

## Words of Importance to Socialists at this Time!

### How Capitalism has Fooled the Workers of the World, and will Attempt to Repeat the Smooth Deal.

[BY GEORGE D. HERRON]

The term "class struggle" is offensive to many, and surprise is expressed that some of us should cast our lives with a movement which rests its integrity upon the development of a conscious and definite distinction between classes and their interests. This surprise is because of a misinterpretation of the class struggle as class hatred, and a delusive faith in the moral superiority of sentiment over fact. In reality, the class-consciousness of the working class, and the clear recognition of the fact that there can be no mutuality or identity between their interests and the interests of the capitalists or employing class, furnish the only foundation for the achievement of an honest or ethical society.

Ethics cannot co-exist with economic inequality, nor can liberty exist. We shall live in lies and tyrannies so long as some people have privileges which some other people have not; so long as some people own the things upon which all people depend. As long as one class does the world's work, and another class makes its institutions and ideals, the class-making, the institutions and ideals will continue to make them in such a way as to keep the working class in subjection to itself. Until the labor and the privileges of the world become common and equal, any civilization that we may have will be but the survival of brute force. We must recognize the fact of a class struggle before we can wipe it out through the socialization of the world.

How has the ruling class conquered? By concessions and compromise. It has been the policy and successful practice of the world's masters and owners, from the beginning of history, to defeat every revolution by adopting it; to destroy the rise of the people by befriending them; to make concessions that would become a bit and bridle in the mouth of revolt, and then ride it to new ruling-class power and glory. It is this that makes history so baffling and sickening to hope. It is by the favors which they receive from their masters that the tired generations of men are beaten back into the historic helplessness of the world's disinherited. The masters of the world have always first resisted the people, whether in the form of a religious movement or political revolution, and then have granted favors which made them masters of the movement or revolution when it became powerful.

It is in this precise way that capitalism will seek to withstand Socialism. Capitalism will seek to defeat Socialism by giving it some of the things for which it seeks. We can not have the cooperative commonwealth without having the whole of it. Capitalism may give the Socialist movement one-half, or even nine-tenths of what it demands, and still retain the control of power. For instance, the public ownership of so-called public utilities, without the social ownership of all the tools of production, would simply bring forth a new middle-class and delay the industrial development that would issue in Socialism. Capitalism knows this very well—know it much better than the working class, and are preparing to save themselves by their knowledge.

Thus we come to the political and spiritual as well as economic necessity of clearly defining the class struggle and its issues. Unless the

workers of the world become conscious of themselves as the producing class; unless they understand that to them, as the producers, belong the product and the control and the privileges of their industry, they will achieve no kind of economic freedom. No masters have ever handed down freedom to their slaves. Capitalism cannot grant Socialism to the working class. The workers must achieve their own efforts, and out of themselves bring forth their own organization of labor and distribution of privileges; out of their own struggle and labor bring forth their own institutions and ethics. The whole capitalist interest will lie in the direction of preventing the working class from taking possession of its inheritance.

Now, the supreme evil that confronts the people lies in the danger that they shall be deluded into thinking that there is some mutual interest between the capitalist and laborer. It is not the division of society into the clearly defined class struggle, but the lack of such a struggle, that menaces the people. To create such a class struggle should be the supreme task and summons of moral passion. There can not be, and there ought not to be, any reconciliation between capital and labor. The economic and moral liberty of the people depends upon this clear discernment—that the interests of "labor and capital" are inherently antagonistic, and must never be mutilated or identified with each other. To attempt to build civilization or social peace upon such mutuality is to build upon the fundamental lie of history. The labor of the world must become the owner of the world before we shall have any social truth to build on.

But the whole crew of "social reforms" and "reforms" will be in the nature of capitalist retainer services supported by capitalism through its flunkies. If ruling class capitalism can hide the fact that one class of people is forcibly appropriating the labor of another class; if it can hide from the eyes of the workers the issue between them and the owners of their labor power; if it can keep the people from seeing that the governments and armies and commerce of the world exist by sheer brute economic might, and have no basis at all in right, then capitalism can perpetuate itself—perpetuate itself by so confusing the lines and causes of battle that workers shall destroy one another instead of the capitalist system. It may be that capitalism will at first succeed, because we have not the wit or strength of character to clearly see that "social reforms" are but capitalistic measures for self-preservation.

Up to date the human race has developed strength through competition; Socialism comes for the development of the race through co-operation. Capitalism proceeds through the brute struggle of the survival of fittest; Socialism comes for the fitting of all to survive. Capitalism causes every child to be born with the world as its enemy; from the beginning of consciousness the child must fight a pitched battle—a life-long and blood-red battle—with civilization for bread; Socialism comes to surround every child, from the moment of its birth, with all the resources and opportunities, the love-making facts, and will-making forces, that the cooperative labor and good will of the world can produce.

