

Socialism and Labor

The Ballot and Not Terrorism the Only Effective Weapon of the Working Class

Address Delivered Before Goldfield Miners' Union by Ida Crouch-Hazlett of Helena

Comrades and Brothers:— Since we are just in receipt of the good news of the acquittal of Charles Moyer it seems as though it might be fitting that his meeting should be turned into a jubilee to celebrate the exoneration of our comrades from the heinous charge that have been heaped upon them.

The verdict of the Boise jury is a testimonial to the fact that the working class is learning to use the capitalist weapon—it is learning how to handle the courts to the utter confusion of its powerful enemies. The determination with which the working class have raised money, employed the ablest legal talent obtainable, availed themselves of every legal measure and followed up very close in defense of the men through which the employers meant to stike at the heart of a great organization, has baffled all the resources that the ruling class has been able to bring against them.

I have chosen the subject announced to speak on here tonight because, in this place—the labor union hall—and under these conditions—the strike of a great organization, a discourse on such phases as the science and history of socialism might possibly seem tedious and cumbersome.

The socialist movement in this country has come to be fairly understood among the working class, through continuous speaking, the labor and party papers, and a certain sort of literature distributed with tolerable thoroughness—a least as to superficial knowledge of its leading principles.

The literature read has been mostly very light and superficial, after the "American Way." As a result the working men have generally drawn their own individual conclusions as to what constitutes the essence, path and program of socialism, and as a result many chaotic abortions of the movement are constantly popping up. We have but to point in instance to the numerous checkered beliefs that today parade through the minds of the working class under the name of socialism. I am here tonight as a representative of the Socialist Party, and shall speak from that platform and on its positions.

The subject for this evening is "Socialism and the Labor Movement." A comrade remarked that these two phrases mean the same, that socialism is the labor movement. Unfortunately it is not yet so in this country, I at one time heard Haywood say that the labor movement was in a formative stage in this country; that it was difficult to tell just the direction it would take; but that the socialist movement at least knew its goal.

In labor's long, paining and bitter fight with the capitalist oppressor socialism has brought the struggle upon the plane of consciousness. Socialism has come into this blind and brutal contest with a definite program, clearing the way through the wilderness of primal chaos with its three grand basic principles—the materialist conception of history, the theory of surplus value and capitalist accumulation, and the working basis of the class struggle.

What lines are not effective in the class struggle is what perhaps concerns us the most here tonight in Goldfield, and in the ranks of organized labor throughout the country.

With the triumphant close of the Federation trials, the terrific test has brought forth some lessons that should be deeply impressed on the understanding of every man and woman that is obliged to work for a living. There are three of these to which I wish to draw particular attention at this time. They all have to do with consideration of the best methods of

moulding the working class into a compact body to successfully fight the purloiner of its products, to seize all social powers, and finally to abolish both the proletariat and its oppressor.

The Western Federation has been charged by the capitalist papers, the public and the arraignment of society with instituting a reign of terrorism as a working class weapon. This charge has been made in conjunction with the one that the Federation was a socialist organization. This certainly is one of the most remarkable amalgamation of charges ever brought by ignorant accusers. The method of the terrorist or blind force and a war on life and property in the very thing in the instinctive fighting of the working class that socialism has come to half a century ago in the councils of Marx' old Internationals, when Bakounine and his anarchist followers were expelled from these conventions, and a constructive policy of education and organization of the working man took place of an appeal to mob and riot as a means of opposing a dominant and oppressive class. Engels said the time for the barricade in the streets had passed. Terrorism is exactly what a socialist movement does not want, not because of its method but because of its inadequacy and insufficiency. From remote ages there has been blow for blow, and blood for blood. Now the working man must learn to use the weapons that have entrenched the capitalist class organization, administration, solidarity. With a labor union turning to socialism there is the chance to teach the public those eternal principles.

The accusation of terrorism is the blackest sort of slander used to brand an organization suspected of socialism.

Moreover, it would be the most superlative folly for a labor organization to imagine that it could ever win any advantage whatever by resorting to deeds of violence of government, and the majority of its own class against it. Democratic institutions to a certain extent have provided a way to get control of government. At least if they have not a massed effort is the first essential.

The second point for our consideration is the institution of the ballot. It has been a distinctive feature of the Goldfield labor movement that there is connected with it a large and growing sentiment against the ballot. Many in the unions have violently repudiated the ballot, and are using every means to influence others in this respect. A departure like this is certainly surprising in a union which has boasted of its strong socialist tendencies, and a commentary on the sort of teaching that has been imbibed.

The socialist movement of the world stands preeminently for the ballot. Where that liberty is denied in the countries of Europe the working class are a unit in demanding it. The workers of Russia are enduring tortures that they may get representation in government. The conflict of the Germans in the revolution of 1848 was for ballot and representation. The Austrians are calling the general strike that they might have the rights of suffrage; so with the Belgians and numerous other cases that might be mentioned. The right to vote, to participate in the ordering of the society in which they live has been the aspiration of the underlings throughout all time, and there is not a socialist platform in the world but what demands it.

What is this ballot that any member of the American working class can so deride? It is the expression of the

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No Break in Ranks of Linemen

Subsidized Press Circulating False Reports that Strike Is Broken

ONLY THREE MEN BACK TO WORK

The Anaconda Standard and other capitalist papers are printing false statements to the effect that the linemen on strike against the Bell Telephone company have gone back to work at Ogden, Utah, and that the backbone of the strike is broken and general dissatisfaction exists among the union men. The whole statement is false as will be seen by the following letter from W. J. Sullivan, Vice-President of the Electrical Workers Union:

Butte, Mont., Jan. 12, 1908
Editor Montana News,
Helena Mont.

Dear Sir:—I am writing you this letter to show from the methods which the Rocky Mountain Bell Telephone company are pursuing, the desperate straits which they are reduced to.

From the inception of the present difficulty, they have had the assistance of the daily press in their endeavors to mislead the public at large, and union men in particular, in matters pertaining to this strike; by having articles paid for, as I have been informed, at the rate of thirty cents a line.

I will try to illustrate their plan of campaign since the 21st of May, when this trouble began, by relating a circumstance which has come to our notice in the last few days.

On January 7th an article appeared in the Inter Mountain Republican of Salt Lake, which would lead any one who was not familiar with the methods of the Bell company to believe that the Local Union of our brotherhood in Ogden, namely Local Union No. 316, had become desperate to such an extent that they had gone back in a body. This article was answered in the Inter Mountain Republican of the 8th, by Local Union No. 316, as follows:

"Electrical Workers.
A member of local order of Electrical Workers, No. 316, visited the Examiner office last evening and stated emphatically that the statement alleged to have been made by the manager of the Bell Telephone company of Ogden, as reported in the Inter Mountain Republican of yesterday morning, that the union is weakening, is

untrue, and without any foundation in fact.

