

The Farmer And Socialism

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It is not many years since all that was asked by the farmer to make him "prosperous" was plenty of rain and sunshine and no storms or insect pests. To be sure he always declared that "times were better" when the particular party to which he belonged was in control, but still he never really thought that politics had very much to do with his success or failure as a farmer. If he was saving, industrious and fairly intelligent in farm management he could usually reckon on being able to stop work at fifty and enjoy a fairly comfortable, peaceful life on the income from the farm that he had paid for in his younger days. The farmer class as a whole led a rather contented, if somewhat monotonous life, and found little fault or took little interest in social and labor problems.

Today, on the contrary, murmurs of unrest are heard in every agricultural community and at times these swell into a fierce outburst of despairing indignation as conditions seem to be almost unbearable. These complaints, seem to bear no perceptible relation to climate, storms, locality, insect pests, or indeed any of the natural calamities that were the scourge of our fathers. From the deserted farms of chilly New England to the vacant and overgrown plantations of the sunny south, and across the mortgage-cursed and rack-rented farms of the Mississippi valley and the western plains to the overloaded vineyards and orchards of California, with their luscious life-giving fruit rotting for lack of a market, there comes a chorus of complaints of new burdens not traceable to defects of soil or climate or due to insect or animal scourges, yet which are plunging the farmers of America into greater misery and suffering than ever followed the wake of New England frost, southern drouth, Kansas cyclone or California earthquake.

There comes a year when crops are good, rains have been plenty and sunshine beneficent and the farmer looks forth upon granaries full to bursting, upon herds of cattle and droves of swine fat to the market, and he thinks of the long needed and planned addition he will build to the house, the new buggy he will buy, or of any of the hundred and one little things that rarest, dearest thing in this day of flats, apartments and tenements—a home. But when he goes to sell his products and to change them into the desired pleasures and necessities he finds that he is the victim of a new calamity as merciless and unavoidable as the long feared terrors of flood or drouth. A financial panic has started in some distant city and in a single week he sees half his possessions swept away by falling prices.

His orchards bend to breaking, his fields are a yellow sea of richness, his vines a purple wall of luscious beauty, but when he would sell their fruitage to secure the things that he can use he is told that so much has been produced that his products can not be sold, and hence they must rot where they lay. But the same paper that brings him the news of this "overproduction" tells him also of men, women and children suffering and dying by thousands in the slums of the great cities for lack of the very things that are rotting in the fields. Perhaps it finally begins to dawn upon him that today his greatest troubles are not natural, but social.

Now this is the situation that con-

fronted the factory worker many years ago, and those who have looked most carefully into his condition as seen in the lands where modern industry has entered are beginning to agree that the cause of his suffering is to be found in the fact that while the tools with which he worked are capable of producing much more than those his father used, he is deprived of his increased product because he no longer owns these tools, and hence can produce nothing of his own accord, but must sell himself to those who do own these tools. It is pointed out that these "tools" having become great, complex machines requiring the co-operation of many workes to run them, they can not be owned individually. Hence it is necessary that this ownership be in common, and this can best be secured through the union of the workers into a political party having this end in view. This is the position of the Socialists, and has now been accepted by millions of workers scattered through every nation on the globe and forming today the largest political party the world has ever known and one that is marching on to certain victory.

But although Socialism has thus come to be looked upon as the gospel of a better day to the wage-laborer, few claimed that it carried any message to the farmer. Indeed, its enemies always offered as their strongest argument against it the claim that it could not meet the problem of agriculture. It was argued that farming would never form a great concentrated industry, and hence that it must always be conducted by a multitude of small, individual farm owners. Many were the wordy battles indulged in over the question as to whether farms were increasing or decreasing in size and as to whether the large or the small farms were the best organized method of conducting agriculture. When the great "bonanza farms" of the west began to be broken up some of the Socialists seemed to think that the battle was lost and that a special solution would have to be found for the troubles of the farmer.

Now it just begins to be seen that they were all looking in the wrong direction, and a closer examination shows that at the bottom the same laws prevail on the farm as in the factory, and that consequently the same problems are appearing and the same remedy must be applied. If this position is to be understood it will be necessary to recall briefly the main features of the great change that has taken place in industry during the last century. The first thing that strikes us is the fact that the tools of production have become very much larger and more complex, and that the resulting product has been immensely increased, while the share of the laborer has remained at about the same point. The size of the market reached by each factory has grown continually larger with the cheapening of production and improvement of communication. This has caused a concentration of ownership until today almost the entire productive power of the world has been concentrated in the hands of a few for whose benefit the many must work.

Now the only question is, has a similar process taken place in agriculture? And at first appearance there is a tendency to answer no, and if this concentration is to be sought in land ownership it would be hard to deny this position. But let us for a moment consider farming as what it really is—simply a means of producing certain goods—grain, cattle, fruit, etc. Now, it has been pointed out that produc-

tion of any commodity consists simply in taking some portion of the earth and changing it into a form desired by man, and then taking it to some place where it can be used at a time when it is wanted. No matter how these different processes may be disguised or intermingled, they are all present and are all necessary in any form of production, and no article is produced until it has gone through all these processes and has the proper form at the proper time and in the proper place to be used.

(Continued next week.)

