

Coming Down To Socialism

The following article in the Seattle "Next" by the comrade whose name is signed is right to the point and worthy of reproduction:

I speak as a class conscious, working class Socialist. Yes, a wage-working class Socialist; a proletarian Socialist. It seems to me that our contention has not been clearly enough stated. Nor the reason for our fear of middle-class domination of the party. Neither is the preventative we advance for such domination put clearly enough before the membership of the party.

Let me state the case. There is a tendency amongst the members of the American Socialist party—of the International Socialist party—to appeal for support to the dying middle class, and even to the capitalist class; to appeal "to all classes," as the quickest and most effective way to reach the goal of the co-operative commonwealth. The argument being that once a person understands the beauties of Socialism, provided they are of ordinary moral worth, they will support it irrespective of their class interests. This the scientific Socialist brands as fallacious doctrine and capable of becoming destructive of our purposes. Hence there has arisen a conflict within the party between the supporters of these two ideas.

Now, the base of our argument is this: That whether it benefits anyone else or not, Socialism is the only thing that will benefit the working class. Also, that it is the historic mission of the working class to conquer all other classes and by the establishment of Socialism abolish all class rule. Reasoning from this first premise the latter naturally follows. These things granted, the thing to do to accomplish the end desired is to acquaint the workers with their historic mission in order that they may act. We have no time to bother with the middle class nor the capitalist class if we pay proper attention to the working class.

Rises the sentimentalist and says, "You would keep all honest individuals in sympathy with the workers out of the party, or at most merely tolerate them." We answer, "No, that is not our intention." But if it were, what difference? The workers are strong enough and numerous enough. However, we merely ask that the middle class and the capitalist class understand the historic mission of the working class and not hinder that class in its work.

We say, show the workers their class interests.

They say, appeal to all classes. We say, expend your efforts where they will accomplish the greatest results.

They say, one middle class man is worth ten wage workers.

We say, the working class must emancipate the world.

They say, get the middle class and the workers will follow like sheep.

Marx says: "The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheels of history." Have we the time to spend on their education when so many of the working class are waiting? The opportunist would appeal rather to this class than to the working class.

It is that tendency which we are fighting, and it is that tendency which we must conquer or the Socialist party will die. When the

store keeper loses his store, when the manufacturer loses his factory, when the farmer loses his farm and when the leader loses his followers, it is possible to make of them good Socialists. Until they have lost their all we can most profitably spend our time in educating those who are already propertyless.

E. B. AULT.

Outline of Work for Socialist Locals to Do.

BY M. W. WILKINS.

1. Get subscribers for Socialist papers.
2. Get new members for the Local.
3. Hold an occasional public meeting when you can get a good speaker and see that the meeting is well advertised.
4. Scatter leaflets or booklets over your territory once or twice a month, taking care to put them directly into the hands of voters, and do not duplicate each other's work.
5. Hold business meetings not less often than twice a month and make it a rule to never adjourn a business meeting, until you have planned some work for Socialism, and provided ways and means to carry it out.
6. Keep a complete list of all Socialists in your precinct or precincts, whether members of local or not; see that they register in time—that they vote on election day—and that all foreign born Socialists are naturalized.
7. Have a committee in polling booth, from opening of polls until counting is finished and prepare to keep tally on vote.

Duties of Officers of the Local.

LOCAL ORGANIZER.

He is the business agent of the local; does local's corresponding and reports monthly to the local and to the state secretary, the growth, work and condition of the local. He has power to call a special business meeting to order, and asks, "Who will you have for chairman of this meeting?" He keeps a list of all members of the local, with their addresses, and must notify all members by mail, when or where a regular or business meeting will be held. He observes the advertising of public meetings, and such other work as the local directs.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

He keeps the records of every business meeting and when same is read and corrected at next meeting should be transcribed in the minute book in ink. All business transacted such as a motion made, carried, lost—reports of committees—names of candidates for membership accepted or rejected—totals of monthly financial reports, etc. He takes the place of organizer when the latter is sick or absent.

FINANCIAL SECRETARY.

He has custody of blank membership cards and due stamps, issues membership cards to all new members, collects dues monthly and pastes due stamps in members' cards as receipts. Keeps a list of all pledges of contributors to the special state organizing fund, collects and forwards the same to state secretary each month. Keeps an individual account for all members of the local, keeps an itemized account of all money received and turns the same over to the treasurer. At the end of each month gets an itemized account of expenses from the treasurer for the expense side of his account. Reports monthly to the local and has books audited every three months.

TREASURER.
He has custody of all funds, keeps

account of all money received from the financial secretary, pays bills of the local on order signed by the secretary and chairman of the evening, keeps itemized account of all expenses, reports monthly to local and has his books audited every three months.

LITERATURE AGENT.

He has charge of all leaflets, books, booklets, etc., belonging to the local, keeps account of all literature received with names thereof, also distributed or sold. Turns money received over to treasurer and takes receipt. Notifies local when literature is needed. Has charge of the circulating library for the local if there be one; displays at public meetings for sale, such literature as the local has for that purpose. Reports monthly to the local.

The following should be elected as permanent committees: Auditing Committee; Program Committee; Literature Committee.

Auditing committee examines the accounts of the officers at least once in three months or when ordered by the local, and reports back to the local.