The gentleman stated that the union is just as strong as ever and that it will "stand pat" in its fight for principle. He also stated that W. D. Evans and D. Crockett are the only men who have returned to work for the Bell company. "The others," he said, "remain firm in their contention for what the union considers to be right."

It is needless to say that the daily press, when we desire to give any information to the public concerning the true state of affairs, did not copy the statement by Local No. 316. Being very friendly inclined towards the Bell Telephone company however, the article of January 7th, which emanated from the officers of the Bell Telephone company, was re-produced in the columns of the Anaconda Standard of the 12th. I expect from their method of transmitting information to see the same article in the Helena Independent, a week or month from now.

As I do not desire to take up too much of your valuable space, I will close by giving a statement of facts since the inception of this strike.

We have had six of our former members return to work. Not desiring to give the names of these individuals, as I believe they have taken a larger load on their shoulders than they will be able to carry through life, I simply state that one of them was a resident of Wyoming two of Salt Lake, one of Helena, and the two whom the article in the Inter Mountain Republican of the 9th has designated. So you can see no matter what the officers of the company say to the contrary, the strike is still on and will remain on until it is settled to the satisfaction of our men who will decide the question by referendum vote.

Yours very truly,
W. J. SULLIVAN,
International Brotherhood Electrical Workers.

When you read anything in the daily papers about "strikes being broken" or "strikes stamped" you may be sure that article is either paid for by the corporation interested or sent out by the corporations' intelligence bureau.

Next Week

The News will print the latest Reports from the Nevada Legislature which is now in Session.

IDA CROUCH-HAZLETT,
the gifted Editor of the Montana News
is now in Carson City and will give
Sketches of how Old Party Law
Makers Provide Ways and Means
to Shoot the horny handed
Sons of Toil who Rebel

Immigration Resolution

The Influence of Asiatics a Menace to Organized Labor Versus the Stuttgart Resolution

Shall Socialists Stand for Their Exclusion—America Does not Need Dictation From Europe

When considering the international resolution on immigration from the standpoint of American conditions, one cannot help endorsing the stand taken against it by many Socialists, among them Victor L. Berger and Ernst Untermann. These two comrades are especially bitter in their denunciations of the resolution in question, also the position of the American delegation with reference to it, and one feels beyond a doubt that the facts warrant it.

The immigration problem is peculiarly American, no European country is faced with it, and this alone should recommend it to the serious consideration of every American Socialist. The party press with a few exceptions unfortunately have given it but little publicity, which is an example that the Montana News cannot afford to copy. The rank and file should be in possession of the facts so that it will know what course to pursue.

The influx during recent years of large masses of people from the Asiatic countries are clearly a menace to American working class interests, and the unmistakable attitude of American unions towards them (emphasized recently on the Pacific coast, particularly in British Columbia and San Francisco by the aggressive tactics employed by union men in those places to stem the tide of the influx of these undesirable) was the principal cause that brought the immigration up for the party consideration. The movement for the exclusion of the Asiatics originating in a few isolated places on the Pacific coast had before the meeting of the international congress spread over the greater part of the country. In Canada it was made by union men a national issue.

The National Executive Board of the Socialist party realizing its significance and the consequent need of opinion on the question, accordingly drew up a resolution to be presented for the consideration of the Stuttgart congress, instructing the American delegation to support it.

The principal clause, which is taken from the Untermann article on the subject in the Miners' Magazine, runs as follows:

"After carefully—I am quoting the preliminary remarks of Comrade Untermann—distinguishing between voluntary and artificially stimulated immigration, which does not directly affect the living conditions of the American working class, it continues:

"Both these forms of immigration must, however, be carefully distinguished from the deliberate importation of foreign labor by the capitalist class for the purpose of increasing the competition between the working men of the importing country, lowering their wages and breaking the power of their organizations.

"Such imported laborers, whether individually hired by contracts in other capitalistic countries, or imported in masses from countries as yet hardly touched by the capitalist mode of production, and the resultant class struggle, supply an ever ready army of strike-breakers and are as a rule inaccessible to the Socialist and trade union propaganda."

For the sake of plainness it may be here noted that the late clause refers solely to Asiatic immigration, which it considers to be equally dangerous whether it be under contract or purely voluntary.

The resolution continues: "Justice and wisdom alike dictate to the workmen of every country to treat the involuntary and unfortunate immigrants of their class with the same

spirit of solidarity and brotherhood as they treat their native fellow workers, while their sense of self-preservation compels them to resist the importation of unorganized and unorganizable foreign laborers"

"Among the duties of the Socialists (to again quote Untermann) and organized workmen, our resolution then enumerates under No. 3:

"To combat with all means at their command the willful importation of cheap foreign labor calculated to destroy labor organizations, to lower the standard of living of the working class, and to retard the ultimate realization of Socialism."

In perusing the foregoing clauses it will be noticed that N. E. B. is in perfect accord with the position of American unionism on the Asiatic immigration question. As indicated by the resolution, the committee regards it as a menace to the present economic status of the American workers, and, what is undoubtedly more important, a great factor in retarding the movement towards Socialism.

Unfortunately the American delegation disobeyed the instructions to vote and work for this resolution and voted for, instead, a substitute drafted by a European Socialist who could not, as a study of it indicates, have had even a glimmering notion of American conditions. The position taken up by it is the exact opposite of the committee's resolution, and is undoubtedly intended as a blow to the American Socialist party.

The part of the resolution which concerns us runs as follows:

"The congress does not consider exceptional measures of any kind, economic or political, the means of removing any danger which may arise to the working class from immigration and emigration, since such measures are fruitless and reactionary; especially the restrictions of the freedom of migration and the exclusion of foreign nations and races.

"The congress recognizes the difficulties which, in many cases, confront the workmen of the countries of a more advanced stage of capitalist development through the mass of immigration of unorganized workmen accustomed to a lower standard of life and coming from countries of prevalently agricultural and domestic civilization, and also the dangers which confront them from certain forms of immigration.

"But the congress sees no proper solution of these difficulties in the exclusion of definite nations or races from immigration; a policy which is, besides, in conflict with the principle of proletarian solidarity.

"At the same time the congress declares it to be the duty of organized workmen to protect themselves against the lowering of their standard of life, which frequently results from the mass import of unorganized workmen. The congress declares it to be their duty to prevent the import and export of strike-breakers."

The latter clause appears to agree with a part of the American resolution, but only seemingly so. To again quote Untermann "In reality it agrees only with a part of our resolution, but takes particular exception to our practical position, first because our resolution declares it to be the duty of Socialists and organized workmen to combat injurious immigration with all means at their command, and second because the international resolution specifically takes exception to exceptional measures, especially to restriction of the freedom and the exclusion of foreign nations or races."

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TO THE FRONT.