Socialist News From Headquarters.

The following donations have been received since last report: To pay off old debt, local Livingston \$5.00; total to date \$23.50.

Comrade James Ettien of Stevensville sends in \$4.50 to the state special organizing fund. Comrade Ettien says that his local made out a list of names of the Socialists who are not members of the party and he went and interviewed them, secured donations to the amount of \$4.50, and promises to join the local.

Comrades, this is work that counts in making a good strong local. If locals would follow this example and appoint a committee to carry it through, we would witness a wonderful, healthy growth in our locals.

During the month of December no new locals were organized, but a large amount of literature was sent out from headquarters into unorganized districts preparatory to organizing. Reports from Butte, Stevensville, Red Lodge, Lewistown and Livingston shows that considerable work is being done at these points to strengthen the organization.

Butte has one comrade making a house to house canvass distributing literature and securing subscriptions for Socialist papers.

Reports from other parts of the state indicate that the Socialists of Montana are going to commence the year by renewed activity.

Locals should circulate a large

amount of literature this month, as that will help the work of the organizer when he starts the tour of the state.

The result of the ballot on national committeeman elects Comrade McHugh of Anaconda.

The following amendments to the state constitution have been proposed by local Helena:

Art. 5 Sec. 1. To read: Three persons may apply for a charter, etc., in place of five.

Art. 5 Sec. 7. Each local shall hold a regular meeting at least once in each calendar month.

Art. 6 Sec. 9. Be dropped as it is already covered by the national constitution.

Art. 6 Sec. 10. Be also abolished.

Art. 6 Sec. 11. No member shall be eligible as a candidate for any state office who has not been a member of the party in good standing for two years previous to his nomination, and no member shall be eligible for nomination of county or minor offices who has not been a member in the party in good standing for one year previous to his nomination. This shall not apply to districts where the party has not been organized one or two years previous to the date of nomination but in all cases candidates must be active members of the local.

Art. 8 Sec. 1. Railroad fare and hotel expenses of delegates to state nominating and special conventions shall be paid from the treasury and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.

Art. 9 Sec. 1. Each local shall at all times have the power of imperative mandate over its officials.

Art. 6 Sec. 1. Changed to read "three or more" locals in place of "one or more" locals as is the case now.

With consent of Helena local these proposed amendments will not be submitted to a referendum vote of the members for a few weeks, thereby allowing other locals time to propose any further amendments so that all amendments can be voted on at once.

JAS. D. GRAHAM,
State Secretary.

Human Labor Is Confiscated

PETER E. BURROWES, IN THE WORKER

Capitalism is a system by which the products of human labor are confiscated and appropriated by an armed class. By the word system I mean a methodical order of operations, self-arranged, self-controlled and self-supplied, just as we speak of the human system not as a chart of the human body but as an economy of action, an arrangement, a control and a supply of active self by active self. There are other institutions in society of a systematic or semi-systematic kind such as the legislatures, the armies and the churches, but because this capitalistic system deals with a thing fundamental and necessary to them all and controls it, that is, labor, this system encloses them all in its grind, so that they and everything else in civilization are not only included in capitalism, but as a matter of fact every one of them, and every man, woman and child in every one of them, cannot do anything which does not contribute to and nourish the capitalistic system. All are subordinate to its purposes, all save the mind and will of the man whom it arouses into resentment and resistance. He alone is free who is demanding the overthrow of the system itself. Others it may hurt, and others besides labor it may provoke into protest, but the half measures they take and the failures they invite only nourish and cherish the system; all things go to the help of capitalism save only the class-con-

scious opposition which comes from the ranks of organized labor marshalled under the banner of militant international Socialism. And this is so because capitalism's whole blood and marrow is derived from its vampire use of the laborer's life force. From that source it draws all its ability to include and control all the other elements of society by allowing them to become sharers in the shorn life of the proletariat. Therefore in all classes of the world capitalism has but one natural enemy, and it is itself the natural enemy of but one class; and that is the class of men who have nothing to sell but their labor.

It is a system which will endure just so long as it can arrange, control and supply its own life's activities, and no longer. It can arrange its own activities so long as the world gives it free labor and open markets; it can control its own activities so long as it can use the law courts and armies of the nations; and it can supply its own activities as long as the workers themselves supply it with a class of propertyless persons who have no other way of living but by selling their own lives for pieces of money and have no institution to sell those lives to, or from which to receive those pieces of money, but the capitalist class.

So long as this supply does not fail, so long as the self-selling laborers come up every day to the capitalist-guillotine machinery to have

Law Makers Are In Session

The capitalist legislature has convened in Helena and has been at work one or two hours for a few days but doing nothing of importance except the listening to the reading of the governor's message.

Following are the important points in the governor's message:

He renews the recommendations for favorable consideration which he made to the Eighth Legislative assembly, embracing one judge for Lewis and Clarke county, removal of the judiciary from politics, enlarging the powers of the state board of equalization, charging the counties with the cost of transporting prisoners, state supervision of fraternal insurance organizations, the election of United States senators by popular vote, the initiative and referendum, the direct primary law, the election of important officers now appointive, the creation of a railroad commission, a fellow servant law.

He recommends a change in the law providing for a coal mine inspector, favoring examination by a board.

