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THURSDAY, MARCH 13, 1919.

"SQUARE DEAL" CANDIDATES

For a better and cleaner city in which to live, for civic righteousness in municipal affairs, vote for the following candidates:

- MAYOR W. F. DUNN
- TREASURER JAS. J. MCCARTHY
- POLICE MAGISTRATE MIKE ALLEN
- ALDERMEN.
- 1ST WARD JOHN T. SULLIVAN
- 2D WARD BARRY O'LEARY
- 3D WARD BERNARD McVEIGH
- 4TH WARD CON LYNCH
- 5TH WARD ULRIC NADEAU
- 6TH WARD WALTER A. KYLE
- 7TH WARD E. E. CARLISLE
- 8TH WARD E. G. JOHNSON

(Paid Political Advertising.)

THE ELECTION.

An attempt is being made by the copper press of this city to make the coming election hinge on a question of personality rather than principle.

Of course no question of who is to direct the destinies of a community for a two-year period can be considered without bringing in the human equation, but after all it is a minor factor.

Men are the product of certain conditions; they do not make them. Butte, because of certain existing conditions, produces certain types of individuals, representing certain things and certain groups and organizations of men and women.

No one will deny that there are in this city two forces striving for control; or rather, that one is striving to retain control that has only succeeded in placing the city in the difficult and humiliating position that it occupies today, a position that makes the name of Butte a by-word, that places the city in the position of being mentioned as a horrible example whenever decent administration is discussed.

Rather than forfeit their right to dictate to the people of this city and county in the selection of governing officials, the reactionary interests of this city have countenanced the most flagrant abuses of governmental functions and in many cases have actually encouraged and abetted these abuses.

Evil has been piled on evil until today Butte staggers under the burden of her accumulated wrongs. And yet this little group of autocrats are not satisfied.

They propose to continue in their shameful course and again saddle upon this afflicted city an administration that is theirs to do with as they please.

There is a principle involved, the greatest of all human questions. Are the people to rule or are men to be placed in office who answer not to the voice of the rank and file, but to the voice of brazen tone to which, with few exceptions, elected officials in the past have listened and heeded?

The copper companies, whose properties are without exception outside of the city limits, are now, as always, taking a great interest in the city election.

If their candidate is defeated, it means the beginning of the end; it means that their corrupt machine has broken down in a vital spot and that their control of Silver Bow county is slipping from them.

It will mean that at last the voice of the people is beginning to be heard; that clean, decent administration will become something more than a myth in Butte.

W. F. Dunn is the people's candidate; he believes that the love of freedom and democracy is not dead in Butte, nor even dying; it has been stifled, but sooner or later it must find expression.

He has been fought harder by the corrupt political interests of this state than any man before him; not because of any particular ability that he possesses, but because they know that he voices the sentiments that all decent people carry in their hearts, the sentiments and the desires that have inspired all liberty-loving peoples in the fight against oppression of every kind in every land.

It is for this reason that they have sought to discredit and imprison him; it is for this that he has been hounded and vilified as though he was the lowest type of criminal, and it is because of this that every effort at their command will be brought to bear to prevent his being elected mayor of Butte; to prevent the people of Butte from having an executive who will be a mayor for the people and not the tool of any set of political highlanders.

It should not be forgotten, either, that aldermen must be elected who are free from any taint of corruption and who are not susceptible to any influence that the political pirates can bring to bear.

The slate must be wiped clean, so that Butte, given a start in the race, can be transformed from the worst governed city in the country to the best.

ROBINS AGAIN.

And the more that Raymond Robins speaks the worse becomes the position of the capitalists and the plunderbund who have been cursing Russia.