Montana now has two members on the national committee. It has the smallest population of any state having two members, and the largest party membership of any state in comparison to population or voters. It is equal to fifty-one per cent of the Washington membership, and Montana has only 20 per cent of the population that Washington has. The Montana membership is equal to 33 per cent of the Wisconsin membership, and Milwaukee alone has more voters than the whole state of Montana.

Wyoming shows up fairly well for population, but not for voters as women vote in that state. Idaho is very poor, both for population and voters. Women vote in Idaho, Oregon has only 153 more voters than Montana, while its population is nearly eight times as large as Montana's.

Watch Montana! Our total membership has increased twenty-five per cent in the past year. At a conservative estimate the membership will increase 20 per cent during the next two months.

When we compare this with the Kansas membership, the home of the Appeal, it is enough to make Montana socialists feel good over the year's showing.

Why don't the unions of Butte suggest a compulsory board of arbitration to settle the price at which commodities shall be sold in that camp. Also a national bank to set the price on copper.

Since men learned to control the thunderbolt it has been a blessing and has been used for the enlightenment of the human race. When the workers learn to control the injunction, it can be used to bring about their own emancipation.

Fellow working men don't be fooled by any compulsory arbitration talk. The price at which labor power shall be bought and sold can no more be satisfactory settled by compulsory arbitration than the price of hay or grain, or shoes or clothing, shall be bought and sold can be settled by the same method.

Compulsory arbitration means compelling the weaker to abide by the decision of the stronger. The stronger will always have the decision in their favor, otherwise they would not abide by it. The ruling class will always shape the law-making body whether it be a board of arbitration or a supreme court.

We workers will get things in our favor when we get to be the ruling class.

Immigration Resolution
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The absurdity of the international resolution from the American standpoint is obvious. While believing with us that the immigration of a people with a low standard of life is a menace to the working class of any nation, yet it condemns exceptional measures, the only practical remedy in the case, as "fruitless and reactionary, and a policy which is, besides, in conflict with the principle of proletarian solidarity."

What satisfaction can American

Socialists derive from this? How imbecile it would be for them to maintain such a position in the face of the great problem of Asiatic immigration, which has such vital import for every American worker!

Theoretically the principal of international class solidarity is correct, but it is useless as a solution to many practical problems of the present. No Socialist workingman, however intensely he may believe in it, will see his standard of living and those of his fellow workers lowered through the influx of an undesirable people without making an effort to prevent it; confronted with such a menace he will instantaneously revolt. Necessity dictates this course. The plea to at all times observe the above mentioned principal cannot possibly have any weight with him when his economic standard is being destroyed through the instrumentality of races with a much lower one. That he should act in this manner is perfectly natural, for if he passively accepted these conditions, then it is plain that the spirit of revolt, which alone makes him a progressive factor, is dead within him.

This is exactly how every worker, whether Socialist or non-Socialist, must feel on the question. American labor, through the influx of the Asiatic, is faced with such a menace, the disastrous effects which must result from it if it be allowed to continue cannot be underestimated. It is possible with Europeans to educate them in a short time to our modes of life and thinking, but with the Asiatic, especially that part of them, namely, the Chinaman and the Hindoo, it is out of the question. In civilization they are thousands of years behind us. It is a known fact that they regard the white race with a feeling of contempt. The Hindoo, for an example, will not eat anything that a white man has cooked, or, if he is aware of it, touched. How can the American worker tolerate that? It is the result of a deep seated racial prejudice which a plea for international class solidarity cannot prevail against. It can only be eliminated through the development of capitalist production in the countries where it originates.

The Asiatic immigration problem is the gravest that has ever faced the American labor movement throughout its history. If the Asiatic race should ever gain a secure foothold in this country the day of organized labor is passed. That it will soon gain such a foothold is highly probable if nothing is done to prevent it. The probability is so great that one feels that Comrade Berger is right when he says in effect that it may resolve itself into the question whether this shall continue a white man's country or one peopled by the Asiatic with a mixture of the white race. The capitalist is not concerned in this—the sole problem of his existence is how to increase the profits on his investments, and assuredly the Asiatic serves his purpose better than the white man. The Asiatic countries, teeming with a population for long ages to low standards of living, resigned to the most absolute despotism, extremely servile, into whose brain the idea for freedom never enters, furnishes the American capitalist with material which he can use to advantage in exploiting the vast resources of this country.

What significance this question has for American labor, his standard of living reduced to that of the Chinaman, what has the future in store for him? Reduced to the lowest stage of destitution, what hope of success is there for the Socialist propaganda?

Is the American Socialist party going to stand neutral on this question and passively watch this struggle of the American proletariat to maintain its present standard of life—nay, probably to preserve its very existence—or declare itself true to its function as the representative of American labor by championing its cause?

The latter is the only logical course. The reason of every member of the party dictates it. We, the class-conscious portion of the workers, must take the lead in this case, as in all such cases where the interests of labor are involved. This is an antagonism engendered through the struggle of one race against another to maintain a somewhat decent standard of living.

It is clearly impossible to obey the Stuttgart mandate in this case. We must teach the European Socialist that the American Socialist party is the best judge of the tactics which American conditions demand. That it has passed the embryonic stage and does not need dictation from Europe. And, after all, in refusing to accept the international resolution, we are only copying the precedent established by Germany on the question of militarism. Like the German Socialist, we demand liberty of action, for to us belongs the task of building up the American movement for proletarian emancipation.

Let the Montana Socialists take immediate action in this matter and induce the party to accept our own resolution as the expression of party opinion.

Jesse D. Selby.

Why all this wringing we hear among the workers about injunctions? What kick have they coming because the laws are not made and executed to suit them? Do not the workers elect the men who make the laws and appoint the judges?

When you hand a club to your enemy what reason have you to complain if he hits you with it? Were the workers in power would they not use their power to promote their own interests? Does not the Socialist party, the party of the working class, declare they intend to gain control of the powers of government for that very purpose?

Then why complain because the other class does the same thing? Respect, nor even sympathy, can be gained by crying. Let us take a lesson from the actions of the courts and legislatures of the capitalist class. Every day they are establishing precedents which can be used by a victorious working class to acquire possession of our national industries. Dry up your tears, working men—get possession of the club and wipe capitalism off the map. Don't be a whiner—be an actor.

A Plea for Unity

Butte, Mont., Dec. 25, '07.

Mr. James D. Graham: Dear Comrade—Realizing that the time for the next national Socialist convention is drawing near, it behooves us to begin to look about us and see what, if any, changes are needed in our party. We all know that in order for anything to progress, tactics must be changed from time to time in order to meet new conditions that are constantly arising.

In my opinion the time has arrived that the Socialist party has advanced beyond its present tactics, and that we must adopt new ones. The place to do his is in our next convention. So in order to bring the matter before the comrades of the state I hope you will give me space in the News for the following article in defense of some of the changes I think are necessary for the future of the party.