He boosts the state fair.

He urges that a water system for the capitol grounds be provided, and that the state building be insured.

He requests that the Meagher monument be given a site on the capitol grounds.

He recommends a more systematic and economical distribution of public documents.

He warns the legislature against extravagant appropriations for the state institutions.

He calls attention to the report of the state mine inspector, and urges the introduction of better sanitary methods in the mines of Butte.

He declares that the expenses of the state government are each year increasing and that there is no way

their labor force chopped up into a few use values for themselves and a large proportion of exchange commodity values for the system, the system can go on supplying itself from the outset with the means of subsidizing courts, parliaments, armies, churches, schools, printing presses and all the other cogs which must keep moving to make the year's revolution of almighty capitalism.

So long as labor, the source and spring of all commodity value, consents to let itself remain shorn of the things necessary to its own function; so long as it consents to advance three-fourths of its own created values for the mere permission to approach these appliances from day to day; so long as it consents to have no right to come for work or bread even on these terms, but to do without both until capitalism finds it convenient to take this extraordinary advantage of labor; so long as labor thus consents to supply out of its own life the whole essential capital of capitalism, making an advance of the greater part of itself every day, and so arming its natural enemy to degrade, starve and disorganize itself, by the assistance of and at the sole cost of itself; so long shall the laboring class remain where it is, the basis of capitalism, and capitalism will that long remain a system capable of supplying its own activities.

This wonderful system of capitalism which seems to rest with so much security on the still more wonderful consent, if not admiration, of its primary victim and natural enemy, the implementless laboring class, rests on that very same class for the other two essentials of its continuance in the world as a

to meet them except by additional taxation. He urges caution and prudence in making appropriations.

He points out the danger of plunging the state in debt beyond its constitutional limit, and suggests that the revenue of the last two years be taken as a basis in making appropriations.

He promises to co-operate with the legislative body.

In fact, when he read his message he was somewhat nervous to start with, but soon resumed composure and waded through his half-baked wishy-washy Socialist document to a half-awake audience of republican capitalists who were elected upon a pledge to enact Socialistic measures.

After the reading of the message several notices were presented in the house that bills would be introduced at the proper time on the initiative and referendum, the employer's liability act and other Socialist measures.

After finishing all this hard work, which took over an hour, and attending to other incidental details in the body they adjourned to meet the next day at 2 p. m.; in fact it looks as if they had the unions beat on a short day.

Nothing of importance will transpire until after the election of United States senator, which will be several days. Judging from the talk around the corridors of the legislative building, Tom Carter will be elected, but there appears to be a disposition on the part of a few to form a distinct organization with the avowed purpose of making him come through with the long green before he shall get their votes. In fact it is said that they think they should receive a little of the exposition swag. However, his election is practically assured.

self-arranging, self-controlling, self-supplying system.

For capitalism to stop in any one of the three angles of its automatic life grind of the world, would be for capitalism as a system to fall out of repairs, then out of action and then into the dishonored past. Upon such a miracle of stupidity, voluntary blindness and slavery does capitalism rest, as to the matter of being able to base the supply of its own activities on the consent of its own victims, that a man from Mars would have thought the age of miracles was still here. Not so, my Marsian friend, the laborers are miraculously stupid, more stupid than you, or to anything else within the rational universe, is conceivable. The workers not only supply their own bodies as the first fuel of the capital fire, but they supply out of their own brains the opinions, and from their own fingers the votes, which keep them "free," that is, rightless, laborers and which keep for their masters, well opened, the free markets of the world. To set itself capitalistically free, labor must set the capitalistic system free of responsibility and obligation towards labor. It must teach its own offspring, the victims which it is suckling for the capitalistic shambles next year, that freedom of contract is a sacred thing meaning freedom from contract on the part of capitalism and the state towards labor when contract means any obligation to protect labor-life or contract the volume of profits arising out of its own defenceless freedom. Labor must teach its own offspring that for labor to be free it must be utterly defenceless, but for capitalism to be free it must not be inter-

(Continued on last page.)

State Historical Library

THE MONTANA NEWS.

ISSUED WEEKLY.

J. H. WALSH **Editor and Publisher**

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Entered at the Post Office for transmission through the mail at second class rates.

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Don't worry or lose any sleep about the present incoming legislature passing any "Socialistic" measures because they advocated a few of them in their platforms; that was just to dupe your easy ones.

The labor fakirs don't appear to know what to think about the initiative and referendum proposition becoming a law before a body of free transportation, citizens alliance, shyster lawyers and fake law makers.

The labor fakir who is so deeply interested in labor laws need worry none over the coming legislature; he has no worry coming as he got all that was coming to him just before election. Yes, every labor fakir got his price from six bits up to a dollar and a half.

After the squirming that the democrat country weeklies have done about the fear of the republicans passing laws according to the pledges of their platform, it would be funny, real funny, if they would go the limit and force that labor idol of a Toole up to the notch of signing something of the kind. It would test his half-baked Socialistic get-into-office ideas.

A number of the republican papers over the state express a fear that some of their republican legislators are not "true blue," and may consequently raise hob when it comes to voting for United States Senator. However, no fear need be expressed, for when the time comes "Tom" will come through with the long green and the recalcitrant members will quickly whip into line.

