

TU QUOQUE

The tu quoque argument is a favorite one at Ottawa these days. Tu quoque is simply Latin for "You're another." Of course if you say tu quoque it sounds big and the men who say it are considered superior persons with great reasoning power. But if you say "you're another," it shows your low breeding. So our legislators at Ottawa use the high-brow principle with a lowbrow signification. Let us quote a few examples.

Coderre, whom Borden had picked to be one of his cabinet ministers, ran in Hochelaga county, back of Montreal, and got elected.

Charges were preferred against him of having bribed and of having his agents vote illegally in the names of absentees and dead men.

The Hon. Doherty, Minister of Justice, and ex-judge of the Quebec province, who is noted for being able to say the least of anyone in the most words (perhaps this is the reason Borden made him Minister of Justice) got up in the House and said that under the Liberal regime the same kind of charges were made and the Liberals refused investigation.

You see the tu quoque argument of the "you're another" style of reasoning? As it comes from a learned judge, it must be all right. The people fall for it anyway.

Coderre absented himself from the House while the charges were being made. Of course that the charges were true or not did not seem to matter. As long as Doherty could say, "you're another" in many big words, that was all that was necessary according to capitalist political shoddiness.

Here is another case. Charges were made that a homestead near or in Prince Albert, worth hundreds of thousands of dollars, was disposed of by the government with the connivance of the Hon. Robert Rogers for ten dollars an acre. An investigation was called for by the Liberals. They are morally certain that the land was not sold at that price, but at a much higher figure, the balance going into the Tory reptile fund.

Rogers got up in the House of Commons and did not attempt to refute the charges. He simply said such deals were common under the Liberal regime. He used the "you're another" argument, which seems to be the favorite style of disapproving accusations at Ottawa.

Undoubtedly Doherty and Rogers are right. Undoubtedly the Liberals are just as big crooks as the Tories. Undoubtedly the Liberals passed iniquitous legislation and put through deals which smelled to high heaven of corruption.

This but means that we have two sets of crooks at Ottawa. The one set of crooks are in, and the other set of crooks are out and want to get in.

As long as the common producing class will continue to vote for either of the two crooked parties, the tu quoque argument is a good one. If the Liberals prove charges against the Tories, the Tories reply to the people, "Yes, but the Liberals are just as bad as the Tories."

The reason for the crooks in power is that our whole system of producing wealth is run by crooks in their own interest. The capitalist class is crooked. They live by stealing, which is protected by the laws made by their political crooks. Both parties are in their pay.

We propose to the common people, the victims of the crooks and their crook politicians, that they join us in abolishing the whole crooked game and make service the basis of reward instead of legalized robbery. This is the aim of Socialism.

And those interested in the crooked game tell the plundered victims that it is unwise to vote for the Socialists, but they should rather vote for one of the two crooks, both put up by the crook capitalists, SO AS NOT TO LOSE THEIR VOTES.

And the wonder is that the plea of the crooks is regarded as sensible by so many otherwise sensible working-men.

The labor skinkers of Winnipeg are protesting to loud heaven over the injustice they suffer. W. H. Reeve, who is an active spirit in the Trades and Labor Council of Winnipeg, has been appointed fair wage officer by the provincial government of Manitoba. His duties are to see what is a fair wage to pay workmen employed on provincial government work, and see that the fair wage is paid. Naturally Reeve has been doing the best he could by the time, and the private employers find their slaves kicking for more pay to be on an equal plane with the government employees. The Winnipeg Board of Control and the Builders' Exchange and other capitalist concerns have been holding protest meetings and want Reeve dismissed. If one little fair wage officer can create such a commotion among the employing class, what a row they will raise when the workers send their representatives to the provincial and dominion law-making bodies. Hurry up, working-men, and send them there and see your masters get the cramps in their pocketbooks.