The time has arrived when there is not room for two Socialist parties in the field of labor. The goal of both is the same. Their ethics are identical. Their only difference being their style of tactics. Why not cull out the poorest tactics of both, adopt the best of both, and make one solid working class party?

There is one great question that is keeping the two parties apart, and that is the question of industrial unionism. I believe that before the Socialist party can progress further it must come out and declare itself unqualifiedly for industrial unionism. For it is only upon the economical field that the working class can ever hope to build a sound political movement. Many Socialists have long argued that the Socialist party is not yet ready for the industrial movement. Others have argued that the A. F. of L. is all right in its place, and that instead of a new economical movement we should rebuild the A. F. of L.

There might have been a time when the A. F. of L. could have been rebuilt, but that time has long gone by. And today it is rotten from center to circumference. It has been steeped so long in graft, organized scabbery, ignorance and mismanagement that it is absolutely impossible to rebuild it. There is not one sound timber in it, and it is high time the Socialist party stop trying to hold up such a rotten and worn out institution.

It seems to me that the examples of the folly of trying to accomplish any good with the A. F. of L. are so familiar to the up to date Socialist that I will not take up space in our paper citing any of them. What I do want to say is this—that every one of us should see to it that in our next convention our delegates go there with the intention of not coming away until our party has taken a stand for industrial unionism.

Another great question that is keeping the two parties apart is that of the party owned press. We in Montana, I believe, are well aware of the party owned press. While the private press is all right in its place, yet the party press is far superior to it in every way. Only too often we find ourselves censuring our private owned papers and accusing them of printing stuff that is not Socialism; and of advancing as Socialism ideas that are contrary to all the ethics of Socialism. Then to the private owned press has, in many cases, arisen to an institution of graft instead of education. We should make every effort in our next convention to establish the party owned press on a firm basis. And to serve notice on the private press that they must come under the dictation of the party or lose its support.

Yet another question that is keeping the two parties apart is state autonomy. State autonomy is entirely out of the line of scientific Socialism. Socialism is the highest form of collective production, distribution and fellowship that man has yet advanced. While state autonomy is a hundred years behind the time. Our party has

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A VOICE FROM THE OTHER SIDE

It has seemed to me that your paper, while generally holding a non-partisan standpoint, in regard to mooted questions concerning labor organizations, at the same time has inclined more favorably to the Western Federation of Miners and its offspring, the Industrial Workers of the World, than to the crafts amalgamated under the American Federation of Labor. If you will find place for it in your paper I should like to present some considerations that seem to me are worth attention at the present time.

The Federation will either go out of business or join the A. F. of L. That is inevitable, and the sooner either one happens the better for the working class movement in America. The Federation has had to accept a reduction of wages in Butte and British Columbia, and has declared the Cripple Creek trouble off, the same at Bisbee, Arizona. It is now facing trouble in Nevada and Alaska, and will ultimately be forced to accept a wage reduction of a dishonorable compromise.

The A. F. of L., on the other hand, is holding its own and is progressing. The reason of all this is not that the capitalist class favors the A. F. of L., on the contrary, it is being fought all along the line and severely too; but that the Federation in the past and present has been working along wrong lines. The Federation is out of harmony with the trend of labor union development, and the sooner it gets the better it will be for the entire labor movement in America.

The A. F. of L. is the permanent labor organization in America, and when it goes down the entire American labor movement goes down with it. We have reached a time in the economic development of the working class movement when but one organization should exist. The A. F. of L. is the frame work, the skeleton of an industrial organization. It is an organization that is rapidly growing and developing, and its trend of development is along industrial lines, regardless of all obstructions. As the workers become educated they will force industrial organization regardless of Gompers or anyone else. Labor never rises in the social scale, nor can it ever do so until it is intelligent enough to organize. It is now organized and becoming better organized under the A. F. of L.—more powerful each year.

Until union men and women realize that they are dependent upon each other and upon their own exertions and not upon any force without their own ranks, it is impossible to advance. As soon as they realize this they immediately co-operate, and co-operation is a work of the highest intelligence. The workers have about reached this stage and after all discord is wiped out between the organization's industrial unity will be accomplished.

The last convention of the A. F. of L. marked an epoch in the march of industrial unionism. The building trades are all under one head now, and every union affiliated with the A. F. of L. must join and be part of the local trades councils or forfeit its charter. That was the work of the last convention. The foundation of industrial unity in all cities has been laid.

Within a year from now the boiler-makers, blacksmiths and machinists employed on railroads, together with their helpers, will be all under one head, instead of being in five different organizations, and will be known as the Allied, Affiliated or Amalgamated Metal Workers. The entire trend of the A. F. of L. unions is headed this way—towards centralization.

John Mitchell made the coal miners' union one of the best organized industrial unions in the country. When the Western Federation goes on strike one camp strikes, one union. Let a coal camp go on strike or have a grievance and the entire district goes out. Let a strike be ordered in one camp in Montana and every coal camp in Montana and Wyoming goes on strike except one, Aldridge, Montana, which belongs to the W. F. of M. John Mitchell believes in industrial organization for the coal miners, but not for others; however, John Mitchell's days are ended in the union movement.

When the railway boiler-makers went on strike recently every road in the northwest went out that was controlled by the Hill-Morgan syndicate. When the machinists made the scale with the railroads last summer in the Northwest instead of each road making a different agreement, one agreement was made covering every road running out of Chicago northwest belonging to the Hill-Morgan syndicate.

The boiler-makers followed suit, and the railroads were glad of it, as the managers could settle things collectively, and by a sub-committee of railway general managers. The last convention of machinists, held a few months ago, formed all the railroad

machinists into five districts, comprising all the railroads in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, Chicago being made the center from which all districts radiated. The fifth district comprises all machinists working in locomotive factories outside of the railroads.

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Mont.

organization of the working class along industrial lines as well as a political movement of the working class. The Socialist party to become the political expression of the working class must get nearer to the unions in America than they are at present, so that whenever a crisis arises in the labor movement the unions of the country will look to see which way the Socialists are going to act before they act.

The Socialists of America must act with the bona fide union movement, and not in harmony with or casting bouquets at a pseudo labor movement. The A. F. of L. is the bona fide union movement and is going to develop very rapidly into an industrial union. When the discord, the lack of harmony that now exists among the unions of the west is ended, then the way will be clear for quick action. There is no discord between the international unions; it is only between the A. F. of L. and the anti-A. F. of L., and the anti is a very small percentage of the union movement of this country—less than two per cent.

The workers have been kept apart by falsehoods. The union men of the east have sympathy with the union men of the west, regardless of craft distinctions. We as Socialists must do nothing to antagonize the union men. We can lead them consciously and direct them and they will unconsciously follow—that is, the ignorant ones. But if we go fighting their unions because they are not organized up to date, they will resist it. A good union man, no matter how ignorant he may be, looks on his unionism as his religion. Oliver Stetson.