Compromise has always been the mother of tragedy, and by the fav-

ors they have received from their masters have the workers of all ages been made the inhabitants of a slave world. Capitalism knows that it is doomed the moment the workers become as class conscious as are the capitalists.

### Several Counties Give Big Increase On Official Count

Beaverhead county—Debs 24, Walsh 18, O'Malley 11, Frinke 14, Parr 14, Lynch 14, Jackson 13, Olson 13, Peters 14, German 13. No county ticket.

Amendment No. 1—For 797, against 174.

Amendment No. 2—For 767, against 98.

Powell county—Debs 31, Walsh 26, O'Malley 15, Frinke 17, Lynch 20, Parr 20, Peters 20, Jackson 17, Olson 18, Phelps 19, German 28.

Granite county—Debs 38, Walsh 23, O'Malley 17, Frinke 21, Lynch 19, Jackson 22, Olson 25, Phelps 21, German 21, Parr 22, Peters 23.

Fergus county—Debs 136, Walsh 103, O'Malley 82, Frinke 92, Lynch 104, Parr 100, Peters 100, Jackson 103, Olson 102, Phelps 103, German 108. County ticket—Lewis 108, Hendry 112, Watkins 119, McMillan 217, Cragg 88, Harvey 88, Wieganda 74, Richards 86, McDonnell 97, Stoner 93, Olson 91, Seely 95, Brooks 99.

Amendment No. 1—For 1084, against 161.

Amendment No. 2—For 1152, against 77.

A. Brooks, socialist nominee for public administrator, being the only candidate in the field for the above office was elected.

Cascade county—Debs 470, Walsh 294, O'Malley 257, Frinke 297, Lynch 313, Parr 307, Peters 295, Jackson 306, Olson 341, Phelps 317, German 302, Purcell 264, Kornowsky 240, McDermott 255, Latham 257, Bolsinger 251, Dickinson 267, Dyer 277, Payne 262, Dolson 212, McDermant 256, Donner 270, Patterson 266, Kessner 262, McDermant 233, Mundt 260, Fairfull 272.

Ravalli county—Debs 250, Lewis & Clarke county—Debs 472; increase 136 per cent over head of ticket in 1902. Walsh 293; in-

crease 46 per cent over congressman in 1902. O'Malley 172, Frinke 230, Lynch 279, Jackson 260, Olson 265, Phelps 274, German 287, Parr 254, Peters 255. Legislative ticket 229; increase 90 per cent over 1902. County ticket 211; increase 73 per cent over 1902.

Yellowstone county—Debs 65, Walsh 56, O'Malley 52, Frinke 54, Parr 55, Peters 62, Lynch 57, Olson 53, Phelps 55, Jackson 53, German 53, sheriff 56, treasurer 40, clerk and recorder 68, assessor 44, Skirving, legislature. 43.

Flathead county—Holden 184, Mabie 179, Hoar 178, Walsh 139, O'Malley 111, Frinke 120, Parr 116, Peters 124, Lynch 126, Olson 133, Phelps 130, Jackson 133, German 143.

Jefferson county—Debs 192; in 1900, 9. Walsh 121; in 1902, 36. O'Malley 74, Brack, sheriff, 54; Bader, treasurer, 51; Fredericks, clerk of the court, 59; Shanley, cl'k and recorder, 70; Grady surveyor, 83; McKenzie assessor, 78; Welter, public administrator, 95; Goudie, sup't. schools, 60. Legislature: Harmon 110, Streib 79, Robert 72. County commissioners: Henry 123, Frasier 88, Havard 87.

Deer Lodge county—Debs 228, Walsh 175, O'Malley 133, Frinke 236, Parr 162, Peters 181, Lynch 182, Olson 178, Phelps 173, Jackson 179, German 183, state senator 230, sheriff 123, treasurer 410, clerk of the court 193, clerk and recorder 159, assessor 299, coroner 206, public administrator 247. Legislative ticket about 230. Justice of peace Job 195, Devlin 167; constable Hendroid 354, Sladich 245.

Chicago, Nov. 17.—If the determination of the leaders in the strike of the furniture teamsters is carried out one of the bitterest fights that has taken place in recent years in the local labor world is predicted. Today 23 teamsters went out 120 more have been called out for tomorrow, and other teamsters may be called out for a sympathetic strike. Frederick Job, manager of the Chicago employes' association said today, "It looks as if this strike would spread, and we will fight it to a finish." The point at issue with the furniture drivers is the refusal of the employers to sign contracts with them. There is no question of wages involved.