On the 29th a jail break was planned at Folsom, California, in which several convicts were killed and others injured. Barring two exceptions those in the melee were in jail for robbery, and the whole bunch put together never stole as much as old Rockefeller does in one day; but there is a difference under the present system as to how you steal. Rockefeller's is legalized stealing that brings comfort to him, while the jail birds' is criminal and brings death to them.

According to figures given out recently in the matter of the army as compared with the soldiers of other nations, the American is better paid, better clothed, better sheltered and better fed than the troops of any other country. 12 cents a month is the scale of wages received by the Russian soldier, while the Jap that makes up the opposing army gets 60 cents a month. The French soldier draws \$1.74; the German, \$2.50; the English, \$7.14; the American, \$13; and don't laugh too loud at the small scale of wages, for that is more than some of you working mules clear up. Of course, while these comparisons are being made of an American soldier with a foreign soldier, it might be well to compare his pay with that of the officers, which runs into the hundreds a month. But why compare them? The man that will work for \$13 a

month, surrounded by the damnable pomp and superiority of rank of the military, is worth no more. Socialism is the only solution of this problem. Socialism will form them into an army of producers and teach them sense in place of nonsense, and equality of manhood in place of inequality of rank.

OVER A HUNDRED DROPPED.

Beginning the new year the Montana News starts off with a slightly smaller list than it closed the old year with. This is because of the many campaign subscribers at 25 cents expiring on January 1.

It now behooves us and all interested in the movement to not only gain the number that have expired, but to add many more new names to our books. Will you help us in this matter? To many it may appear that the News, in common with all other Socialist papers, is continually crying for the co-operative help of the comrades, and such is the case and probably will be for some time to come. This cannot be otherwise for the Socialist papers are up against a hard proposition. Think of the many other little business firms going to the wall every day, and then no wonder will be expressed that Socialist papers go the same route.

It is the firm belief of the editor of the News that the Socialist papers will not be put upon a firm footing and brought up to the newspaper standing that they should be, until such time as the party begins to elect some of its members to office. It will not be accomplished then if the emoluments of office are handled in the manner that is the case with old partyites. If Socialism is practiced however, we have every reason to believe that it will be, the salaries of all officers will be placed in a fund under control of the respective Socialist bodies to which the officer elected represents, and the officer then to receive a living salary while the "graft" emoluments of the office go into the fund and from there into the cause of Socialist propaganda. Then the party will have an enormous fund to support good papers, put organizers in the field and continue the work in a first class manner.

For instance, suppose that the Socialists should elect a district judge who draws a salary of about \$300 per month; this money should go to the party, the man holding the office to receive a living salary, say about \$100, and the other \$200, which is at present "graft" money, would go to the cause of Socialism.

To really see what this would be to a movement, would be nearly impossible to follow it to its final conclusion, but to get an abstract idea just figure up the salaries of your county officers, your state officers, and your national officers. Of course we assume that this would be getting right down to pure Socialism where the janitor at the capitol would draw as much per month from the fund as would the governor. There is no reason why he should not. Nine times out of ten he is the poorer man at the present with the larger family to take care of.

However, as that time has not arrived and possibly will not for some time if the laboring mules don't awake faster than they have in the past, let us get off our coats and do all in our power at the present to swell the Montana News to a 5,000 list that we may carry the educational work to a large number who will become aligned with the great movement in the near future.

TOO SLOW COMING.

Many people are heard to remark that "Socialism is all right, but it is too slow coming," and that it will never be here in their time. Possibly that is true and possibly not; that depends on how long their time is. It is very probable that only a few more years will roll by when we will see the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, but of course during this apparently short time many will pass over the great divide. However, this does not relieve us from doing our duty to hasten the day as fast as possible, even though we may not live to reap the full reward of our efforts.

In fact few men have ever lived to realize the fruits of their efforts

in some great undertaking for the betterment of mankind, but those who have lived after them have been the ones who have thousands and thousands of times sounded the praises justly due them.

The fellow from whom you most frequently hear the above remark is some fellow generally who has got on just about a half-jag and feels at that time like letting the world wag on in its old fashioned way and be contented with your lot; but human nature generally is not that way—it is not half-jagged.

One should think of the long time necessary for not only economic development, but education of the masses, which is necessary before the establishing of Socialism. In fact it is coming very fast, and probably as fast as is safe to the great revolutionary movement. Those who get in a hurry and impatient are generally the new comers to the cause who, after grasping the idea of the beauties to be ushered in by this new system, can't for the life of them see why everyone else cannot see the same as they do.

But if you will compare the education of the average or a majority of the voters with the slow process of educating a child, it is not hard to see that wonderful advancement is being made. A child is kept in school from about the age of 6 to the age of 18 years, and we think little of that, while we expect the worker, who is short on study, saying the least, to grasp the idea of economic fundamentals in a campaign or two.

Socialism is not a mushroom plant but a solid oak rooted and grown in the economic development of the conditions of the world with its industrial advancement and centralization and socialization of all industries wherein co-operation is naturally taking the place of individual effort. You cannot turn back the wheels of progress, neither can you hurry the natural advancement, but you will do well to educate the people to what is coming, that they may be prepared to handle the machinery of government collectively when it is turned into their hands.