Ferrets for Sale

Three first class Ferrets for sale. Call or write J. W. Reely, Commission Warehouse 734 West Cedar St. Missoula, Montana

THE CHILD SLAVE.
S. E. Kiser.

For a little bread and a little meat,
For two poor soles for his weary feet,
For a tattered coat and a bed of rags
And a curse or a blow if he ever
lags—
For the right to live as a worm may
live—
He gives up all that a child may give.
Ere he tastes the joy to youth is heir
His brow is seamed by the marks of
care;
Before he has learned that he has the
right
To set his goal on the fairest height,
He is robbed of hope and deprived of
zeal!
And is bound for life to the racking
wheel.
Our God, we say, is a God of love
And we preach of glories that are
above,
But never, whatever Death has in
store,
For the little slave when he slaves no
more.
May the glee of youth he has never
known
Or the joy of winning become his own.
He may never know that the world is
fair
And he may never struggle above dis-
pair;
He is robbed of the chance he had at
birth
To claim the price that a man is
worth,
And, with limbs that ache and with
eyes that plead,
He is crucified on the Cross of Greed.
For a little meat and a little bread
And a little rest when the day is dead
For the right to live as a worm may
live—
He gives up all that a child may give;
And we speak with pride of the grace
we claim
And with love we mention the dear
Christ's name!

Goldfield Miners' Delegation to Carson City

Everything is quiet in Goldfield as usual. The soldiers have moved into comfortable quarters in a hotel fearing bad weather. The season has been as balmy as spring so far without a single bad day. Only about 60 scabs are at work and these are so faithfully picketed that a number have already left town. Wingfield, vice-president of the Consolidated company, has been out to Salt Lake. It is said he has been out to recruit scabs.

All eyes are intent upon the legislature which holds its extra session Jan. 14. It is said a half million dollars corruption fund has been provided by the mine owners.

Everything points to the fact that Governor Sparks was paid \$50,000 for getting the troops here. He is nothing but a drunken sot, as tough and disreputable as they make them, and nothing else could be expected.

At the meeting of the union last night Fred Clough was appointed delegate to go to Carson City and look after the interest of the union during the session of the legislature. A call has been issued to the various unions of the state to do likewise, and some of the delegates have already been appointed.

Acting President Mahoney and Local President Mackinnon will both be at Carson.

The matter of sending "lobbyists" to the state capital called up considerable discussion in the union. Mr. Clough, who was the appointee at first refused to go because, as he said, he was a socialist and did not believe in asking favors from the old parties. A number of members who did not believe in political actions spoke and took occasion to point out the futility of electing men to the legislature and then sending people to watch them.

President Mahoney made a ringing speech in which he said he was a socialist, emphasized the need of the working man using every weapon he could get hold of, pointed out the immediate danger that was confronting organized labor in Nevada, scored the "direct actionists", the St. John faction who have repudiated the ballot and said we are not dealing with ideal conditions but with present difficulties.

The speech was well received. Mahoney is having an excellent influence and is showing great sagacity and judgment in dealing with the situation. He is very quiet and firm, a man that weighs well what he says before he says anything, who weighs the welfare of the entire Federation as against any set of unions. He stands for unity and rational action and is making a most favorable impression by the conduct of his office.

The union men are standing solid on the strike in spite of the reports that are being so widespread throughout the capitalist papers of the country.

The fake dual union that an individual by the name of O'Brien is attempting to form, is meeting with no encouragement except among a few malcontents, Cunningham of Butte being one. Ida Crouch-Hazlett

Women's Clubs

The Activity of Socialist Women.

The opening of the year 1908 will see more women actively engaged in socialist work the world over than we have ever known before. In England, Germany, France, Holland, Russia, Finland and even far-off Japan women are coming out boldly and unmistakably for socialism.

In the meantime the feminine element in the United States is not slumbering. On the contrary socialism and the labor union movement are keeping them quite awake, are furnishing for them that element of life, every vestige of which they had long ago exhausted from the temperance movement, the "literary" club and the original "woman's rights" movement. They are finding that the only possible abolition of the liquor traffic as it exists today lies in the abolition of the profits it brings; that the only certain rights that womankind ever can possess must have for their foundation "economic freedom. They are learning that true culture never can come from the dilettante methods of the literary club, where one memorizes gems from Shakespeare today and forgets them tomorrow, because they have no possible bearing upon one's immediate life and needs. They are finding that real knowledge lies in a speaking acquaintance with the laws of biology and the historical development of society. And this knowledge they begin to acquire the moment they become socialists. As socialists they are no longer living on the dry husks of sentiment and speculation; hence is developed a wonderful strength and energy, as they partake more and more of this "bread of life."

From every quarter comes the announcement of new organizations of socialist women who are ready to join hands with the brotherhood of the world in bringing about a better and higher life for all mankind.

Women are speaking for socialism; they are spreading literature—in Milwaukee the other day they distributed 60,000 leaflets showing the misery that women are forced to bear during the time of panics, and how needless it all is; they are reading more solid literature than they ever have read; they are joining the unions and are taboing the magazines printed by unfair non-union firms; they are reading, and inducing others to read. The Socialist Woman, and they are going to make it a great publication, worthy of the cause for which it stands. Women are conducting socialist Sunday schools for the young all over the land; they are joining the locals and are raising funds for socialist propaganda. They nominate and elect party officials, and they hold office even as men do in the party.

Four years ago, when the national convention of the Socialist Party met here in Chicago, there was held also a national convention of socialist women, with a view to organizing a Woman's National Socialist Union. There were several sessions, in a hall hired for the purpose, and a number of our prominent women spoke for and against the organization. The idea of a woman's national movement was not popular at that time. And this, together with the scarcity of socialist women, is probably the cause of the union's final decline. For it was organized, with Mrs. Wenoah Stevens Abbott of Chicago as president. Mrs. Abbott was also instrumental in organizing the women of California in a Woman's Socialist Union of California. This organization lived and flourished up to the time of the earthquake at San Francisco. For some time after it lapsed into inactivity, but it is being revived again, and soon will be stronger and more active than ever.

The efforts of Mrs. Abbott and her colleagues four years ago were not without their fruits, for the seed sown then is no doubt springing to life again in many towns and cities of the Union. As corresponding secretary of the Woman's National Socialist Union the editor of The Socialist Woman got her first impression regarding women's socialist organizations, and felt, as no doubt many of the officers and members felt, that though we were a little premature, the time was not far distant when socialism would take hold upon the women of this country, with the result that organizations would spring up naturally and voluntarily from every quarter. This they are now doing. The nearest approach to the old union is probably the Woman's National Progressive League; with headquarters in New York.