### Some Reasons Why the Socialists Increased their Vote About 500 Per Cent in the Late Election.

(From the Chicago Record-Herald.)

Socialist vote in Cook county, Illinois, for three candidates—Eugene V. Debs, for president, 43,391; John Collins, for governor, 35,411; Seymour Stedman, for state's attorney, 37,995.

Acceptance by an increasing number of people of Socialistic principles, bitterness in the strife between wage earners and employers, dissatisfaction with the platform and the leaders of the democratic party and incessant activity in the Socialist propaganda—these are some of the reasons given for the remarkable vote polled by Eugene V. Debs at Tuesday's election.

The total vote went far beyond the predictions of the most enthusiastic supporters of Debs and his confreres and has led the Socialists to hope that their party four years hence may play an important part in the politics of state and nation.

From reports received at headquarters yesterday Socialist leaders estimated that compared with the vote of four years ago, there was an increase on Tuesday of 500 per cent in the United States, and about 700 per cent in Illinois. The vote in Cook county, it is held, indicates that there has been a large increase in both class conscious Socialists and dissatisfied democrats. This is illustrated by the fact that Debs received 43,391 votes, while Collins was given only 35,411. The inference is drawn that many wage earners who ordinarily vote the democratic ticket, voted for Debs and then swung back to the democratic column in voting for state and county candidates.

The causes for the increase in votes were analyzed yesterday by A. S. Edwards, county secretary of the Socialist party, as follows:

"To a Socialist all inquiries as to the causes for the astonishing increase in the vote favorable to our principles are really amusing. There can be, there is, only one cause: It is the acceptance by an increasing number of people, especially the working class, of the Socialist diagnosis of the ills of capitalistic industry and society. The conviction is spreading, with a rapidity doubtless astounding to the capitalists, that the fundamental injustice of our present system of industry lies in private ownership of the essentials of life. The working class is awakening all over the country to a clear understanding of this and recognizes in the Socialist party the means by which the great change to social ownership may be brought about.

"The vote is what we had a right to expect—first, as a result of industrial development and necessity; second, because of the ceaseless propaganda carried on by our organization everywhere. The immediate consequence will be an extension of our work of organization, and even greater surprises for capitalists and the capitalists' parties in each succeeding election."

In making claims for gains in both the state and nation Socialist leaders include in their computations the vote polled by the Socialist Labor party, which represents Socialism of a more extreme type. William Maily, national secretary of the Socialist party, estimated yesterday that the national vote was between 500,000 and 1,000,000.

"The largest increase in any city in the United States was made in Chicago," said Secretary Maily. "Notable gains were also made in New York, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Omaha and Minneapolis. We will now apply ourselves to perfecting and strengthening our organization preparatory for the campaign of 1908, when, unless all signs fail, the political issue will be Socialism against capitalism."

"The increasing use that is being made by the employing class of the police, the militia, the regular army and the courts in labor disputes and the capture of the democratic party by the plutocratic class," were reasons which Thomas J. Morgan, chairman of the joint state and county campaign committee of the Socialist party, gave for the extraordinary vote.

## Why Vote Fell Off in Massachusetts

Massachusetts was one of the states where the Socialist vote dropped off in the late election, and the following article which will be deeply interesting to the western comrades, was written by Geo. Roewer Jr., to the New York Worker.

It not only sounds the slogan as to why the vote fell off but offers fine suggestions as to what the Socialists should do. Comrade Roewer sure has the proposition sized up right on the "whoop 'er up campaign" idea. It will not work with Socialism. He says:

Before we can say "what's to be done" in Massachusetts to rebuild our organization and to assure the vote Massachusetts ought to poll for Socialism, I shall say, first, "what has got to be stopped," if we would succeed. I mean to speak plainly.

In the organization and outside we must stop "playing" politics." In the strongholds of the Socialist party in this state everything is quiet until a month or two weeks before election; then commences a "hurrah campaign." This may elect some petty officials, but it is far from being the duty or method of a good Socialist organization.

We must stop merely looking for votes; we must make Socialists and

the vote will surely follow.

Still further, our so-called "intellectuals" must subdue their individuality to some extent and devote a little more attention to the organization. Men who have ability should not only be kind enough to favor us with a few campaign speeches and then return to their homes; if they have ability, let them show it by applying their wisdom to effective party work. This work is clean and it must be done. They should also understand that they are not the movement, and that the movement will be healthy only when each member assumes some responsibility. The democrats and republicans may need leaders, but our strength lies in an enlightened, self-reliant rank and file. This we must have.

Moreover, men with more money than brains, should not debauch the Socialist party, for the purpose of gaining cheap notoriety and being made idols of. We have no time for idolizing.