Program committee arranges all public programs, such as speakers meetings.

Literature committee reads and examines all samples of literature received or purchased by the local and recommends as to the literature to be purchased in quantity for distribution by the local.

The organizer is chairman of the program committee.

The literature agent is chairman of the literature committee.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Election of chairman.
2. Reading of minutes.
3. Bills and correspondence.
4. Applications for membership.
5. Reports of committees.
6. Payment of dues and pledges.
7. Reports of officers.
8. Unfinished business.
9. New business.
10. Good and welfare.
11. Adjournment.

Comrade Lynch Quits His "Graft" on News.

Comrade Lynch, after working nearly a year in the interest of the Montana News, has severed his connection with the paper, and gone to the coast, where he expects to return to work at his trade—telegraphing.

Notwithstanding that the writer insisted, and others around this office attempted to impress upon Comrade Lynch that he was deserting a "graft," he persisted in claiming, like the managers of the Iowa Socialist, that the limit had been reached. During his hard year's work on the paper he has received the extravagance of one pair of pants and a new hat, as well as two meals a day, and some days three. Oh, yes, we almost forgot—and two pairs of 15 cent socks. Supposing to work on commission, with expenses paid, he found himself indebted to the paper some \$20 when all the accounts were audited; this is encouraging, to stand in the noble cause of the proletariat, with ragged clothes and empty stomach, and attempt to preach to the union man the philosophy of Socialism, while the "pure and simple" lines up at the bar for free booze and scabs at the polls on election day.

With his year's work it was confidently expected that the paper would be put on its feet, but such is not the case, for as he leaves, two other comrades are left here in a shape that prevents their getting away at any hazard.

That this is a proletarian income no one will dispute, and while it does not compare well with the proletarian income of \$125 per month of our national secretary, it shows that it is through the sacrifice of such men as Comrade Lynch that the movement is made what it is today.

After making a thorough canvass of the state in the interest of the

News, often walking from place to place, Comrade Lynch says for his part he has reached the limit, and that if the Socialists don't want the paper, to quit the thing. However, Comrade Lynch will always be found doing something for the cause, while he is working at a trade that will soon get him back to three meals a day, and secure clothes enough to keep him warm in August at least.

"Black With Menace."

The Times arguing in favor of the maintenance of our present set of geniuses—Broderick, Forster, Lytleton, Austin Chamberlain and Co. in office, declares that the future is "black with menace." We think so and hope so. But what sort of people are these and their fellows whose ability is wholly of the head-clerk order for such times as we are coming to? Never in history were the international relations more complicated, the antagonisms between east and west more marked, the social problems more difficult to solve either peacefully or forcibly. Japan has already beaten Russia and will beat her worse and worse the longer the war goes on. China is waking up and can rely upon Japan to reorganize her. India is rousing herself and will shortly comprehend the unspeakable infamies of our blood-sucking rule. So Asia has to be seriously reckoned with. In Russia herself persistent revolts in town and country are swelling into something very like revolution. In Austria, not to speak of race feuds which Social democracy will do something to soften, preparations are being made for warlike movements in the spring. In Germany an irresponsible despot, with lucid intervals, may at any moment set Europe in a flame. Happily France and England are on good terms; but he must be an optimist indeed who does not recognize that both internally and externally Great Britain may have dangers to face which are quite unexampled in the past half century.

Everywhere, too, the peace at any price Socialism which has found so much favor of late with erudite scoundrels is discovering that, after all, in human affairs force counts for just as much as ever it did, and that to wait sempiternally for automatic revolution is a sort of cowardice which the next generation may scarcely appreciate. In fact, we have arrived at a period when anything may occur. The "accident" in the North Sea may very easily be followed by accidents in other directions. It is the duty of Social-democrats everywhere, therefore, to keep themselves well organized and in readiness for the unexpected. Above all, let them carry on their propaganda vigorously in the army and navy. There are plenty of Asquiths about. Any upheaval must do something to shake down the decaying capitalist system, but we must not be taken by surprise.—Justice (London).

Your Uncle Ira doesn't take much stock in Attorney General Donovan as an official, lawyer or reformer. He gets mighty energetic at times, and then all this surplus strenuousness oozes out at the ends of his fingers and toes—and all is serene again. His sudden attack upon gambling, once pushed with zealous frenzy, suddenly and suspiciously ceased. And now he has filed suit against the harvester trust, the meat trust and other combines, seeking to prohibit their doing business in Montana. People might take the crusade a little more seriously had Donovan always proved consistent in his spurts against sin, and had he commenced these actions and persistently prosecuted them at the beginning instead of the end of his term. As a reformer Donovan either gets tired and takes a prolonged rest, or doesn't begin in time to bring his suits to a conclusion. Democracy is responsible for a few warm officials in this state, of whom Clark, Gibson, Donovan and Welch are among the which.—For-syth Times.

Iowa Paper Quits the Fight

The Iowa Socialist has quit the newspaper field; its board of managers announced in its last issue that it would suspend because of not being able to secure support sufficient to keep it going. It appears by the announcement that it has run behind for some time and that the deficit has been made up by some of the few comrades deeply interested in the cause, but that the limit has been reached.