These organizations of women we hope to see increase tenfold during the coming year. They should penetrate into every town and hamlet in the nation. This is a presidential campaign year, and women's clubs can do an immense amount of propaganda if properly organized.

Another thing: Let the women's organizations see to it that their members are also members of the socialist

National News

Wisconsin Notes.

The liquor question was discussed at the last meeting of the Milwaukee city council. The Social-democratic aldermen introduced the following resolution: "Whereas, Milwaukee is known for the orderly character of its population—statistics showing that the number of arrests for crimes and misdemeanors of all descriptions are very much smaller in Milwaukee than in any other large city in the United States, and whereas, especially the masses of the people and our working class are famous all over the United States for their intelligence, enlightenment and orderly habits, although their personal liberty is less restricted here than in any other city, and whereas, any existing abuses and excesses could easily be corrected and avoided under the present laws and ordinances if we had a decent mayor and an efficient chief of police: Therefore be it resolved, That there seems to be no special reason nor general demand for any further restriction of personal liberty in this city, and consequently the common council ought not to legislate any further on this question unless so ordered by a vote of the people, and further resolved, that before any further measures in that direction are enacted, the following question shall be put to a referendum of the voters of Milwaukee at the next municipal election; Shall the common council enact any further restrictions on the beer and liquor traffic in the city of Milwaukee or not? Yes or no."

This session of the council was an animated meeting. The Social-Democrats expressed the Socialist viewpoint on many of the questions which came before the aldermen, and the meeting lasted from 3 to 12 p. m. Our men took the Socialist stand on Chinese cheap labor, the race question and parks, which Alderman Seidel (Social-democrat) declared were the lungs of the city and should be within reach of all the working people and their children. Something more vital was needed than mere automobile ways for the rich only.

The co-operative store of Racine, which has been in existence a year and a half, reports good success. During 1907 it had a volume of business amounting to \$25,500, and a profit of 20 per cent, divided in the usual manner. This is good for a beginning.

A Plea for Unity
Continued from Page 2.

for some time felt the restraint of it. Only last winter when Local New Orleans tried to get a matter before the various state organizations, they found state autonomy blocking them. About the same time Local Butte tried to get in connection with different locals of the state—we found local autonomy blocking us in the same way. The more central the Socialist movement, the better for it.

These three questions of the day are the main ones that are the stumbling block to the S. L. P. And while we are trying to overcome them the S. L. P. is working just as hard to overcome some of the objections that we have to some of their tactics. But in all fairness to the S. L. P. I must say their worst fault, if fault it is, is staunchness to the lines of scientific Socialism as laid down by Carl Marx and other great writers.

I believe firmly that the S. L. P. today stands far nearer to real Socialism than the S. P. And it is my earnest desire to see the S. P. advance, and to see the two parties united. I realize that we are wrong in the three questions I have spoken of and I hope to see our next convention get right on them. If they do then we will see the two parties as one. And not until then.

Hoping to see the comrades get busy and elect delegates who stand for industrial unionism, the establishment of the party press, and the abolition of state autonomy and the uniting of the two parties, I remain, yours for the revolution, A. M. Jennings.

locals. In this way our clubs become feeders of the Socialist Party, and will the more quickly aid in overturning and bringing about a fair and just regime, with equal rights to man and women alike and special privileges to none.—Socialist Woman.

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International

A SCAMPER ROUND THE WORLD.
In India—IV.—Eastern Bengal.

By J. Keir Hardie, M. P.

From Calcutta to Goalundo is a run of just over 150 miles. The country is flat, and in places spampy. Water abounds, and so jute and paddy (rice) grow well, as do also sugar-cane, betel-nut and cocoa-nut. Clumps of palm trees dot the landscape, affording shelter to the villages. Occasionally a peasant is seen ploughing a mud hole with a pair of oxen yoked to a very primitive plough, he and his oxen wading ankle deep in the mud, which is the soil in which the paddy flourishes. Pools of water abound, and within these black buffaloes wallow, with only the ridge of their spine and their nostrils above the surface. In these same pools scores of men and boys are at work, soaking the jute, preparatory to stripping the fibre from the stock. After it has been stripped it is made up into bundles, sometimes drummed, sometimes loose, and is then ready for the market. Jute has paid so well of late that much of the land formerly under rice is now given over to jute, which has had some effect on the price of food. In some cases, one crop of jute and another of paddy is raised from the same land; and if plenty of manure can be got, this pays exceedingly well.

The Waters and Banks of the Ganges.

At Goalundo we embarked on board one of the flat river steamers which are developing such an enormous trade through East Bengal and Assam. These rivers are often miles in width and in the rainy season when they flow down in tremendous floods, they reshape the country through which they flow. Sometimes great stretches of land, and the villages on them, are swept away, new islands are formed, and when the floods are over the course of the river may be found to have shifted several miles from its former bed.

All along the banks of these rivers villages are seen with natives busy at work. The land is very flat, being a delta being formed by the Ganges, one of the sacred rivers of India, and its tributaries on their way to the sea. Owing to the nature of the soil through which the rivers flow, the water is of a clayey hue; and I was informed that the natives are dependent upon it for water for domestic purposes.

I confess I should not like to be reduced to the necessity of drinking from its source. It appears, however, that there are compensations for every drawback, and the muddy water of the Ganges is held to be an excellent remedy for indigestion. This is consoling, though to a native forced to live on a handful of rice a day, one has the feeling that indigestion is not likely to be a very acute source of trouble.

As the shades of evening drew on a great searchlight from the prow of the boat suddenly flashed out into the darkness. It swept the river and the banks on each side, and then appeared a wondrous sight; thousands of flies came sailing down the stream of white light, and madly dashed themselves against the glass; some of them were as large as an ordinary sparrow at home, and I have seldom seen anything more beautiful than the flashing of their apparently transparent bodies as they gradually skimmed through the air.

At Serajganj.

At length we reached the landing-stage for Serajganj, where we found a gaily-decorated houseboat, with several smaller craft, including the inevitable police boat, waiting to receive us. Serajganj itself is built on the banks of a smaller river, about four miles up from the landing place; and it took us just over three hours to reach the town. Wind and tide were against us, and the crew of the houseboat proved altogether inadequate for their task.

An Old-Time Custom of India. Here, also, I experienced my first garlanding. It is an old-time custom of India to hang garlands of flowers round the neck of visitors and others, and also to pelt them with flower petals, much as rice is thrown at a wedding party at home.

I notice that the "Daily Mail" correspondent has been making the flesh of his readers creep by telling them that most of the garlands with which I was garlanded in East Bengal were composed of marigolds, and that those who remembered the chapatis of the mutiny period would know the significance which attached to this. Now, as a matter of fact, I have been garlanded scores of times since coming to India, but I have never once seen a marigold among the flowers. The garlanding is a bit trying to a modest man; but what could I do? One old man with gentle eyes said simply, as with trembling hands he

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placed the floral tribute round my neck, "This is our method of showing respect to those we love."