Never be discouraged because people are not as you would like them to be; you must learn to take humanity as it is, not as you would like to have it. The great work now to be done is not to stand on the track of progress and say, as many have said in the past about great inventions, that "It wont work," for the first thing you know the great co-operative engine will come bounding around the curve, and you may be left to smile at your own ridiculousness.

Agitate, educate, and soon the Socialist will legislate.

SOCIALISTIC DIFFICULTIES.

The following sketch taken from the daily news dispatches will serve to show how strenuous are the conditions surrounding the revolutionary movement and agitation of Socialist doctrines by the workers in the cause of suffering humanity in Russia: "It has been the effort of the police to check the liberal tendencies of the students. Every channel to the entrance of revolutionary literature has been closed. Bribery and deception are the keys used to open the doors in the barriers. Thousands of seditious pamphlets are received from Germany, France, Switzerland and England. Stringent regulations are imposed with regard to printing. Every typesetter must obtain a license in order to do business. No mimeograph or other duplication machine may be sold without police permission. If such a machine is found, and permission for its use has not been given, the owner is punished. In spite of the law and its penalties and the surveillance of the police, some of my student friends have a printing outfit in their quarters and print pamphlets and proclamations. When the police become too active they memorize circulars and revolutionary poetry, which they repeat to their friends. Every conceivable way is employed to spread revolutionary doctrines. The police frequently swoop down upon them. Formerly, students found guilty of conspiring against the government

were distributed about Russia, but the authorities found that they took advantage of their contact with the people to sow Socialistic ideas. Now they are transported to certain points where they are closely watched. The emperor has some sympathy with these exiles. Occasionally he grants them pardon. At the beginning of the war he offered liberty, with restoration to full rights, to all who should voluntarily enter the army and serve in the far east."

MARRYING MONEY.

Count Cini, an Italian nobleman, grandnephew of the late Pope Leo, will in the spring lead to the altar in London Miss Elizabeth Howe of Pittsburg, one of the wealthy young women of America. This wedding was announced once before but for certain reasons was not pulled off per schedule. Miss Howe out of her vast estate has agreed to pay all the debts of the count, providing they do not run over \$50,000, and to guarantee him \$10,000 a year for life. When the count came to America a short time ago, he was broke and heavily in debt. He asked that \$70,000 be handed to him with which to pay his debts and also that he be given \$15,000 per year for life. This Miss Howe refused, and the count went to Canada. However, the count has reconsidered and thinks that he might worry along with his creditors on \$50,000 in hand and a life annuity of \$10,000. This was agreed to and they will wed in London. Miss Howe is 40 but the count is much younger. This is one of the homes that Socialism would destroy. How do you working mules like a system that fondles luxury for pet dogs and gives drunken worthless counts \$30 per day, while you receive an average of \$1.70? That's enough for you. It's what you vote for and you should have it. The count is satisfied and has no reason to be a Socialist, for Socialism would as sure as thunder destroy his home to the tune of about \$7,500 per year.

"Until a woman is able to support a husband, she should not contemplate matrimony," declared Mr. Ferris, recent democratic nominee for the governorship of Michigan.

"While I believe it is the duty of every woman to marry, still I also believe that before taking so serious a step a girl should look ahead and prepare for possible misfortunes. Therefore, every girl should fit herself for an emergency and be prepared to step into her husband's place in the support of the family, in the event of anything befalling him which will unfit him for work." No question will be raised but that Mr. Ferris belongs in the democratic party, for such assinine utterances as those stand as self-evident proof. Under Socialism the women will remain in woman's sphere of life, and will not be dragged into the slave market of the world to take care of a family, while able bodied men look for work. Strange that such jackasses as Mr. Ferris would not begin to study the system and see where the real trouble lies, in place of suggesting such rot as the above as a relief.

Labor unionism has steadily declined in power and prestige, as it might have been foreseen that it would. In the era of indiscriminate competition it had only so many disconnected cut-throat units, bound briefly and insecurely by temporary expediency of self-interest, to fight against. In the trust or combination it has encountered a foe marshalled on more compact and unsailable lines. With all unionism's years of effort and its spasmodic throes of self-sacrifice, what is the result? Holyoke, on the whole, is an "open shop" town. Labor, whether union or non-union, is freely employed and no resistance is offered. It is an ideal open-shop town and the results are ideal from the capitalist's view. Most of the labor unions, formerly so powerful, have either gone to pieces or have become so skeletonized that they are negligible and excite either pity or derision as the beholder may be disposed. Only in the building trades does unionism really count, and even in them it is disintegrating. Years of agitation, years of organization, years of contention, and consider the outcome. A slight

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Leave 7:30 a. m.	Lombard	Arrive 3:45 p. m.	
Leave 11:02 a. m.	Dorsey	Arrive 12:55 p. m.	
Arrive 11:30 p. m.	Summit	Leave 12:30 p. m.	
Leave 12:01 p. m.	Summit	Arrive 12:00 m.	
Leave 12:40 p. m.	Lenep	Arrive 11:20 a. m.	
Leave 1:06 p. m.	Martinsdale	Arrive 10:53 a. m.	
Leave 1:41 p. m.	Twodot	Arrive 10:23 a. m.	
Leave 2:20 p. m.	Harlowtown	Arrive 9:55 a. m.	
Leave 3:50 p. m.	Ubet	Arrive 8:35 a. m.	
Leave 4:58 p. m.	Moore	Arrive 7:50 a. m.	
Arrive 6:00 p. m.	Lewistown	Leave 7:00 a. m.	