Then, what's to be done? Nothing else but education and organization. Organization without education is ineffective, but education will inevitably lead to organization.

A man may call himself a Socialist

and even belong to the party; but if he does not read he will never know the real purpose of the organization to which he belongs, and he will consequently follow and idolize any "good" fellow that comes along. I mean to speak plainly. I know for a positive fact that if the majority of the rank and file of Massachusetts understood why they are in the Socialist party, not a few of our speakers would be unable to get a night's lodging—not because they can not speak, or are insincere, but because the subject is entirely foreign to them.

The rank and file must educate themselves. The immediate move to be made is to call a club conference, sometime around the first of December, to discuss ways and means of building up the organization. A hustling, live, permanent secretary should be elected, and then—all comrades to work.

The comrades in the state must read party papers. I can say from experience, and many other organizers will agree with me, that wherever I have found any considerable number of subscribers for the Worker, I have always found a good organization and well informed comrades.

The more copies of the Worker are placed in Massachusetts, the stronger our party will grow. This is from hard experience.

We must not overlook the fact that the state committee entered this campaign with a heavy debt and this, of course, handicapped us. Yet, the individual clubs have done much work; but it was scattered, not organized, and hence, not effective.

Another thing we must do is to reach the organized labor movement. In New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, and all other centers of Socialist strength, you will find that the movement is in close communion with the trade unions. We must do likewise. We cannot get trade unionists into the party unless we prove to them that in Socialism lies their only hope. They will not come first to us; we must go to them. In Boston the trade union movement and the Socialist movement are just about as far apart as the north and south poles. This again shows the general lack of knowledge as to the real purpose and line of work of the Socialist party.

Let the comrades in the old Bay state endeavor to inform themselves

(Continued on page three)

**THE MONTANA NEWS.**

ISSUED WEEKLY.

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

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Socialism appears to have rattled the old dry bones of the capitalist parties.

Not a single millionaire in the United States voted for Debs, while several million working mules voted for capitalism.

Comrades, we must have 5,000 subscribers for the Montana News before the first of the year. Are you ready to do your share?

It will be an interesting scene to see a few women and the college student take the soap box to debate the great question of the country with Socialist agitators of Chicago.

Squelching returns of the Socialist vote seems to have been a great part of the business of the Montana daily papers. The capitalists do not care to read the increase in Socialist returns.

The fellow who holds his job and keeps quiet, steers shy of the Socialist movement for fear that he might lose his position, is, to a great extent, in the same position of the fellow who moved to Canada when the war of '61 broke out.

Parker at least says he will never accept another nomination. Good for Parker. He at least knows more than Bryan or Watson, for he realizes that his party is dead and buried. We would suggest that Bryan, Watson, Hearst, et al., take a hunch.

To those who are becoming interested in Socialism since the late election returns, the News would suggest that they send 10 cents and get Allen L. Benson's "Socialism Made Plain." It is one of the best small publications now published to hand to the beginner.

On the last page of this paper will be found the National Socialist Platform, which underwent considerable debate some time ago. Now is a good time to take up its discussion and get one before another national campaign that will not be evasive or easy to criticize in any way.

A head in the Independent over an article in regard to the A. F. of L. meeting in Frisco says: "Socialism to Be Turned Down." Why, you poor fool, how can a labor organization turn Socialism down, when both old capitalist parties can't? Socialism will not be turned down just because some labor leader, or rather labor fakir, says so.

Mr. Mahon, of the American Federation of Labor, in an interview volunteered the information that Socialism or any other politics would be turned down by the national convention at San Francisco. Surely Socialism ought to be turned down by a gang of parasite labor leaders who went from Chicago to San Francisco in a special train. That is a long way from Socialism.

According to the returns from Yellowstone county, more hard work should be done in that county in the near future. The vote for congressman two years ago was 59, while this year it was only 56, and Debs only received 65. This is practically no advance whatever. Get in on the city election, comrades, with a platform that will put a crimp in old plutocracy, and open the eyes of the two-bit aristocracy of Billings.

Comrade James Ettien of Stevensville has taken up the job of publishing a column each week in a local paper of his town. It is another sign of the times when you see an old party paper giving space to the publication of Socialism. This change must come, however, because the Socialists are getting pretty thick in many places, and especially so in the locality of Stevensville. This move of Comrade Ettien's would be a good suggestion to the comrades in other places.

Mark Hanna was astonished when he learned of a little Socialist paper down in Kansas with a million circulation, and if he could hear the sound of over a half million votes this year he would turn in his grave; but he was the man of the capitalist parties that sounded the slogan to them that they would have Socialism to fight in 1908. It begins to look as if he were correct, and his prophesy would not prove him a false prophet. The Socialists hardly look for such a happening so soon, but possibly with the democratic party dead and the line-up that must come in the next four years, something may be doing.