Such is the life of the average Socialist paper, and such must be for some time to come. When populism had its great day there was the same trouble in the early stages of the fight with the newspapers as now exists with the Socialist papers. But conditions have changed so wonderfully since that time that there appears to be little hope in the future for any better condition to exist for the Socialist publications.

There are many reasons for this condition, and one might just as well begin to look the facts square in the face; let us see what the condition from a business standpoint is, and then we can see why the Socialist papers are dying. In the state of Montana, probably no better example exists—the large daily papers are run at a heavy loss every month, advertising has been reduced to cost or less, while job printing is done on a very small margin; the great loss to these papers is made up through the "graft system" in a thousand and one ways.

This being the condition, when a Socialist paper enters the field it must do business below cost, eliminate some expense account, or go out of business. In fact the business end of it would compare well with a man starting a small grocery store where some large firm is selling below cost; how long would he stay in business?

Being up against this business condition under the present system, it is impossible to make a Socialist paper a good paper, for the better the paper you get out the further behind you go.

As poor as all the papers and publications in the Socialist movement are, they are far ahead of the organization in the revolutionary understanding of the movement. They should be, but that does not bar the support of the rank and file of the party to its publications. The average Socialist that comes to this office and declares himself "revolutionary" and wants the clear dope in his Socialist paper, can always be found reading the capitalist exchanges; seeing how Mrs. Chadwick is coming on; whether Nan Patterson will soon be on the stage; how many Russians and Japs got murdered last night; all the rape cases, suicides, etc. etc.

Considering the present system of business, it is plain to see that no paper can be made to pay from a purely newspaper business standpoint—not even the capitalist sheets pay. Therefore if the comrades want a paper or papers they must put up the required wherewith to keep them going; otherwise papers will continue to suspend until only such ones live as the movement will support.

ENGLISH IDEA OF VOTE.

The more we consider Debs' poll of 600,000 for president the more remarkable and the more satisfactory it seems. It is undoubtedly a genuine Social-Democratic poll. Eugene Debs, we rejoice to say, resorted to none of the trickery which seems to find ever-increasing favor with Hardie, MacDonald, Glasier and Co. He did not declare enthusiastically, that is to say, for the

class war by resolution at one place at one time, and then directly after repudiate his own vote and make out that it had no significance at all. In no wise. From first to last in all his manifestoes and speeches he pointed out that the class war between the laborers and the capitalists was going on steadily and growing continuously. He showed clearly that there was no hope of peace, or of benefit to the people at large, until the huge powers of making wealth now owned and controlled in the United States by a small minority of the population, who use their riches in a most unscrupulous way, should be at the disposal of the whole nation. In fact, from start to finish, and over and above all palliatives, he stood for the Social Revolution, in which it is quite possible the United States may yet take the lead. Yet Debs polled 600,000 solid votes against 87,000 four years ago. The more advanced his program, far the greater his poll, America has evidently begun to move in earnest.—Justice (London.)

A TIMELY LESSON.

A timely lesson has been given to Socialists by Collier's Weekly. It has been the fashion for certain party papers to advise their readers to buy capitalist publications containing articles favorable to Socialism. This advice was followed in the case of Collier's. Collier's replied with an editorial saying that the letters and postal cards from Socialists were a nuisance. It insulted Socialist workers by charging them with insincerity. Collier's remarks were brutal, but, to a certain extent, true. Socialists who have money to spend for propaganda should use it to build up the regular party press. The spasmodic purchase of this or that periodical with the attendant correspondence, is just what Collier's calls it—a nuisance. What such periodicals want is regular subscribers. When the general demand for clear-cut Socialism is strong enough, plenty of Socialist articles will be printed in them. The best way to create the general demand is to sustain the straight party press. This is so obvious that no argument is called for. Not that Socialists should boycott the capitalist papers. On the contrary, the more they read the broader will become their minds. In buying magazines, it is not a bad idea to pick out those which criticize the claims of the Socialists. Usually the criticisms are so flimsy that the Socialist bubbles over with answers and is more than ever confirmed in his faith. But now and then he will find something that makes him think. He may discover weak points in his idea of Socialism. And when this happens, he may be sure that he has the scientific spirit and not the dogma of the fanatic.—Crisis.

Judge Higgins of the first criminal court of Jersey City, in order to do one good act before Christmas, turned loose several prisoners; among them was one man who was thoroughly disappointed with the order of the court, which meant the losing of his comfortable quarters in the jail. He said: "I guess my only chance is to get drunk and disorderly and get locked up again," as he walked away from the jail with a dejected air. This is all in prosperous America where there are two jobs for every man. Getting pretty tough when a man had rather stay in jail than out, but you laborers have voted for this kind of a condition and the considerate capitalist has given you just what you voted for.

THE MONTANA NEWS.

ISSUED WEEKLY.

J. H. WALSH Editor and Publisher

OFFICE 22 PARK AVE. P. O. BOX 908

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The absence of the middle class in Russia is one thing that will assist in hastening Socialism.

The new year will soon be here, and it would be a good thing for the members of the Locals over the state to get out a good meeting and resolve to continue with good meetings the rest of the year.

Sunday the legislators convene in this city. With few exceptions they are a gang of money hirelings and all have their pockets stuffed with railroad transportation. They will be a nice looking bunch to make laws for the "people." However they will look good to the railroads and other grafting institutions.