For Sallow, Wrinkled, Freckled, Pimpled Skin

(From Woman's Home Journal.) If you have any sallow, blotchy, don't use paint, powder or anything else to cover it up. Too often this only emphasizes the defect. Besides, it's much easier to remove the discoloration with ordinary mercurized wax. Applied slightly, the wax will gradually remove freckles, pimples, blackheads, blotches, sallowness, red or yellow blotched skin, or any surface eruptions. The affected outside is absorbed, a little each day, until the clear, soft, youthful and beautiful skin beneath is brought wholly to view. Ask the druggist for an ounce of mercurized wax and use this like you use soap and water. Many who have tried this simple and harmless treatment report astonishing results. If, however, a wash lotion made by dissolving an ounce of powdered salicylic acid in a half pint with hand will prove remarkably effective.

The working class must free itself

The black-faced toiler is the hope of the world.

Under Socialism forts and arsenals will be swept away. There will be no need for them.

Socialism knows no boundary line. It is international, world-wide, and its precepts are impregnable.

Why do certain types of addressers desire to play at Ottawa when the session is on? Ask some of the old rascals you send there to represent you, Mr. Worker.

The capitalist press is the one last hope of capitalism. When muskets and artillery fail, the hired press will try to keep the wool drawn over the eyes of the workers.

Under the capitalist system the son and daughter of the worker are heir to illiteracy, poverty and vice. The criminal masters who are the direct cause of the misery are often looked up to and revered.

Politicians are supposed to be the servants of the people. The Ottawa brand, and only think of the people once in four years, when they ask to be returned to power. And the people fall for it every time.

If a small portion of the fighting spirit displayed by the workers in slaughtering the workers of another country in the devilish contraption called war was utilized in fighting the beast of capitalism, the working class of the world would come into their own.

Socialism is not visionary scheme hatched by fanatics. It is a hard, common sense method of justice to every man or woman of the producing class—a thing which is impossible under the present system of exploitation.

Malcolm Fraser, an American artist, is depicting Christ in his pictures as a working man, a broad, strong son of toil. He is shocking a few persons. These pictures are significant of the times. The working class are rising to power and are recreating the artistic conceptions of the past.

Karl Marx builded better than he knew. His hopes and aspirations are gradually being inoculated into the masses. His books are being read and studied more widely every year. The social upheaval is due at any time. Out of the masses will surely arise many another Marx. The toilers will demand their own. They will be invincible.

Sam Hughes thinks an armory a more useful structure than a school or library. He would like to see armories in every town on the border between Canada and the United States. Long years ago all the American forts on the border had the men removed from them. Sam has a depraved mind. He is behind the times. His fighting spirit belongs to the age of the battleaxe and two-handed sword of his ancestors.

Jail sentences used to have a deterrent effect. Now the "60 days hard labor" is laughed at by the worker. He knows that the prison labor is a jimmy pipe alongside what he is forced to do outside the walls. His hours will not be long, he will get enough to eat, and a place to sleep, and the prison guards are too lazy themselves to urge anyone else to hurry. "But he loses his freedom," you say. He has no freedom to lose, and he knows it, therefore accepts his sentence with a chuckle.

Motor cars are a great aid to the Socialist cause. Bent and toiling workers slouching home after a day's slaving have their eyes blinded and their lungs filled with the dust and stench of the buzz-wagons of their masters. The workers are getting poorer, the masters are getting richer, and flaunting their ill-gotten luxuries before the eyes of the working class. This is causing the worker to think, and the more he thinks the more dangerous it is to the capitalist robbers. The masters are forcing the workers into a corner, and they are due to get the worst of it.

"They are a bunch of clock-watchers," said a factory manager of his men recently. Well, why wouldn't they? The men referred to worked a sixty-hour week, and under the speeding-up system at that. These men have been reading Socialist literature for some time, and were beginning to understand just how many hours' labor they presented to their employer each day. They knew that before the hands of the clock reached XII they had earned their little dole and that the remainder of the day's labor went to buy motor cars and fine clothes. There are a lot of people watching clocks these days.