The election returns show a Socialist vote in the state of Nebraska of something over 8,000, and a number of the populist papers of that state are discussing this new party. That's good, boys, for it will only be a short time until you will be in line fighting the battle of the common people as you were a few years ago. Come on, we need your assistance, and when you come into the Socialist ranks you will find an organization that will prevent fusion-graft, the cancerous growth that destroyed the populist party; and you will find also a party that stands to free all people, and not one builded upon the dying embers of a middle class.

Well, Editor Goodwin has skipped from Helena back to his home in Utah, after filling a position on an Amalgamated sheet during the campaign. While he did as much for the Standard Oil octopus as possible the few weeks that he held the editorial chair on the Record of this city—as much as any one wage slave could do—it is doubtful if he changed a single vote, and further he lost his own by being away from home. When another election rolls around all the Amalgamated will need to do will be to hire another worker for a small sum of gold per week to come and dish up dope to fool the voter. And the voter will stand the fooling process by voting the capitalists into power again.

"The Women's Republican League Club of Cook County," Illinois, is now making arrangements to fight Socialism in the future. One of the novel undertakings by these women will be to hire young college students to take the soap box on the street corners to combat the Socialist agitator. This will be a good step to start off with, and the only deplorable part will be the fact that the young student won't last long enough in the economic debates with our Chicago soap box agitators to know that the fight was really on. However, the So-

cialists will gladly welcome the young students or any other person into the field of debate, for that is just what the Socialist cause needs as this time—opinion—debate that will bring out all of the small points and weld more clearly into the mind of the worker his real condition and sound to him a philosophy for the relief of the same. Judging from the interview given out by the woman at the head of the organization, they are sadly in the dark as to what they are going up against. A person who makes such remarks as "Philosophic anarchy, whatever that may be," is hardly in an intellectual position to attempt to select material to combat Socialism or Socialist speakers. The women of this club, however, have a right to change their minds, and probably will. It is an illustration of "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

**SOCIALISTS ARE MAKING ANOTHER MISTAKE.**

Before the average Socialist reads this editorial, the writer would suggest that you read the article in this issue from the pen of George D. Herron; while this editorial is not written in connection with Comrade Herron's article, they bear so closely together on the subject to discuss, "Socialists Are Making Another Mistake," that the reader cannot understand the News too thoroughly.

The article in Collier's Weekly by Upton Sinclair on Socialism created such interest that the publishers of the journal were exhausted in supplying the demand. In connection with this many of the Socialist papers over the United States were advising their readers—whom we suppose are Socialists—to buy the issues of Collier's Weekly, assuming, of course, that it would serve as an "incentive" for this class of capitalist journals to publish more Socialist articles.

Herein lies the mistake, when such advice is given by the Socialist papers or comrades. Let the capitalist parasite and the bourgeois buy those capitalist sheets, but you Socialists spend your money with your own papers that are struggling for an existence, and ones that can be relied upon to lead you aright, and not astray, as will these capitalist papers in the near future.

The fact that the issue above mentioned received such tremendous sales proves too conclusively that the present society is still imbued with the capitalistic idea, and desire to fawn at the feet of the money power and continue to worship an idol. An article, it appears, by a man in one of these capitalist sheets counts for more than a better article if published in a Socialist paper.

In connection with this great interest in the Sinclair article comes the information that the Great Falls Tribune is dishing up Socialist articles every day. And as Socialism grows you will find these capitalist sheets—the deadly enemy of the proletarian—granting, as Comrade Herron says, many of the things demanded by the Socialists, and while these papers will draw the support of the common people to them, the true Socialist publication will be left to starve to death.

Capitalism is working the old game over again. The capitalist is class conscious and understands the play very well, and if by stepping in and granting some of the demands of the Socialist philosophy they are able to swing to them the great majority of people, again will history repeat itself, and the master will remain master only under a different regime.

It is a surprise to the writer to see the Socialist papers advising the Socialists to buy these capitalist sheets because they contain articles on Socialism. Just what the capitalist wants; he is baiting his trap—the capitalist press—ready to play the old three-shell trick on the worker again.

No Socialist should spend a single cent with the capitalist press, even though it may publish thousands of articles on Socialism. Let the bourgeois and capitalist parasites support these sheets, but let the rank and file of the Socialist party support their own papers and their own literature. Spend not one cent of money for any of their papers from the country cross road weekly to their daily and monthly publications.