Both old parties, the democrat and republican, are dead now, and will remain so until capitalism needs its right and left wings again to sail into political power. Both wings of the capitalist culture are made out of workmen's votes, and if the Socialists will do their duty for the next two years it will be hard for the old bird to fly at the next attempt.

The "Line-Up" a new Socialist publication issued at Kansas City is one of the latest additions to the Socialist newspaper field. Judging from an issue or two it is a good little class conscious paper, edited by a comrade of the real revolutionary type, and one of the kind that is needed in that Kansas country which appears to be pretty well imbued with a bourgeois sentiment. Success to the revolutionary "Line-Up."

Comrade Oscar Edgar, formerly editor of the Florida Socialist, in retiring from the staff reviews the situation and hard struggle to keep a Socialist paper going. He says: "As it is, the time has come when I must do something that will at least feed me. The need for three or at least two meals a day may be largely artificial. No doubt it is. But when one has formed the bad habit of eating regular meals and persisted in it until middle age, it is often fatal to break off the habit too suddenly. And dead men do not make good editors."

The noted Nan Patterson trial has come to an end by the jury agreeing to disagree. The charge against the girl was that she killed a Mr. Young in a cab in New York City a few weeks ago. It is a question whether Miss Patterson should be prosecuted or not, for the simple fact that she was a showgirl, frivolous but beautiful, and Mr. Young was a married man, and should be supposed to at least have horse sense, and having that, he would be at home with his family in place of cutting around at parlor drunks with a variety actress. Many are heard to remark, "A married man mixed up like this needs killing."

An eastern exchange says: "The Norfolk, Nebraska, beet sugar factory has moved to Colorado. For years this outfit was outside of the trust, but now have

gotten inside and so it has been found necessary to spread out so that sugar could be kept at a higher price. Sugar ought to be put on the free list." Yes, possibly sugar ought to be put on the free list for the jackasses who have voted this condition onto the people. Clothes ought to be put on the free list for this same class of working mules, and the men who persist in voting for a system of this kind ought to be put on the demo-republican free insane list.

TRAITORS TO LABOR.

Editor O'Neill of the Western Federation of Miners' Magazine is a roaster. His long drawn out bunches of bowery rhetoric, deluged in adjectives which he brought into play in his attack on Comrade Unterman and in the "explanation" of the "Socialist" vote is long on vituperation and short on logic.

He and his bunch of Iscariots in Labor's cause are going to educate the wage slaves who delve in the bowels of the earth by declaring for Socialism and spouting Socialism in the columns of his organ, and on election day tie in with a bunch of democratic ballot box stuffers, "that those who have calloused hands may be restored to citizenship once more." And one must be on the ground with the assistance of an X-ray to see why the "Socialists" are justified in their actions. Perhaps the treachery of the labor leaders in Colorado is well paralleled by the action of their local secretary of Gilt Edge No. 107, Locke Bruce, who is drawing \$3.50 per day for doing their secretary work and on the side taking orders for clothing manufactured in Kansas City by scab sweat-shop labor, and who supported citizens alliance Geo. Cook for sheriff on the republican ticket in Fergus county, when there was in the field as his opponent Comrade Robert McMillan, a brother member of the Federation's local No. 111 at Kendall, Montana. Gilt Edge local was the bunch of union men (?) affiliated in the Fergus county Trades and Labor Council and with the national body of the American Labor union who turned down the "fair list" of the A. L. U., strikers in Lewistown last year and refused to assist their struggling brothers in union. When Bruce was affronted for his perfidy he dismissed the matter by saying he had as much right to support a republican as the national officers of the Western Federation of Miners who have declared for Socialism have to support democrats. The actions of organized labor and their soft-handed representatives would mystify an East India juggler.

SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA.

A dispatch of the 11th inst. says: Not since the riots of 1901, when Cossacks stretched across the Nevsky Prospect from building to building, and charged down the boulevard from the Moscow station to the Neva, has the Russian capital lived through such a day of excitement as this. The authorities last night got wind of the big anti-government demonstration planned for today by the Socialist-labor party, to demand an immediate end of the war, and the convocation of a national assembly, and in every leading paper this morning, in black faced type, was an explicit warning to the people at their peril to desist from congregating in the Nevsky Prospect near the Kazan cathedral.

The following is the text of the proclamation of the social democratic labor party, calling the demonstration:

"We have raised our voices, calling for better things, but the government has turned a deaf ear to our cry. We, from day to day, draw out a laborious existence, a condition worse than convicts, while they convert millions into smoke and sacrifice thousands of workmen's lives under incompetent generals. We are shedding our blood for our torturers, while they are entering into a shameless bargain with wealthy landlords and zemstovists. Enough, men, we cannot endure it longer. We must arise and boldly proclaim that we want an end of war and a government by representatives of the people.

"All who are ready to fight for

our demands, assemble in front of the Kazan cathedral at one o'clock."

WHAT ABOUT UNEMPLOYED?

Capital insists upon its right to hire labor at the market rate. We all know what this means. The "market rate" is always below the rate at which men are holding their jobs, no matter how low that rate may be, so long as there are men out of employment.—C. J. O'Brien in Typographical Journal.