MONTANA RAILROAD CO., Helena, Montana

victory gained here and there, but, after all, unionism stands almost disrupted and bankrupted. Unionism's decrees, if handed in now in the cotton mills, the paper mills, the mills of the thread trust (the American Thread Company), the silk and some other mills, would be slurred off and pigeon-holed. Unionism apparently does not see that it fights upon the archaic lines of a well-nigh bygone era while the trust or combination has improved its offensive and defensive methods, concurrently with its methods of exploitation. Unionism does not yet see that the trust that so skillfully and maldroitly limits or increases production, can choose and bide its own time for attack or reprisals; or if unionism does see this, it still balks at political action. Essential lessons of bitter experience escape it. With pauper labor came cheaper labor and surplus labor; there is plenty of both and the industrial magnates can well afford to smile contemptuously at the mention of a unionism which they no longer fear and which they have left the ghostly remnant of its former self. For decades unionism has sweated and struck; now it finds an "open shop" town, falling wages in many industries, higher prices for necessities, and above, or below it all, its own decay. The painfully widening gap between dominant industrialism and the worker points out to it no moral, nor does unionism, or such as survives of it, seem to learn from changed conditions.—The Worker.

G & K CLOTHING

Bears the Union Label, a guarantee of excellence that the working man cannot afford to overlook.

Gans & Klein
HELENA, MONT.

CORRESPONDENCE

Stevensville, Mont., Dec. 24, 1904.
J. H. Walsh, Helena.

Dear Comrade: I inclose you one card with money for same. I was busy when I received your red letter and did not get out to work for you till this week, and this one card is the result of two days' traveling with team; and I only raised \$3.70 for campaign fund. This is not encouraging, to say the least. The way we worked it here since election, we made out a list of probable Socialist voters in this precinct. I have hunted up and called on a number of these men, and while most of them admitted they voted the Socialist ticket I didn't find a single class conscious Socialist among them, and very few of them had any notion of the meaning of Socialism. When asked to sub-

scribe for Socialist papers they plead poverty, which most of them have a good reason for; but if they were Socialists they would manage some way to help the cause. We got 145 straight Socialist votes here in this county out of 250 given for Debs. We believed the straight votes represented the true Socialist strength, but my recent investigation does not bear this idea out. From reports you give in the News I should judge this state of affairs prevails all over the state. But don't give it away. We must keep up a bold front.

I wrote you in my last letter about our local subscribing for a share in the News stock, but none of us have any money at present and will not be able to send it in until we make a raise.

There have been no developments in my money affairs from Fergus. I think I will have to bring suit to get it. But unless there is more enthusiasm developed in the near future to support the News than in the past, I don't see how we can hold it up, even if we had money to put into it.

Fraternally,

JAMES ETTIEN.

Comrade Ettien offers some good suggestions in the above letter, and his hard luck in selling subscriptions for the News will be somewhat appeased when he reads the article about Comrade Lynch sacrificing a year in the cause of the proletariat. It is a hard proposition,—yes, it is darned inconvenient to be poor, even though it is not a disgrace—but as he says, we must keep up a bold front; i. e., we must stand ready to look the cold facts square in the face. I publish this letter of Comrade Ettien's because it sounds the sentiment of many arriving here and requested by the writers not to publish. This lax condition is what the comrades are just awaking to; as they get into the movement they are learning what it is; but such is the case, and it would not be the proletarian movement were it otherwise. The farmer that is so poor that he can't subscribe and the wage worker in the same condition, are parallels of the old colored slave who looked to Massa, while these poor wretches of today look to "hope," what the fellow had in his trunk when it was empty. The revolution that we are advocating depends upon the workers in the cause who will stick to it regardless of all hazards. Let us up and at them again! Never say quit!!

Bozeman, Mont., Dec. 22, 1904.
Mr. J. H. Walsh, Editor of Montana News.

Dear Comrade: In the issue of

Dec. 21, of the Montana News, you made a statement under the heading "S. L. P., Idea of Union Label" which reads as follows: "Possibly no more exemplary instance could be called to mind than the breweries of this state paying 10 cents for a label to put on each keg of beer, that they may sell more booze." Now this is the most ridiculous statement any paper ever made, and we can't understand how you got it. Let us tell you that the brewery proprietors of this state do not pay one cent for our union label for the last two years, but previous to that time they used to pay 20 cents per 1,000 labels, and this is just what the labels cost; and never did they have to pay any more, and if you wish our statement verified please call on Mr. Chas. Kessler or the Capital Brewing Co.

If you are opposed to the union label or its use we would advise you to patronize Schlitz, Pabst or other eastern firms. They are union breweries, too, but use no label. But if you ask us if conditions and wages there are as good as they are in this state, we must say, no, no. We do not think that the workers of this country are so much advanced as to enable them to abolish the union label, and therefore we most heartily recommend its use.