When we finally reached Serajganj I was conducted to the Dak bungalow. These are rest-houses, built by the local authorities, and used by officials and passing travellers, who are expected to provide their own bedding. The accommodation is ridiculously cheap, and good food can be had at moderate prices. The Dak bungalow is an excellent institution, which I patronized as often as circumstances would permit.

The Way of British Justice.

Next morning we visited schools and colleges, and were interviewed by deputations. An incident connected with the schools here shows the way in which British justice is upheld in India. Some youths, it is alleged, threw mud at one of the local officials. The popular version of the story is that they were provoked into this by the official hitting out at them with his whip as he was riding along. Be this as it may, suspicion fell upon the boys of the high schools, of which there are two belonging to private individuals, and an order was issued that unless the boys were discovered and handed over to justice, the government grant would be stopped. This punitive measure was carried out, and then another step was taken. A certain number of free scholarships are allocated to these schools each year, the boys who receive them being entitled to a maintenance grant at the university. Intimation was sent to the school authorities unless the culprits were discovered these free grants would be stopped; and a further step was threatened, and finally put into execution—that the boys attending these schools would be prohibited from sitting for examination for entrance to the university.

All these punishments are still in force. Let an ordinary British reader look at the matter as it stands. Some boys throw mud at a man riding past on horseback; the police are unable to discover who the culprits are; there are two efficient and well-conducted secondary schools carried on by public-spirited citizens, in the village, and upon these is placed the responsibility of doing what the police, whose duty it is, fail to do—viz., locate the culprits and hand them over to justice; and for failing to do this police work the schools are punished in the way described above. I shall have more to say about this and other matters in subsequent articles; but merely mention now in passing as an instance of how the government encourages those who are seeking to promote education, and of how British dignity is upheld in East Bengal.

The Prison Incident.

I had also at Serajganj an illustration of the spirit with which the native Indian is treated by his rulers. Let me frankly say at the outset that it was an extreme case, but only differs in its extremeness from what is common through out the greater part of India.

The facts are these—I was about to visit a prison, and was waiting outside the gates in company with some local gentlemen, amongst whom was also Mr. J. Chowdhury, to whom I referred in my last article. They were all in native dress, though each of them was a man of some standing and social position, all having received a university education, and some of them having taken degrees at Cambridge and Oxford. To really understand what follows, let it be borne in mind that we were standing outside the prison walls; we were not within any fence or enclosure, but on a path-way running through an open field, and which led to the prison gate. When the local magistrate came up to spot I stepped out from my group of friends to meet him, and after conversing with him for a minute or so we were about to proceed towards the prison gate, when he suddenly wheeled round, and speaking in an identical tone with that used by the wardens to the native prisoners at the Singapore Goal, he shouted: "Get off the

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prison compound." The tone and the manner of the man were so offensive that Mr. Chowdhury suggested that he should not speak in that way; whereupon he kept shouting at intervals of about twenty seconds: "Get off the prison compound; the public road is your place."

Mr. Chowdhury explained to him who he was; that he had held a seat in the Provincial Legislative Council, and so on. But this only seemed to make the irate magistrate more angry, and he still kept shouting, until my friends moved away. My feelings were those of shame and humiliation at the scene I had witnessed. After the native gentlemen had gone, the magistrate following them with his eyes until they were back on to the main road, he turned to me and said that we would now go inside. It took me about twenty-five seconds to express my opinion of him and his conduct at the end of which time I left him standing where he was and joined my friends.

Now, I repeat that this is an extreme case; but it illustrates, as I shall have only too much occasion to show later on, the way in which the educated native Indian is treated by a large section of Anglo-Indians, who believe in keeping the native in his place and of teaching him respect for British rule.

(To be continued.)

State Department

Mable's Report

Monarch, Jan. 2, 1908.

Comrades: I submit herewith the report of my work for the month of December, including November 30, the day I left Helena for Butte:

Dr.—
Cash on hand, Nov. 30.....\$ 5.00
Collected on equipment 84.50
Collected on monthly pledges... 9.00
Collected on single subscriptions. 76.00
Collected on bundles 50.00
Due equipment fund 4.00

\$228.50

Cr.—
Remitted on equipment fund...\$30.00
Remitted to bank 60.00
Remitted on subs. 63.50
Remitted on bundles 50.00

Expenses:
Car fare 8.65
Money orders and stamps 1.25
All other expenses 9.80
Over-remitted on sub. account by mistake 4.00
Cash on hand Jan. 1 1.30

\$228.50

Other bundles that I sold to labor unions were remitted for by the secretaries of the unions direct. \$250 has been subscribed for the equipment fund, over half of which sum I expect to collect in the month of January.

Acknowledgement of individual payments on equipment fund will be made to the locals or individuals direct, as some of the Comrades would forfeit their jobs were their names published in the paper. Fraternally submitted,

I left you last week at Comrade York's out in Michigan Settlement, eight miles from Monarch. After breakfast Comrade York hitched up his team and drove me all over the Kibbey country, getting back to his place after dark.

This farming community shows the effect of steady systematic work.

Comrade Rector has never let up a minute since he struck the country in his work and most of the speakers that have passed through Montana have been to Monarch and Kibbey.

As a result nearly all the farmers have seen, or are beginning to see, the light of socialism.

I walked over to where four men were baling hay and enquired if there were any socialists around this country. "There are four of them right here," replied one of the men. I had many kind inquiries about Comrade Hazlett.

Saturday morning Comrade York brought me down to Monarch. While in Monarch I was entertained by Comrades Rector and Fry.

Saturday I walked up to Neihart and back to Monarch on Monday.

Tuesday morning a bridge burned out above Monarch and shut off the regula train, but I caught a ride on a hand car seven miles and made a race for it and caught a rock train just as it was pulling out from B. & M. Siding and got to Belt in time for meeting of Miners' Union.

Tuesday night I could not be treated better than I was by the Belt Miners' Union, who are a progressive bunch as shown by their subscribing for 100 copies of the News for one year.

Expect to get back to the Falls to-night.

J. F. MABLE.

Comrade Cameron of Chico sends in \$1.35 for due stamps.

The amount of active work that is done in the next few months will determine the size of the socialist vote next November. Get busy.

Rev. F. L. Buzzell will lecture in Great Falls Wednesday and Thursday, after that he goes to Belt, Monarch and Cascade.

Local Belt of the United Mine Workers of America orders one hundred copies of the News for one year.

Comrade Williams went to Red Lodge where he held a first class meeting Sunday night.

Local Hamilton is the latest to request a date from Comrade Call.

Ben Tillett will speak in Helena under the auspices of the Trades & Labor Assembly.