But is the man out of employment entitled to no consideration? What are you going to do with him? When men are out of jobs the natural inference is that there are more men than jobs. How will taking them into the union better the situation? Can you create a new job for every man that comes in? Yes, the men out of employment make the "market rate." When work is scarce all the unions in Christendom can not maintain high wages; when work is plenty, employers must bid against each other and wages will rise, even if unions try to prevent it. So what is the use of a unionism based on force? In times of prosperity the members do not need it, and in times of adversity it can not do them good.—Industrial Independent.

The above comment by the citizens alliance organ is significant. The great trouble is that the union man does not understand it as such; if he did he would be a Socialist. If the union men investigate they will discover that since the year 1850, when organization was started in the United States, they have increased in numbers, but that their share of the wealth produced has decreased, due to private ownership of machinery, with its concomitant, the unemployed problem. The alliance pertinently asks the union men, "What about the unemployed?" When the unionist understands this, he invariably will be in the Socialist ranks.

A BOURGEOIS PLATFORM.

The adoption of a city Socialist platform at this time is a piece of work that needs the very closest attention and deepest study possible in order that nothing be said that should not be said, and also in order that all be said that should be said.

In this matter the St. Louis Socialists have produced about as bad a mess, barring a few points, as did the Wisconsin Socialists in their state platform. In their opening paragraph they declare:

We, the Socialist party of St. Louis, pledge our fidelity to the principles of international Socialism as enunciated in our national platform, and invite all fair-minded men to study the great labor problem in relation to municipal affairs.

Three points of interest in that paragraph: first they declared their fidelity to international Socialism, which is, according to the late international congress, revolutionary Socialism, and then they say in the same breath as "enunciated in our national platform," which is an opportune literary edict. One assertion contradicts the other; the third point is that they invite "fair-minded" men to study the labor problem. Now what is "fair-minded" men?

Then after covering the condition of a number of cities in other states this paragraph appears:

The public interests are almost entirely ignored?

Who is the public? if the working class, the above is wrong because the interests of the workers are absolutely ignored, not "almost."

And if it means the bourgeois or exploiting class by the "public" then the phrase is out of order.

In the next paragraph they declare for "public or collective" ownership. Collective ownership is Socialism but "public" ownership is graftism the same as the present postoffice plan where the postmaster draws about \$300 per month to pull political wires while the poor wage slave who does the hard work gets from \$50 to \$80 per month.

They also declare for "municipal" street railways, "municipal" lighting and heating plants, etc. But after declaring for international Socialism, mind you International Socialism, they adopt the following paragraph:

No person shall be employed on any street railway within the city of St. Louis who have not been resident citizens for at least one year prior to

the time of their employment.

That declaration would be a disgrace to a capitalist platform, and would not be "radical" enough for a Bryan-Hearst-Watson platform. Just think of that bourgeois rot? Suppose some of you Socialists get fired out of your jobs in some other state or city, and should go to St. Louis, you could not get into the street car service until you had lived there one year; during this time, we naturally suppose, that a democrat or republican "mullet-headed" union man would hold the position, not because he scabbed at the ballot box, but because he belongs to the union.

After declaring for international Socialism and capitalistic citizenship in order to hold a job, they also declare as follows:

Only organized labor shall be employed by the city, and the 8-hour workday shall be strictly observed in all municipal work. Where contract work is unavoidable, the contractors shall employ organized labor only.

It appears from that that the party of the class struggle has relegated itself into a union proposition. All these organized labor parties have been a fake, and have repeatedly sold in the political market to the highest bidder—the same as they sold out in Montana in the last election for a certain specified sum to endorse the democrat ticket. And now St. Louis proceeds to narrow the party of the class struggle down to a union proposition which only represents about 14 per cent of the workers of the country. Then they take a shot at the tax proposition as follows:

That immediate steps be taken to rigidly enforce the laws compelling the big corporations to pay their quota of municipal taxes, in proportion to the full valuation of their taxable property.

What interest has the Socialist party or the workers who make up the party in the tax proposition? None whatever. The sooner the tax proposition eats up the little fellow and causes him to lose his property the better. This applies to the bourgeois, and he must be driven into the ranks of the proletariat before Socialism can be or rather will be established. It is a wonder they did not say something about arranging the seats in heaven for the little tax payer.

Of course they declared for an 8-hour day, and when you think of all these kind of immediate demand reforms, it is no wonder that the S. L. P., comrades take such falls out of us. If the comrades don't wake up and get down to business in this proposition of adopting revolutionary platforms in place of the sentimental, reform, meaningless assertions like the above, why, Bryan will jump in with his crown of thorns and cross of gold and adopt a platform that will put these bourgeois half-baked productions in the shade.

EXPIRING SUBSCRIPTIONS.

With this issue we close the year of 1904, and with the close of the year many subscriptions expire. The great number of two-bit subscriptions added to our list during the campaign will expire on this date, and we desire to call our readers' attention to the fact that they may renew in time to not miss a single issue of the paper.

If you will look at the label on your paper bearing your name you will see whether your subscription expires as above suggested or not. If to the right of your name appears 1/Jan05 it signifies that January 1, 1905 has arrived, or will have before another issue, and that your subscription has expired, and the name will be dropped from the mailing list unless renewed.