Hoping that you will give this matter prompt attention, and recall the statement above mentioned, we remain

Yours respectfully,
JOS. HERBST.
ANTON WEBER.

Members of local union No. 66 of United Brewery Workers.
437 Wallace Ave., North,
Bozeman, Mont.

There appears to be but little left for the News to argue in the question, as the above letter gets on both sides of the matter and in one breath contradicts what it said in the other.

However, the News stands corrected in the matter of saying that the breweries paid 10 cents per label for the same to be placed upon each keg of beer, and our misstatement in this matter was due to an agent of one of the beer firms informing us that such was the case, claiming that he received his information from the brewery.

We desire to ask the brother union men, however, to give that article several more readings and then answer a few questions, as follows:

1. Why put the label on the beer?
2. If those eastern beers are union made why do they not put the label on?
3. Why does not the union force the label on the union made goods?

4. If the breweries did pay for the label—no matter how small amount they paid, the principle is involved—until two years ago, why did the unions become so generous as to unload that expense from the shoulders of the breweries and take it upon themselves?
5. In the eastern breweries we understand that men receive enough to keep living while working steadily, and that is about what they re-

ceive in Montana; in fact we can find none of them who have become millionaires. Now the question arises, how much better off is the western worker than the eastern?

The News does not intend to misstate any point whatever, but you will see by reading the letter that the breweries did pay for the label, although we were mistaken as to the exact price. The scientific point of the commercial use of the label, according to the above letter, appears to be conclusively proven.

Stevensville, Mont., Dec. 29, '04.

Dear Comrade Walsh: I have not been off the place since the 3rd, and have not been able to do anything since election. The few papers that come to me though, reassure me that the world is still safely (?) moving on in the old way. How apt it would be if a Lawson would dub our whole business, "christian civilization," and the whole rotten mess, including working people's political sense, frenzied folly—and make it stick.

I send you \$5. As I suppose it doesn't make any difference to you which pocket it goes into, if you please, send the News to W. H. Woodruff, Station 5, Butte, Mont., one year. Credit the Ettien subscription list for one share stock, \$2. The other \$2 credit to my account.

I'd like to be out where I could see "something doing." It seems awfully dull, Socialistically.

The Socialist press, the only light of the world, may it get bigger and brighter.

Yours for humanity,
H. E. WOODRUFF.

Kalispell, Mont., Dec. 25, 1904.
J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrade: Yours of 17th inst. received, but being out of town I was unable to answer same; but we have no time to lose now as the first of the year is near at hand. I am sending you \$15 now and we can settle up afterwards. I will try and dispose of the cards as soon as possible, and think that some of our comrades who have a little more

time may be able to help us out. We have to do the best we can to maintain the only labor paper in this state, and every comrade ought to take a hand in it.

Yours for Socialism,
F. HELM.

P. S. The envelopes and letter heads are for the local, but the envelopes are to have my name and address only. It is sometimes unsafe to send them to some comrades, as they might thereby lose their positions. I should have made it plainer the last time but was in a hurry to go hunting. F. H.

Belt, Montana, Dec. 30, 1904.
J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

Dear Sir: Inclosed find \$1 for my subscription for the News. I will get you all the subscribers I possibly can. I would like to have you pay a visit to Belt. I believe you could get lots of subscribers. Yours for the present in the cause,
W. M. HORSNELL.

Canyon Ferry, Mont., Jan. 1, '05.
J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

(Continued on last page.)

DR. G. A. WILLETT
DENTIST
THOMPSON BLOCK, ROOM 9
Main St. opposite
Grand Central Hotel

COMRADES ATTENTION!!

THE REFERENDUM, is the only Socialist paper in the United States, outside the Montana News, which has taken the stand against the Chicago document, called a Socialist Platform, the immediate demands and the Trades Union resolution. **THE REFERENDUM** is now the only clear cut Socialist paper out of the whole eastern bunch. It is time a decided stand is taken between capitalist reform and Socialism. Send **35 cents** and get **THE REFERENDUM** and News \$1.35
E. B. Ford, Editor,
FAIRBAULT, MINNESOTA

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Before you definitely plan a trip, let me know your prospective destination and see if I have not some very valuable suggestions.



H. F. RUGER, Traveling Passenger Agent,
35 East Broadway, BUTTE, MONT.

I contemplate a trip to _____
Please let me know about rates, routes, etc.

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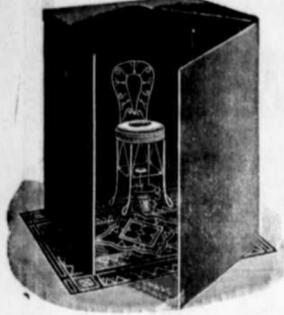
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All meal dining-cars served a la carte. For full information regarding rates and sleeping car, write or call upon W. C. Doherty, Lewistown, Stage office, or

L. H. YOUNG, Great Falls.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(Continued from page 3)

Dear Comrade: I herewith inclose check for \$1 for part payment on those five cards you let me have last July.

I am sorry Comrade Lynch had to go. He will be missed very much by the movement of Montana. Who will handle "This union proposition," now that Comrade Lynch is gone?

Comrade Brack should dream some more; he seems to be more awake in his sleep than most people are when they think they're awake.