Good jobs are being held out by the masters these days to writers to knock Socialism, and who will promise to try their best to stave off the inevitable co-operative commonwealth. These writers are making a sorry mess of it. They do not understand the most simple precepts of Socialism, therefore their vapors are a miscellaneous jumble of meaningless words and phrases. They try the old political trick of putting anything on paper, and without proving it, expect the workers to swallow it whole. But there are too many "show-me" people these days, and the hired writers can no longer pull the wool over the eyes of the masses with their babblings which a six-year-old child could see through.

Strikes are fought with a stubborn pertinacity and a spirit of resistance never before displayed, and the traditional conservatism of the toiling masses, which means dullness and inactivity, seems in a fair way of breaking up, as a knowledge of the fact of an irrepressible struggle of classes slowly but irresistibly penetrates the minds of the workers.

Joshua Wanhope.

THE AIM OF SOCIALISM

(The following letter was published in the Montreal Witness of January 4th, 1913. It gives an outline of what Socialism aims at. This will give non-Socialists some idea of what we want. Comrade Smith wrote it with the view of reaching the non-Socialist. We also publish the Witness' editorial of same date. The difficulties conjured up by the Witness against Socialism are similar to those conjured up by feudal beneficiaries against capitalism. Yet capitalism triumphed. An intelligent working class who can create palaces and cannon and flying machines and rotary presses and the complex telephone system, surely have the brains to manage the distribution of the wealth flowing from their labor when they have seized the political power.)

To the Editor of the Witness: Sir—The charge is often made that Socialists spend most of their time and energy fault-finding instead of pointing a way to better conditions. It is sometimes said that while they claim to know a way to improve things they will not share their knowledge with others. There is a great deal of truth in both these charges, but the oversight is purely unconscious. They are so busy pointing out the fact that there is a need for a change that they forget that the other party will want to know what we intend to do before they are interested in the evils of our present form of society. For the benefit of those who really want to learn more I will explain our plans for the reorganization of society.

HOW ALL WILL BECOME OWNERS.

We intend to substitute collective working class ownership in all the agencies of production with democratic organization and control to the end that all the benefits of the industries and all the product of their labor shall go to the workers, and not to a group of non-productive parasites. To bring this about will not require any change in our methods of production; not a wheel will stop, not a man will be affected adversely except those who do not take an active part. The change will be made in the constitution of the boards of directors and in the method of distribution of the products of the factories.

Before I can ask you how this will act I must ask you to notice our present organization of society and industry. To-day we have capitalist class ownership in the agencies of production. By agencies of production we mean all the railways, factories, mills, mines, land and machinery of distribution. I say capitalist class ownership because today private ownership in most of these institutions is a thing of the past. The joint stock company and the corporation is the plan upon which nearly all of them are organized. No one man as a rule owns a whole factory, though he may be the greatest shareholder. Lord Strathcona owns nothing in the whole C. P. R. system. He can not go into a round-house and carry away a monkey wrench, because it is not his. It may be that he owns the greatest share in that monkey wrench, but there are nearly 25,000 other people who have a claim to it, and they must be consulted too.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

Second: as a rule no capitalist has all his resources tied up in one company, but he owns shares in several. For instance, there is one man in Calgary who owns shares in city subdivisions, a coal mine, C.P.R. shares, the main lumber company of Alberta, the cement trust, and, last, a system of country elevators. Another man, known as the Cattle King, owns shares in the meat packing plant that stands in his own name, but there are two million dollars outstanding that is owned by the capitalists. He also owns a chain of retail stores all over Alberta and British Columbia, shares in the C.N.R., lands all about the city, ranch lands all over Alberta, as well as numerous leases. He has shares in a silver mine in Mexico, a gold mine in British Columbia, and business blocks in half a dozen cities. These men are typical of the members of the capitalist class. They own only part of the various industries, and they own shares in many. The men of this type are all much alike, and the greater part of the ownership of this world is vested in such men. This section of the population called the Capitalist Class, constitutes about eight per cent of the total.