It is up to the worker to educate himself and his emancipation lies in his own power, and to think that the capitalist press or power is ready to assist him in the least is a sad mistake. Kick over the money changers' tables, press and all, comrades, and stand by your own cause and class if you ever expect to win the day for the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

**IT WAS A CLASS CONSCIOUS VOTE.**

It is often said that the capitalists are class conscious and that the nominees of the capitalist parties, either the right or left wing, e. g., Peabody of Colorado, are class conscious to the duties of their respective offices or positions.

This same class in Lewis and Clarke county showed themselves to be class conscious to a man when it came to voting upon the amendments submitted at the late election. The returns showed 384 votes against each amendment. These votes must have been cast by the exploiting class. Just think of 384 human brutes registering a desire that children be pressed into the labor market to grind out their lives while the human hog lies in the trough of plenty wrung from the toil of the poor children.

When the working mule gets as class conscious as these capitalists, he will stand in the strike at the ballot box the same as the capitalist, and when he does the few will not be living in the mansions of the city while the worker and his family live in the rented shacks.

How do you laboring and union dupes like it anyway? You who voted for the non-unionist on the democratic and republican tickets as against union men on the Socialist ticket, should read a lesson from the class conscious vote cast against the amendments in Lewis and Clarke county.

When will the time arrive, we are often to ask, when the union men will stop this scabbing at the polls? When the Socialist education has been carried long enough that the workers get class conscious and vote to a man for their interests, old capitalism will go tumbling.

**SOCIALISTS IN THE CITY CAMPAIGNS.**

The coming city elections are what the Socialists should begin to discuss at once, as only a few months remain from now until that time, and it behooves the Socialists and the cause they represent to be in the field with a platform of principles in due time that the people may have time to read the same and give it consideration at least.

While the Socialists will not elect any candidates possibly in the spring elections, it is absolutely imperative that they come before the people with a ticket and a platform that sounds the demands of the proletarian or working class in no unmistakable language. With this kind of an educational feature carried on for a few months we are bound to at least advance the thinking voters a certain degree, even though we may not land him in the Socialist ranks.

This kind of advance has been made in the state of Montana until at the last conventions held by both old capitalist parties platforms were adopted declaring for the principles of Socialism, i. e., the adoption of the initiative and referendum, the child labor law, the eight hour law, etc. Two years ago when the News was publishing a series of articles on the initiative and referendum, the Clark-Amalgamated papers were passing it by unnoticed, save one exception, the Great Falls Tribune, which doubted the coming of such a great reform in our time. Today it and its party are declaring for the initiative and referendum and in as loud and vociferous voice is the republican party declaring for this great reform.

While you need expect nothing from these parties in passing any such laws while they are squirming under the thumb of capitalism,

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you can at the same time see the educational advance this line of thought is making.

The same is true in the coming city campaigns. For instance, in Helena there is an opportunity for the workers to present a platform that will open the eyes of the people. And the opportunity in Helena is no different than in Butte, Billings, Livingston, Kalispell, Missoula, and nearly every other town of any size in the state. The collective ownership of the street cars, the waterworks, the gas, and electric plants, all of which should be run at absolute cost to the people and the expense of keeping them be derived from direct taxation.

The Socialists should be alive to their party interest from now on, and no little attention should be given the formation of a municipal platform that will fully define the Socialist position on these matters.

One thing should always be borne in mind in regard to this matter and that is that the platform adopted should be in the interest of the proletarian without regard to the taxpayer or capitalist, and that any evasion in the line of a bourgeois antidote for the purpose of catching votes is entirely out of order. Socialism can only come when economic development coupled with the education of the masses forces the same.

The News earnestly endorses the Standard's plea to stop election frauds and punish the criminals. Let us begin right now. Make an example of the offenders. Send a few of them to the penitentiary and it will be a wholesome lesson for future years. It shouldn't be hard to find the man or men who gave our officially-stamped ballots to be marked for the "straight democratic ticket."—Butte Evening News.

Neither paper believes in a word of the above. If it were not for fraud their class—the capitalists—could not stay in power. Through fraud is how they won the late election in Silver Bow county. But if the courts and officers, who are supposed to enforce the law, were in the hands of the people, and not owned by the capitalists, it would be well to start legal proceedings to stop election fraud, and make an example of the offenders, even to Mr. Heinze and the Amalgamated themselves, who are doubly guilty, to the poor devil who took the pittance of five dollars for his vote. Go right after them and land the offenders in the penitentiary, for that is where they belong. However, you will land nothing. This was proven in the Kangaroo court proceedings at Lewistown, when J. D. Waite, republican senator from that county, secured his election by buying votes at \$5 each through the "tinhorn" element of the town. When all was proven in the court, even to the minute, the place, the kind of money, etc., the "capitalist" court, a man who had been in the insane asylum, found no ground for trial and dismissed the case, to the complete satisfaction of the county attorney, who was squirming under the thumb of the same local money power. The same will be true in Silver Bow county, for the rich can do no wrong, and there is no court that will convict them. The suggestion of the Butte Evening News and Standard is rot.