Comrade Mable has secured over three hundred subscriptions to the News since December 21. That is going some. What is the matter with sending in a few subs to keep company with the ones he is sending.

Comrade Geo Williams held three rousing meetings in Livingston last week and reports that conditions are ripe in that town for aggressive work if the local members will do more active work.

Comrade Buzzell recently sold in Kallispell one hundred and forty-eight copies of Vail's Scientific Principles of Socialism. Cloth bound. This work will have a great effect on the movement in Flathead county. If others would do half as well, there would be something doing before long.

The circulation of the News is still on the boom. Comrade Hazlett sends in one dozen subs from Goldfield, Mable sends in a batch from Belt and Neihart. Each week we have to print a greater number of papers than the preceding one. Keep up the good work we will soon see the twenty thousand mark.

Job work is continuing to flow towards the News office from unions over the entire state as well as from Wyoming. The News is going to be the headquarters for union printing before very long. The entire labor movement of Montana is gradually coming to realize that the News is the only paper that can be relied upon to support them during trouble.

Mrs. Hazlett spoke in Miners' Union hall at Goldfield Sunday evening, January 5, under the auspices of the Socialist party. The hall was packed, every inch of standing room being taken. Over 500 men and women were present. Mauritz Richter, state secretary for Nevada, presided. Mrs. Hazlett spoke for two hours on "Socialism and the Labor Movement," drawing her lessons from the Western Federation trials. She spoke principally on three points, "Terrorism," "The Ballot" and "Organization."

The address seemed to be well received, a hopeful sign, as Goldfield has been wrestling with a growing sentiment against the ballot. The collection was \$14.50, and eleven subscriptions to the Montana News were sold. Mrs. Hazlett was asked by the union men to speak again on the next Sunday night on an explanation of Socialism alone, and she announced as her subject "The Basic Principles of Socialism." The Montana News is pasted up on both sides in the union hall, and as soon as the bundles come the copies are eagerly seized by the men congregated there.

Comrade Foster, formerly secretary of Local Butte, was so favorably impressed by the list of twenty unions that have recently subscribed for the News that he is going to make an effort to have the Goldfield union take a bundle also.

Mrs. Hazlett goes to Carson City Monday, January 13, to watch the labor legislation that is to be discussed at the extra session. Whatever trouble there is to be in Goldfield will be after the action of the assembly. In case of difficulty she will return to Goldfield. But if things are quiet she will go to the coast for a much needed rest after her exceedingly arduous year's work.

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Socialism and Labor

(Continued from page one.)

voice and the will of the working man; it is the recognition of him as a unit in the social structure; his personal influence moving up to help adjust his own environment. We are even asked "What good has the ballot done?"

The ballot has done the same good for man as it has for woman, or any enslaved class. It gives to those who have attained it an interest in the conditions of their environment. It arouses their attention and mental activity so that they study these conditions and learn what they must accomplish to better them. It lifts them from a governed class and makes them part of the governing body. It increases their intelligence, self-respect and power. All this is attained even with the blundering use of the ballot. When the workers learn to use it en masse in their own interests, they control schools, living conditions and all social activities. It teaches the workers administration, how to handle election machines, to cope with laws, and general efficiency when they go to work to control their own political activities and manage their own parties, instead of hanging on to the parties and manipulations of the class that uses them. So much does the ballot do even used imperfectly and ignorantly.

The argument is made that the ballot is ineffective. As one looks at the result of American politics the evidence is everywhere effective. Our whole system of government stands today by the ballot of the working class. Every grafter and public robber was put in the office by the votes of working men—a dismal commentary on the American workingman's intelligence as to how to handle political methods. He has been a willing tool of the machinations of other men.

Then the complaint is made that the working class have never achieved any class results from the ballot. How could they when they are voting the program of another class? Whenever they vote for their own program and their own candidates, under their own plan of operations which gives them absolute control of their candidates they can then make a test as to whether anything effective can be done with the ballot.

Today the working class have no organization to guard their ballot. Under the colossal election frauds in Colorado, when the socialist votes were counted out by the hundreds, the party was so weak and inefficient, to stingingly equipped with money that it could conduct no contest in the courts, could do nothing to maintain its own rights under the law. The money and time of the working men were put in boosting their masters into power, or in criminal indifference.

It is even argued by these repudiators of the working man's vote that the ballot is a capitalist institution, and as such must vanish before the One might as well say that education, art, the press, the lecture platform are capitalist institutions, to be done away with when the proletarian regime has been established. All of these activities of the human intellect will be brought to a higher stage of perfection and applied under more efficient methods when the curse of capitalist domination has been removed from the human race. The ballot is a decision and will forever be applied as long as mankind has things to decide. When it is applied better and more intelligently it will bring better results. The working class must supplant the capitalist class in the control of the ballot.

Economic organization cannot be belittled. But let the working men support their economic organization by their ballot. That is the only way they can keep it from going up like smoke whenever the courts or the military are turned on it. No possible weapon should be ignored that will further the interest of the workers. But on the contrary everything should be used that will strengthen the hands and the brain and the position of those who do the world's work.

A clique has sprung up here at Goldfield who are advertising themselves under the label of "direct actionists." They sneer at the ballot and claim to believe in the principle of socialism. When confronted with the statement that "direct action" is a term taken from the vocabulary of the anarchists, and is applied to their policy signified by the phrase "propaganda of the deed," these would-be makers of bricks without straw, inventors of new philosophies without the requisite knowledge to comprehend even the old ones, shield themselves by saying that they have no idea of the conquest of social powers by force but only through effective economic organization and control. Even could their hazy ideas be thoroughly carried out it would be but another form of political control.

This brings us to the third lesson

we may draw from the difficulties of the Federation, and this is "organization."

The working class have simply got to learn initiative, efficiency and administration if they are ever to successfully cope with and supplant the capitalist class; and this can only be learned by persistent co-operation, and the most perfect and systematic organization.

Goldfield has been heralded to the world as the stronghold of socialism in the Federation. At the meeting last Sunday night of the Socialist Party just two lone individuals were present. We haven't even timber for secretaries of our locals in most instances. Our people have got to learn the work of secretaries, the conduct of wards, treasurers, handling of registration lists, planning campaigns—to carry on the education of protest among the people through school, platform and press.

We must get command of the powers that capitalism uses. The machine is also a capitalist institution, so is the trust. We shall take them, transform them and use them to make us, the disinherited free. This is the goal of labor, of the socialist movement, that it should come into its own. That culture, art, education, material comforts should be the heritage of us all.

We welcome every movement that makes toward resistance, but better a conscious and intelligent movement. Antagonisms are here to stay till we have the abolition of the proletariat. I hope the elucidation I have attempted to make on these three points, terrorism, the ballot and organization may not have been altogether in vain. There is no royal road to the emancipation of labor; it must carve out its way, a new way, to achieve its destiny.

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