Now this class as a rule takes little or no part in actual production. From the diversified nature of their holdings it is impossible that they should. Any man who is able to take a part in the production of gold could not take any important part in the conduct of a railway. The greater portion of these men do not pretend to know anything about the various businesses in which they have their money invested. They hire salaried men to do this for them. To illustrate: Out of the 25,000 shareholders in the C.P.R., less than 2,000 live in Canada, and of this number only about 100 are connected with the actual conduct of that great corporation, therefore we see that as far as the actual operation of the railway as a servant of humanity is concerned, 24,900 of those shareholders are useless, and they could all die overnight and not a wheel in the shops would falter.

The members of this class elect certain of their members to act as an executive committee of each corporation. These are the directors. The duty of the directors is usually confined to voting approval of the plans prepared by the salaried employees, voting increases of stock and voting dividends. Once in a great while there is a man on the board of directors who knows the business, but the great majority will

admit that they know nothing about the business which they are paid to direct.

At regular intervals, either quarterly or yearly, the board of directors will be told how much money there is to the credit of the company, and they will decide to divide this surplus among the shareholders in proportion to the degree of ownership.

THE WAY IT WILL BE DONE.

Under Socialism the ownership in all the agencies of production by an Act of Parliament would be declared to be the property of the working class and the men engaged would be called upon to arrange for democratic organization and control of them. Positively no compensation will be given to the present holders. They will be compelled to take an active part in production or starve. This will not be confiscation. It will be restitution. All the wealth of the world is the product of the working class, and to declare it to be the property of the working class is but to rectify a mistake that should never have been made.

The workers of each industry in all probability will elect members of their own class to act on an executive board and direct the policy of the industries. They will be there in the place of the present board, with like difference. They will know something about their business and will be taking an active part in it. To illustrate:

The railway men will probably be the greatest single group. They will choose the executive board from among the different sections of the employees in proportion to the number of men employed, perhaps, one representative for each one thousand men. If the proportion of grades of employees remains the same as it is now the proportion will work out like this. Officers and general office clerks, 5; trackmen and sectionmen, 15; engineers and firemen, 9, etc. The machinery of the existing unions will perhaps be used to choose the first board. This board will meet and continue all the officers and superintendents in their positions and will direct the treasurer and other financial officers like this.

Go ahead and run the business as you have been doing in the past, only make your reports to this body and at the end of the year distribute the surplus on hand back among the men who have worked during the year in proportion to the amount of work they have done.

RUNNING RAILWAYS AND INDUSTRIES.

Suppose the C.P.R. were on this basis, let us see how it would work out. Last year the amount paid in dividends to those who did no work was \$5 per cent, as great as the amount paid in wages to those who did all the work. Assuming the same wages were paid after the transfer as before the paying, officials would have a surplus at the end of the year equal to 85 per cent of the wages paid. This would be distributed among the men on the railway pay rolls in proportion to the amounts they had drawn during the year. A man on one of the extra gangs who had worked 300 days during the year at \$2 per day would receive his dividends amounting to \$510. An engineer who had worked the whole year at an average wage of \$125 a month would receive \$1,275 in dividends, and the other workers in like manner.

All the industries would work on a similar plan. The principal duty of the central government would be to see that the workers engaged in one industry did not overcharge the workers in the others. The workers on the railways might in order to raise their wages raise freight rates unduly, and it would be the part of the central body to adjust prices and rates. They would do this on the basis of the human labor power necessary to produce an article. That is, an article that had required one hour's labor time to make, taking the average of all the men in the industry, would exchange in the market for another article that had required the same amount of labor time to produce. If a pair of overalls required one hour of the average worker's labor and it took one hour to produce a bushel of wheat, then the two would exchange and everything else in proportion. This is nothing new. In fact, it is the fundamental basis of all prices charged for commodities today. In fact, if we examine society as it actually is today you can see that under a Socialist regime very little change would be made. The trend of evolution is preparing the structure for us to work on, and when the time comes to make the change we will find all the industries ready for us to take over.

WHAT THE FUTURE WILL DEVELOP.