We trust that our many comrades will look after these subscribers as closely as possible and assist us in this work.

Do you wonder that men had rather be in jail than out? How many do you think failed to eat turkey dinner on Christmas who were not in jail? Down in Missouri the authorities of the state penitentiary arranged a swell dinner for the convicts on Christmas, including everything customary to the occasion, from turkey to the celery, cranberry

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sauce and other trimmings. Thirty-five hundred pounds of turkey were purchased and this one item on the menu cost \$630. Think of sitting down to that feast or being a tramp, one of the million and a half who are now on the tramp in this prosperous country, while prison birds are dining at swell luncheons. Is it any wonder that men are committing crimes that they may get in jail for the winter at least? Why, under the present conditions in jail is better than out. This is the fruit of the present competitive system, where more is produced than can be consumed, and yet in the midst of plenty we are in want.

Congressman Hull of Iowa has introduced a bill in congress in the interest of organized labor and the working mule in general. It purports to be a bill "to encourage rifle practice and excellence in marksmanship among citizens of the United States so as to render them quickly available for efficient service in time of war." Mr. Hull is a "good" republican, and you republican union men who voted on election day for Open Shop Roosevelt, will probably appreciate the excellence of this bill. Of course you see this bill is meant to give the workers an opportunity to get in

practice in the murder business, so when a strike is called they will be in good trim to go out and shoot the capitalists, eh? The first paragraph coolly appropriates \$1,000,000 a year to carry out the scheme. Of course the capitalist puts up this one million dollars because he is such a philanthropic enterprising individual. Under capitalism the bullet and bayonet are introduced in the schools and the child taught the spirit of military murder. Under Socialism the weapons of murder will be relegated to the scrap-heap, and Social economics will be introduced in the schools when children will learn of the establishment for the first time of the real brotherhood of man.

The supreme court has dismissed the proceedings brought by the attorney general of gambling fame against the eastern firms which, it was claimed, were operating in the state in violation of the anti-trust law. That's good. In the first place no one has any confidence in the attorney general, and in the second place the capitalist court got on the right side of the fence. They are class conscious; the trust can break no anti-trust laws, any more than the rich can do no wrong.

CAPITAL CLOTHING COMPANY

Necessity Knows No Law

OUR IMMENSE STOCK OF MEN'S

Suits and Overcoats

Must Be Reduced

Price is not the consideration during this clearance sale. Too much stock on hand

Cash Is What We Want

James Walker

STAPLE AND FANCY GROCERIES!

Also Boots and Shoes--New Line

We make a specialty of Large Mining and Ranch trade.—will figure on your bill at any time.

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED

Montana Railroad Company.

TIME CARD EFFECTIVE NOV. 6, 1904

Daily Except Sunday		Daily Except Sunday	
Leave 7:30 a. m.	Lombard	Arrive 3:45 p. m.	
Leave 11:02 a. m.	Dorsey	Arrive 12:55 p. m.	
Arrive 11:30 p. m.	Summit	Leave 12:30 p. m.	
Leave 12:01 p. m.	Summit	Arrive 12:00 m.	
Leave 12:40 p. m.	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

G & K
CLOTHING

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

Gans & Klein
HELENA, MONT.

of humanity. Ye parasites, know this: The finger of scorn of every honest man, woman and child is pointed at you.

You would condemn innocent children to work in the mines, where the smoke and poisonous gases at many times almost equals the orthodox hell as represented by our modern preachers—that you may wax fat on the product of their toil. I wonder that the ever-living God had not paralyzed the hand that marked the ballot, and caused the miserable carcass to shrivel up until Rider Haggard's "She" would look like the fat woman in a circus beside you. You have no place among men. You are a burden on the back of suffering humanity, and a wart on the face of nature.

JOHN BRACK.

abridge the rights of the negroes to-day. There have been attempts to agitate the idea of disfranchising the illiterate of all classes; and these straws point out the trend of unchecked political power.

Socialism means equal rights to all. It means equality in fact, not in the dusty folds of a constitution that through political treachery has become obsolete. It means that the teachings of that sacred Parchment shall become the guide to future greatness, as it was originally intended to do; and the application of the economic reforms taught by Socialism will re-establish firmly and for all time the doctrines contained in that time honored document.

Political parties are not going to die out in a day. There will be the same strife, the same lying, the same dishonest efforts on the part of the dominant class of the present to succeed themselves; and after defeat we will see the same old re-organization, with new issues to entrap the voter. The fight will be bitter, but when the people have tasted the sweets of self government, when they have found that they are a part of the government established by and for themselves, and that everything belongs to them, then self-interest will forever prevent the ruling of any party again.

The greatest trial will be the re-formation of the great host of narrow minded asses that will flock to the fold for refuge and to concoct new schemes for plundering the commonwealth.

Blood will tell.

T. P. CRUMLEY.

Monarch, Mont., Dec. 24, '04.
Dear Comrades: Herewith \$5.00 for cards. Please send more at once; think I can sell five and perhaps more.

Merry Xmas and happy New Year to you all.
J. M. R.