The capitalist press appears to be greatly pleased with the statement of Samuel Gompers of the A. F. of L. that Socialism will be turned down by the convention now in session in San Francisco, Well, if the hirelings on the editorial staff of capitalist sheets receive any enjoyment from writing such, or it pleases the ears of their masters, sure the Socialists grant them that pleasure. But the vote has not as yet been taken and when it is it may show Mr. Gompers to be sadly in error. However there seems to be little gained by a labor organization, that has not passed by the pure and simple union proposition, endorsing or repudiating Socialism. The W. F. of M. and the A. L. U. endorsed Socialism in national convention assembled to learn that the membership positively scabbed on the following election day. The endorsement of Socialism by a labor organization does not educate the membership to understand the principles endorsed, and as a consequence little is accomplished. Labor has demonstrated to every intelligent person that it cannot unite upon capitalistic tickets, but that it must unite upon a platform of principles which declare for its own right and names men of its own rank. But whether Socialism is endorsed or not by the above mentioned convention the spread of its doctrine will not be retarded, and the membership as laborers have only to learn that there is only one place for labor to unite to win the battle, and that is at the ballot box upon the principle of a working class interests.

The Great Falls Tribune, a capitalist sheet edited by a wage slave for so much per, strikes the truth pretty closely in the following sketch: "Despite the organized campaign that was made in behalf of the amendments to the state constitution, only 57 per cent of the voters voted on the amendments. There was not much opposition to either, but it appears there are many men in the county who object to working for more than eight hours in a day, but are willing that their young children shall toil in underground mines, there being 142 more votes against the child labor amendment than against the eight hour amendment."

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state should understand the necessity for ONE labor paper in the state. He surely does not expect the papers that are owned and published by the master class, and in the interest of the masters, to look out for his interests.

Yours for Economic Freedom,  
C. C. McHUGH.

Missoula, Mont., Nov. 21, 1904.  
Montana News, Helena, Mont.  
Gentlemen:

In which particular will the transformation to Socialism take its progress relating to family division of property as they are at present? Please answer through the columns of the Montana News.

J. A. JOHNSON.  
The transitory period cannot be explained for a certainty by scientific socialism. Utopian dreamers only assume to prophesy. However, if we understand the questioner's query correctly, he appears to be misinformed on socialism, assuming that during the transitory period personal effects will be divided with the state. No such division will be made. Under Socialism your family or personal belongings will remain yours. Socialism proposes that the people shall own collectively the things that are use collectively, such as railroads, street cars, etc., etc.

### Movements of Socialists

National Headquarters,  
Socialist Party.  
William Mailly, Nat'l Secretary,  
Receipts to the National Campaign Fund during the two weeks from Nov. 5th to 18th inclusive were \$342.15, of which amount \$52.84 came through half day contributions, making a total to the campaign fund of \$9584.37.

Right now is a good time for locals to take up the question of furnishing Socialist plate matter to local newspapers. This can be done cheaply if a sufficient number of papers can be secured to use the matter. Full information as to cost, etc. will be readily furnished by the National Secretary upon application.

The eighth congress of the Polish Socialist Alliance of the United States held recently at Philadelphia, adopted resolutions extending greetings to the Socialist party, the assurance of the Alliance's readiness to actively second the work of organizing the Polish workingmen of America into the Socialist party, and congratulations upon the advance made by the party in the November election.

The National Secretary desires to extend thanks through the Socialist

## AN OLD FAVORITE

### WATERLOO

By Lord Byron



THE following stanzas, from "Childe Harold," canto III, refer to the famous ball given on the eve of the battle of Waterloo. In 1816 Byron left England, resolved never to return to his native land. Passing through Belgium, he visited the field of Waterloo. The battle of Waterloo was fought June 18, 1815, about nine miles from Brussels. The French under Napoleon were defeated by the allies under the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher.

**T**HERE was a sound of revelry by night,  
And Belgium's capital had gathered then  
Her beauty and her chivalry, and bright  
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;  
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when  
Music arose with voluptuous swell,  
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,  
And all went merry as a marriage-bell:  
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!

Did ye not hear it?—No; 'twas but the wind,  
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;  
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined!  
No sleep till morn when Youth and Pleasure meet  
To chase the glowing Hours with flying feet,—  
But, hark!—that heavy sound breaks in once more,  
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;  
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!  
Arm! arm! it is—it is—the cannon's opening roar!

