's Weekly, Cowanville, P. Q.

ATTENTION!

Locals and unattached comrades through out Ontario desiring the services of the PROVINCIAL ORGANIZER, are requested to communicate with B. Liss, Secretary Provincial Executive Committee, 68 Breithaupt Street, Berlin, Ont.

Special Subscription Offer

Everyone who appreciates the work Cotton's Weekly is doing, is invited to co-operate along the lines of this Special Subscription Offer. Printed government postal cards, each good for six months' subscription to Cotton's Weekly, will be furnished in lots of five, at the rate of \$1.00 per lot.

Anyone ordering these cards may sell them at 25 cents each, thus making a commission of 25 cents on the dollar, or he may place them to his satisfaction in other ways, finding compensation in the fact that he is forwarding the cause of education and enlightenment in the forward movement of the race.

These cards may be paid for when ordered, or may be ordered and remittance made after they are sold. A coupon is printed below for the convenience of those who desire to increase the circulation of Cotton's Weekly.

COTTON'S SPECIAL OFFER

Application for Six Month Subscription Post Card

NAME	6	10	16	20	25	50
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Cotton's Weekly, Cowanville, P. Q.
I am interested in increasing the circulation of Cotton's Weekly, and desire you to send me a supply of Half-yearly Subscription Cards. I agree to use my utmost endeavor to sell the cards, and will remit for them at the rate of \$1.00 for each Five Cards, when sold.

NAME

Box or Street No.

TOWN

PROV.

Indicate the number of Cards wanted by marking X under one of the numbers printed on top of this blank.

If you believe this paper is doing a work that merits encouragement, fill out the above coupon and mail it to COTTON'S WEEKLY, Cowanville, P. Q.

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W. Wilkin.

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