Yours fraternally,
CHAS. SCURLOCK.

The Montana News, Helena, Mont.

Comrades, Greeting: Have had very poor luck with the last bunch of cards. I sold one today and am buying the balance myself. It may seem strange to you that such is the case, but look at the unheard of prosperity we are enjoying. I am told that the children of Aldridge have no shoes to wear, and at Christmas some of the members of the Miners' union were around getting subscriptions so as to give those children a Christmas tree. Nothing like it.

Say, did you see the election returns in the Butte Miner? I see they allow Debs 391,587, but in figuring it up myself I find it is 401,495.

Wishing you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year, I remain

Yours fraternally,

M. J. F.

P. S. Enclosed find \$5 in currency.

Gilt Edge, Mont., Dec. 26, 1904.

J. H. Walsh, Helena.

Dear Sir and Comrade: Enclosed find check for \$13, for subs for M. K. Seely, J. J. Lewis and Henry Geick, all of Gilt Edge.

We are sending out notices of meeting to be held Saturday evening, the 31st, and if we get a crowd together will do what I can on press proposition.

\$10 of check applies on certificate of share for Henry Geick.

Hoping the comrades throughout the state will respond to your appeal, I am,

Yours for success,
ROBERT HENDRY.

(Continued from first page.)

ferred with by any person or any combination of persons outside. It must run its own business in its own way.

Will our friend from Mars believe that labor will take that view of liberty at the bidding of its master? Will he believe that with such an opinion he will go to the ballot box and vote for republican protection for the master with the man left out; or that labor will vote for free trade in itself without restraint or obligation, and open world markets to keep that trade a moving. If the man from Mars is very polite he may say nothing now, but I would like you to hear the loud, long laugh that spreads over him down to his boots when he gets home and is telling his wife of that noble creature, that free sovereign citizen, the working man of America.

The working class not only supplies capitalism with the ballots that kill itself, but also with the bullets

NEWS WANT ADS

Three insertions in our want column Free of Charge for workers desiring positions, or those desiring help.

Wanted—All piano players to send 25 cents and get the "Brotherhood of Man," the first Socialist March for piano ever published. Address Montana News, Box 908, Helena, Mont.

For Sale—Few more copies at this office of "Socialism Made Plain," by Allen L. Benson. 135 pages for 15 cents. Address The News, Box 908, Helena, Mont.

For Sale—"Unionism and Socialism," by Eugene V. Debs. 10 cts. Order at once from the Montana News office.



Fine Work.
Sport—Say, you can't fish there. You won't get a bite!
Mulduckle—Whist, now, don't you know all the fishes will flock under here to get in out of the rain?—Chicago News.

A Practical Joke.



"Don't you hear those cries? It sounds like some one in distress."
"No; it's Jimmy in the barrel."

Intellectual.



Undergraduate (to chum)—That Miss Slick is the finest conversationalist I ever met. She knows all the track records for three years back.—Chicago News

that kill itself. If the world market does not open all around the world, or keep open enough, why then the laboring class puts itself into uniform and goes forth to war, shooting itself to open more markets for its own expropriated products, and shooting itself again to open the markets that are already open a little more, and shooting itself again in some other war in order to remove any obstructions which might appear or threaten to appear in the way of a perfectly free circulation of the free, that is, defenceless, commodity known as free labor.

It seems that labor has gone as far in the way of self-immolation to the cause of capitalism as ever the wildest savage fanatics are imagined to have gone for their gods. It has supplied the fundamental commodity of capitalism in advance, that is, labor itself; it has supplied the necessary defencelessness, that is, freedom of contract or from contract as it may suit the master. It has enforced with its own blood the free markets for itself. By its own ballots it has made the capitalist laws against itself at home and by its own hands it enforces them.

OUR MEATS

Are the finest in the city. Our prices are always the lowest.

Veal Roast, lb	12 1/2 c
Pork Roast, lb	12 1/2 c
Prime Rib Roast, lb	10 c
Leg of Mutton, lb	9 c
Rump Roast, lb	7 c
Pot Roast	5 c
Mutton Roast	5 c
Veal Stew	8 c
Mutton Stew	2 c
Boiling Beef	4 c
Sirloin Steak	10 c
Round Steak	8 c
Rib Steak	7 c
Mutton Chops	7 c
Pork Chops	12 1/2 c
Montana Turkey, dressed	23 c
Chickens	16 @ 17c
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Olympias, for cocktails	75 c

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goes all the better with a bottle of beer—the work of the afternoon goes all the better, too. Capital Beer in case lots of 24 bottles costs only \$3.00 delivered at your home, and your wife will enjoy a glass or two at her noon-day meal. Capital Beer is a fine beer for lunch, dinner or supper.

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TO THE NEWS OFFICE

Socialist National Platform

I.

We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the republican and democratic parties are utterly false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public schools, the pulpit and the press, arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the Socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers in the most remote places of the earth inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world

to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Socialist movement, therefore, is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labors of scores or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power

of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the Socialist movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Socialist movement. The Socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall be long to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and the political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increase of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to public employment and bettering the condition of the workers; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be intrusted to us by our fellow workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies into the workers' cause to cast their lot and faith with the Socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.