Ab! then and there was hurrying to and fro,  
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress,  
And cheeks all pale which but an hour ago  
Blushed at the praise of their own loveliness;  
And there were sudden partings, such as press  
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs  
Which ne'er might be repeated: who would guess  
If evermore should meet those mutual eyes  
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise!

And there was mounting in hot haste; the steed,  
The mustering squadron and the clattering car,  
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,  
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;  
And the deep thunder peal on peal afar;  
And near, the beat of the alarming drum  
Roused up the soldier ere the morning star;  
While thronged the citizens with terror dumb,  
Or whispering with white lips,—“The foe! they come! they come!”

press to all comrades who enabled an early estimate to be made of the national vote by sending in returns by wire and postal card. For obvious reasons, individual acknowledgment and the use of the press becomes necessary.

Following upon the election, there has been a decided slump in the receipts of the national office, with the result that a number of outstanding bills cannot be met promptly. Comrades can be of assistance in relieving this state of affairs by paying their dues, and by sending in whatever has been collected on the campaign fund lists and not yet remitted to the National Secretary.

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Daily Except Sunday		Daily Except Sunday	
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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 p. m.	
Leave 12:40 p. m.	Lennepe	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

### Why Vote Fell Off

#### In Massachusetts.

(Continued from page one)

so that each may sparkle as an everlasting gem. Let us forget about the number of votes, and make Socialists, not through sentimental "slush," but by the distribution of real Socialist literature.

We can build up the organization by every comrade doing his utmost to get new members. Give these new recruits Socialist books and pamphlets.

Massachusetts is one of the best fields for Socialist agitation—being as it were, one gigantic factory, crowded with wage slaves. The Socialist party in Massachusetts, must assume a fighting spirit, a defiant attitude.

Comrades we are in the right. Do not consider if this or that move will hurt some politician's feelings. Let us not crouch or be timid. The right is all on our side and the wrong all on the side of the enemy. Know your ground; then stand and hold it.

Let us educate ourselves, then organize others and educate them. Stop playing petty politics.

### 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  
THE REFERENDUM  
E. B. Ford, Editor,  
FAIRBAULT, MINNESOTA

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- Hot house tomatoes ..... 25c
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- Sweet potatoes 6lbs ..... 25c
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# Montana News

Helena, Montana

### Mont. State Socialist Platform

"We, the members of the working class, who are organized politically into the Socialist party of the state of Montana, call upon every member of our class to join with us for the purpose of capturing the power of government, that we may take possession of the tools of production, abolish the wage system, and establish a system of production for the benefit of the workers.

"Today the tools of production are owned by the capitalist class; they are operated by the working class, but only where their operations will make profits for the owning class. The owning class can give or withhold employment at will. As a result of this absolute power the workers, who perform all useful labor, must humiliate themselves by begging for jobs of a class that performs no useful labor. If this permission to work is withheld they and their families must starve; therefore,

"We demand the collective ownership of the mines, factories, railroads and land, and all utilities collectively used by the people.

"The wage system is the cause of starvation, disease, crime, prostitution, child labor, stunted bodies and warped minds for the workers, while it gives to the capitalists palaces for homes, the pick of the world's markets for their food, the finest raiment, culture, education, travel, and all that makes life worth living.

"Society is thus divided into two hostile classes, capitalists and wage workers. This condition has brought into birth the Socialist party, the political expression of the struggle of the working class for power. This party owes allegiance to and is a part of the international Socialist movement. With a system of industry owned and operated by the workers, the struggle for existence would be shifted from the individual to society as a whole.

"The ownership of the means of production and distribution by the capitalist class gives this control of the legislatures, the courts and all executive officers. Republicans, democrats and reform parties are financed by the capitalists and are, therefore, their servants, thus in effect making government the executive committee of the capitalists.

"This fact demands as an inevitable conclusion the organization of the working class into a political party that shall be everywhere and always distinct from and opposed to every political party, not founded entirely upon the interests of the working class. The Socialist party is organized to meet this demand, and is, therefore, the party of the working class.

"The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system of wage slavery is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct: 'Will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it does, the Socialist party is for it; if it does not, the Socialist party is absolutely opposed to it.'

"In accordance with the principle, the Socialist party pledges itself to conduct all the public affairs of this state in such a manner as to promote the interests of the working class.

"In conclusion we appeal to all workmen to study the principles of Socialism and vote with their class at all elections, until they overthrow the power of capitalism, abolish industrial classes in society, terminate forever the class struggle, and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth, based upon this fundamental principle of justice.

"To every worker the full product of his labor. 'Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain!'

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## 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 unto 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.