[It is the efforts of this kind by the comrades that will make the cause a success; every comrade in the state could do as much if he would. All that is necessary is to throw off that old capitalistic idea of "can't" and get out and do a little hustling. If all our Socialist readers would do as much as a few of the earnest workers in less than 60 days the News would have the largest circulation in the northwest; and not only this but you would receive the financial assistance from the non-Socialist and at the same time carry the educational propaganda to the ones who must be reached. Awake comrades!—Editor.]

Missoula, Mont., Dec. 25, 1904.
Dear Comrade: Enclosed find \$3 for sub cards sold since last report. Will try and sell some more and remit Dec. 31.

W. P. GRAHAM.

EVERYBODY ADMITS
Anderson Bros. Co.
CARRIES THE BEST LINE OF
OVERCOATS AND SUITS
In the West

It is the **CROUSE & BRANDEE** line; it is made by tailors and not by Children.

We ask all friends to call on us and get the best Clothing line in America

ANDERSON BROS. CO.



IMPORTED FROM BY CROUSE & BRANDEE, LITKA, NEW YORK

CORRESPONDENCE

Nine Mile, Mont., Dec. 18, 1904.
Mr. J. H. Walsh, Helena, Mont.

Dear Comrade: If you will kindly send me some sub cards I will try to sell them, and will remit for them when sold.

Yours fraternally,
C. F. CATON.

[You are the kind of comrade the movement is looking for. It is upon the efforts of this kind that the Socialist movement depends. The cards have gone forward.—Editor.]

Rimini, Mont., Dec. 14, 1904.
To The Montana News:

I see by the election returns that there were 3,742 votes cast against the amendment concerning child labor in the mines. Ye gods! To think there are that many wretches in this state so lost to all principles

That the people are awaking to the idea of Socialism, is demonstrated by the insistence they manifest by asking for information, and the first and paramount question seems to be, How can it be introduced? It is a pertinent question and deserves an honest answer.

The best part of the doctrine is that it does not require any lies to introduce it to the people. They generally admit that it is good, and what they want, but there is something about it that makes them think it should be applied at once; like the changing of a soul in the twinkling of an eye.

They fail to understand that it must come through the same process that other revolutions have come. The gradual teaching of Luther and other reformers taught the people the selfishness of the church of England and the church of Rome, and Protestantism was the result. Gradual political training taught the founders of our republic to see the dishonesty of King George, and to despise the despotism of an aristocracy; and they did not wait for their leaders to unfold to them a definite plan of government before they began the revolution. They believed in the wisdom of the men who inspired them with the courage to undertake the battle for independence; and the results are sufficient proof of the soundness of their reasoning. And the conditions that confront the common people of the United States are identical, with one notable exception, and that is the ballot. We have not yet lost the right to use that weapon; and it is the most potent weapon in the hands of honest men that is known. The time may come when even that mighty power will be taken from us. The political sharks are threatening to

Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, Dec. 22, '04.
Comrade J. H. Walsh: I just received the News wrapped in the enclosed poster. Now I have a collection of 60 portraits of prominent Socialists and have them pasted on a 4 by 8 map to hang in our headquarters. I have room for a few more and I want yours. Now send me one, if you have no better ones, send one of the same. Of course I have been compelled to use any newspaper cuts for many of them, but I would like better ones. But if you have no others please send this back and I will use it. I have a bulletin board 60 feet long that I keep full of the best utterances of the most eminent writers and speakers, which I print by hand with 3/4 inch rubber type on heavy cardboard that is easily read ten feet away. We are waking up a little since the election; have taken in 12 new members, and gaining a little right along.

Fraternally yours,
JAY RAND SANBURN.

Socialist News
From Headquarters.

The following donations have been made toward paying off the old debt standing against the state organization: John Beard \$2.30, W. H. Pierce \$5, Local Butte \$5, Local Anaconda \$6.50, total \$18.50.

Local Butte reports the expulsion of Patrick Leamy for violating his pledge by working for the democratic ticket.

Locals wishing to make any amendments to the constitution will please forward proposed amendments to headquarters as soon as possible, as a new supply of constitutions will be printed soon.

Local Butte has always held the distinction of being the largest local in the state. In November Local Livingston was second, having 7 members less in good standing than Butte. The comrades in Butte had better look to their laurels and be active. Judging from the orders for stamps from Local Livingston, it looks as if they intended being ahead of Butte this month. This brings to us the question, where is Great Falls, Helena and Missoula?

The spring elections will soon be upon us, and it is necessary that the locals in the cities begin to plan their campaigns. Everywhere possible the Socialists must be in the field with a full ticket. If we intend to be the second party in 1906 we

Get the Best
Wyoming Lump
COAL
\$6.00 Per Ton
UNION COAL CO
JAMES DERHAM, Manager
Office No. 10 Edwards
Telephone 149

must win prestige in the city elections. This calls for greater efforts in organization. Furthermore, we must have a dues paying membership of at least two thousand before we can hope to be the second party in the state.

Our candidate for governor, Comrade O'Malley, received 3,431 votes which would indicate that there are 3,431 philosophically class conscious Socialists in Montana. Surely it is possible to get 2,000 of these 3,431 philosophical class conscious Socialists into the party organization. Go after everyone whom you know to be a thorough Socialist, get them an application card, and get them into the organization.