No man can tell exactly how the change will come or exactly how the workers will organize industry, because no man can tell exactly how society will develop in the next 30 years. If the objectors will tell us the form industry will take we will map out the plan to fit, but it is impossible for him to do this, hence we can not answer his question. Who, thirty years ago, could have forecasted the growth and development of the Standard Oil Company or the Steel trust?

It is not necessary to put forth a definite scheme for the operation of the great tools of production under a Socialist regime. We know that the working class who are intelligent enough to create the aeroplane and the railway are intelligent enough to run them and utilize them to their own benefit. With this consciousness we go ahead, pointing out the evils of our present system and forecasting its inevitable breakdown and the consequent co-operative commonwealth.

If you publish this I shall know it came in answer to a distinct want. If you do not I shall know that you

are not. Thanking you in anticipation, I remain

T. EDWIN SMITH.

Yetwood, Alta.

WHAT SOCIALISTS WANT

Editorial in Montreal Witness, Jan. 4th, 1913.

We thank Mr. Smith very much for having at last departed from the customary misanthropic fault-finding and setting before our readers what it is, as he understands it, that the Socialists think would be better than the present system of society. He seems to have thought that matter out further than any one who has written to us on the subject.

We thought to have spared him the publication of his last sentence; but it also has its value in showing how he regards all men who are not Socialists as living in dread of him, and those who think with him. There may be some reason for such fear, in the case of those ancient systems that have a fear of men thinking for themselves. We could imagine some fear on the part of those business organizations which are drawing the various forms of business into monopolies; though so far as we have observed, these rather welcome Socialist ideas. Judge Gary, of the steel trust, who as much as any man represents the capitalist interests of the United States, is a constant advocate of various forms of government control as the natural antidote of monopoly. Railway management usually welcomes a railway commission as a body before which it can lay its case, and look for fair treatment. Yet the railway commission is one of the most Socialistic moves of our day. For ourselves, we have too much democratic faith in the saving 'common sense of most' to look forward to any such overturning as Mr. Smith so confidently threatens. There will be lots of experiments tried, and they will show what they are worth.

We ask our readers to study the scheme detailed by our correspondents, and to think the hardest thinking they can about it, and ask themselves if they think its achievement would remove class legislation or the exploiting of the working man. Sunday questions will occur to them. It is generally understood that capital is necessary to carry on enterprises. Mr. Smith tells us how he would do his initial capitalization. He would simply confiscate that which is already invested. How would he obtain the means to create new enterprises? He proposes that the government of enterprises should be elective, the constituency being the workmen. How would he prevent the control becoming the sport of adventurers, supposing human nature to remain as it is? He proposes to have the employees represented in the directorate in proportion to their numbers. How would he keep the more numerous class from working it in the interest of that class? He proposes that prices should be fixed by the government. Just think what pulling and hauling there would be over each! The value of each thing would be the length of time it took to make it. This looks like a premium on slow production. Indeed, how are men to be induced to give their best labor and powers to their work? Who is to admit men or exclude them from any class of labor or to determine questions of promotion? We presume that the engineer who gets \$120 a month must spend it all on goods at prices determined by the government, or have it confiscated, like the means of previous capitalists, as a crime against society. We are not saying that we cannot foresee answers to such questions as these. We only note them and a few of those which will occur to the ordinary reader, new to Socialism, when he sets himself to thinking. It is for such to put on their thinking caps and think things out.

The spirit of discontent is rife among the working class. The masters quake with fear, for they are wise to the fact that the reign of capitalism will soon be at an end. Therefore battle-ships are built, garrisons are strengthened, troops are trained on land and sea, and the bestial, murderous war spirit fostered in every civilized (?) country under the sun. But all these preparations will be for naught. The spirit of Socialism is permeating the armies and navies of the world. At the appointed time the slave soldiers and marines will hurl their weapons away from them and join the invincible throng of emancipated slaves who have arisen to claim their own. And who will say they may? Not the masters, for they will crawl on their fat bellies to the workmen they have spurned, and beseech for that mercy which they themselves withheld to God's children under the dark domain of the King Capital they worshipped.