Organization, good sound, strong organization is what is required. The day of the free lance propagandist is past. Do the propaganda work through the local, use system, develop organization, and better results will be achieved.

The holidays will soon be over, and it is hoped that the comrades throughout the state will turn their attention to organization. We are in hopes that an organizer will be started on the road about the end of January, but that all depends on what support headquarters receives from you.

In the meantime strengthen your local.

JAS. D. GRAHAM,
State Secretary.

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The New York Store
HELENA, MONTANA
Special Sales of
Christmas Goods

Thousands and thousands of useful and practical articles appropriate for gifts. Our stocks are so complete and such an array of Novelities that choosing is a very easy matter. And everything is so conveniently arranged that you do not have to spend a lot of time in order to find the article that meets your fancy.

CALL AND BE CONVINCED

CHRISTMAS IS COMING
Don't delay in making your Holiday purchases.

The Headquarters
FOR HOLIDAY AND CHRISTMAS PRESENTS AT
Messrs. C. B. Jacquemin & Company
WATCHES, DIAMONDS, AND JEWELRY; CUT GLASS UNEXCELLED. Sterling Silverware. Choicest patterns at No. 9 North, Main Street



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DENTIST
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Main St. opposite Grand Central Hotel

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FAMILY THEATRE
15-17 South Main Street
Five Shows Daily. Open the year around.
G. W. EASTMAN, Manager

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114 South Main

FOR THE BEST
\$3.50
AND
\$4.00
Shoes

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SPECIAL SALE
Australian and Natuse Wool
Children's underwear, formerly \$1.25, Cut to 75c 60c and 50c
Ladies Wool Waists formerly \$3.50, Cut to \$1.50
Ladies Wool Underwear, white and black, formerly \$1.25, Cut to 75c
Eiderdown Wrappers, Robes outside Skirts, Silk Skirts, Silk and Sateen Waists
AT COST
HOLIDAY GOODS
Chinese and Japanese fancy Dry Goods, Silk Handkerchiefs, Etc.
117 Broadway

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AT COST
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BUT

We Sell the Very Best Groceries

30 Per Cent CHEAPER

THAN THEY SELL TRASH

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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

DR. G. A. WILLETT
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THOMPSON BLOCK, ROOM 9
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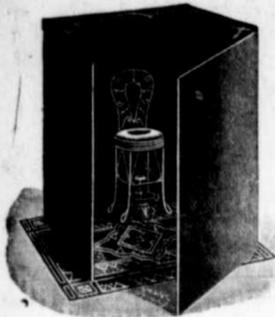
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with a superior bath cabinet one should always be well. By stimulating the circulation and opening the pores, it dissipates all congestions of COLDS, NEURALGIA, RHEUMATISM and all skin diseases.

Price Complete \$5.00
**PARCHEN DRUG CO.,
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SHORT ROUTE FAST TIME
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MINNEAPOLIS AND ST. PAUL
Connecting EVERY DAY

At St. Paul and Minneapolis with all Limited and Fast Mail Trains for Chicago, New York and the East and at Havre for Pacific coast points.

E B Trains lv Gt Falls 3:05 a m
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All meal dining-cars served a la carte. For full information regarding rates and sleeping car, write or call upon W. C. Doherty, Lewistown, Stage office, or

L. H. YOUNG, Great Falls.



The Open Shop Will Crush the Head of Organized Labor

Why He Objected.



Percy—But what does your father see in me to object to, I'd like to know?
Ethel—He doesn't see anything in you. That is why he objects.

Extract From a Novel.



"On bended knees he pressed his suit."

OUR MEATS

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

Veal Roast, lb	12 1/2c
Pork Roast, lb	12 1/2c
Prime Rib Roast, lb	10c
Leg of Mutton, lb	9c
Rump Roast, lb	7c
Pot Roast	5c
Mutton Roast	5c
Veal Stew	8c
Mutton Stew	2c
Boiling Beef	4c
Sirloin Steak	10c
Round Steak	8c
Rib Steak	7c
Mutton Chops	7c
Pork Chops	12 1/2c
Montana Turkey, dressed	23c
Chickens	16 @ 17c
Ducks and Geese	20c
Oysters	45 @ 65
Olympias, for cocktails	75c

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"I had for years suffered from what medical men called Dyspepsia and Catarrh of the Stomach. In August I purchased a box of Cascarets and was surprised to find that I had, yes—yes—a wiggle, squirming mass left me. Judge our doctor's surprise when I showed him thirty feet, and in another day the remainder about the same length of a tape-worm that had been sucking my vitality for years. I have enjoyed the best of health ever since. I trust this testimonial will appeal to other sufferers."
Chas. Blackstock, 1215 Divinity Place, West Philadelphia, Pa.



Pleasant, Palatable, Potent, Taste Good, Do Good, Never Sickens, Weakens or Urine, 10c. 25c. 50c. Never sold in bulk. The genuine tablets stamped C.C.C. Guaranteed to cure or your money back.
Sterling Remedy Co., Chicago or N.Y. 504
ANNUAL SALE, TEN MILLION BOXES



The Mechanic's Lunch

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

CAPITAL BREWING COMPANY

**SEND YOUR
JOB WORK
TO THE NEWS OFFICE**

Socialist National Platform

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

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

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

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

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

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted 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.