"If the church does not see the vision of the prophet, does not accomplish what is to be done in our country and in our time, then some one else will. The Socialist in the labor temple, perhaps, may rise to be the leader, and what a pitiful thing it would be if after all these years some other organization should outstrip the church." These were the words of Rev. R. F. Bowles, M.A., in the St. James Methodist Church, Montreal. Is not this a petty spirit? Rather than rejoice because the Socialists are forcing the church into the fight to improve conditions, Knowles considers it a pity. Rather he should rejoice that the labor temple is helping to right the wrongs of those who toil. When such petty spirit is shown in the church, is it any wonder the workers leave it?

Thousands of people are just on the verge of becoming Socialists. If you come over to your class it will be the means of bringing many others. Just try it and see.

Who will carry the bag hereafter," asks the Toronto Globe with regard to the Ontario graft charges. Why, the capitalist class, of course, as long as the wage slaves will let them.

RUSSIANIZED BRITAIN

We rely upon political activity to accomplish our aims.

But suppose we have not the vote. Suppose we have no manner of registering our desires. What then?

The women of Great Britain want the vote. They do not want the vote just to have it as a plaything. They want it to oppose the oppression of women through the public powers of the state. They want it to put women on a political basis with men so that the double standard of morality now in vogue may be done away with and to the end that the thousand and one inequalities in the eyes of the law between the sexes may be abolished.

They have not the vote, and the first thing the women do is to demand this fundamental right.

It is refused them.

What course is left? The only course that the oppressed of all ages have attempted, violence and force.

Hence militancy is born.

The legislators and the judges and the public powers do not do the proper thing, remove the wrong from which militancy flows. They adopt repressive tactics. They shut the women up and torture them. They raid their homes. They institute that horrible barbarism of Russia, domestic visits. They suppress their newspapers. They prevent their public meetings.

So far as women are concerned, Great Britain has been Russianized.

We look upon Russia with horror.

We think that the people have not the right to vote and consider Russia to be barbarous in her suppression of the political rights of the people.

Great Britain is barbarous in her suppression of the political rights of the women. But somehow we don't seem to see the injustice of it.

We call Great Britain the land of liberty, and our legislators are giving thirty-five millions of dollars to protect this land of liberty which tortures women, invades their homes, and denies them the elementary rights of twentieth century humans, and we think it is all right.

Verily the days of hypocrisy and bluff and double dealing are with us, and no doubt will continue until the common producers rise in their united might to overthrow existing conditions.

PROTECTING LIBERTY

Our legislators are busy at Ottawa giving away \$35,000,000 for three ships to protect the British Empire and the liberty it accords the people within its borders.

In another column we publish an account of the Putumayo horrors. These horrors were and are perpetrated for the benefit of a British commercial company with head office in London.

The same article lifts a little of the curtain which hides the horrors of indentured native labor practised within the British empire.

A correspondent writes from our Canadian West about the conditions of labor in the construction camps of the Grand Trunk Pacific.

In Cumberland, B.C., miners are evicted from the shafts they have built themselves, because they dare go on strike against their slavery.

The Liberty which exists under the British flag is a myth. It does not exist. This all the politicians know.

But they pretend there is liberty, and hypocritically talk about the glorious freedom we possess. It seems to go with the unthinking voters and keeps the politicians in their jobs.

And still the capitalist papers fool you with their lies and falsifications. Still they print columns for you about things that never happened, and nothing at all about things that did happen. Still they toady and bow and scrape to the capitalist class, and still you buy their polluted rubbish, and think you are getting your money's worth. The capitalists are firm believers in the efficacy of printers' ink, and their wallet is always open to the press who respond to their demands.

Do you want to be a Socialist and are frightened at what people think? Remember that the average person is just as frightened of what you may think of him as you are of his opinion. Announce your Socialism boldly, and people will admire you in their hearts.

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