What does the Miner, for instance, think of Raymond Robins' statement "that the revolution represents the wishes of the people of Russia." We presume their reply will be to the effect that Robins is a liar. They will have to resort to this

Union Stock Holders in the Butte Daily Bulletin

- UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA—Locals: Sand Conlee, Stocket, Roundup, Leigh, Klein.
- FEDERAL LABOR UNION—Livingston.
- MACHINISTS' UNION—Great Falls, Butte, Livingston.
- MACHINISTS' HELPERS' UNION—Great Falls, Butte.
- CEREAL WORKERS—Great Falls.
- TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION—Butte.
- BLACKSMITHS' UNION—Butte and Miles City.
- ELECTRICIANS' UNION—Livingston, Butte.
- BAKERS' UNION—Great Falls.
- SHOE WORKERS—Great Falls.
- PLASTERERS' UNION—Great Falls.
- RAILWAY CAR REPAIRERS—Livingston.
- MUSICIANS' UNION—Butte.
- BREWERY WORKERS' UNION—Butte.
- HOD CARRIERS' UNION—Butte and Bozeman.
- STREET CAR MEN'S UNION—Butte.
- BARBERS' UNION—Butte.
- METAL MINE WORKERS' UNION (Independent)—Butte.
- PRINTING PRESSMEN'S UNION—Butte.
- MILLERS' UNION—Butte.
- SPEAKERS AND ELECTROTYPERS' UNION—Butte.
- BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—BUTTE.
- PIPEFITTERS' UNION—BUTTE.
- BROTHERHOOD BOILERMAKERS AND HELPERS—Butte and Livingston.
- STEAM AND OPERATING ENGINEERS—Great Falls.
- BUTCHERS' UNION—Great Falls.
- BAKERS' UNION—Butte.
- INTERNATIONAL MOLDER'S UNION, LOCAL NO. 276—Butte.
- AND THOUSANDS OF INDIVIDUALS IN BUTTE AND MONTANA
- LAUNDRY WORKERS UNION, NO. 25—Butte.
- PLUMBERS' UNION—Butte.

old standby of theirs because of the broadsides that Robins is bombarding them with.

And when asked further about the bolsheviki he said: "If the Russians want the bolsheviki or soviet government they should have it." When further questioned as to whether the Russians did want the bolsheviki he replied emphatically, "Yes, they do."

This being the case, what right has the French, English, American, or any other set of capitalists to dictate to the Russians that they should change the form of government that they have shown they want, into something they do not want? When did the editor of the Whiner become such a God as to tell 160,000,000 people that "though you want the bolsheviki, I don't; therefore you cannot have them?"

How could the soviet form of government have lasted the length of time that it has if the great mass of peasants and workers had not desired it?

How comes it that the bolsheviki have gained greater and greater strength, added to the adherents; that bolshevism has become the soul of the working class of Russia, if it was against the will of millions who have learned how to revolt?

And then the lie that a finite few bolsheviki have been holding Russia under the iron hand is all shattered to pieces by Robins' statement that there are at least 12,000,000 rifles in the hands of the peasants and many villages have their own machine guns, and that Lenin and Tolzky could be overthrown at any minute the people desired?

Then speaking of the much praised and vaunted Czechoslovaks, he emphatically denied that the bolsheviki had acted treacherously towards them, but, to the contrary, the treachery had been on the other side, caused by foreign capitalist intrigue; that the French had held the Czechoslovaks in Russia to overthrow the revolution at any cost, after they had promised the bolsheviki to help the Czechoslovaks out of Russia, and that it was the Czechoslovaks who had slaughtered the bolsheviki, not the bolsheviki who slaughtered the Czechoslovaks.

What more evidence do we need to prove our side?

How many more have to give eye witness evidence showing the low, filly treachery of the capitalists and their hirelings. The soviet is the form of administration that Russia wants. They believe and are willing to die for international socialism. Their spokesmen are their choice, and intervention can never crush them.

Therefore, get out of Russia and if you hirelings of the master class have to continue your lying, at least find a new line, especially after Raymond Robins has given you the lie.

CAPITALISTIC TIPS.

and put out some earnest spiels. Listen to this from Lloyd-George to joint committee of employers and employees:

Civilization, unless we try to save it, may be precipitated and shattered to atoms. It can only be saved by the triumph of justice and fair play to all alike.

Now, socialists have been urging "justice and fair play to all alike" for a long, long time. Mr. Lloyd-George urges it only when "civilization" (the wealth of the privileged) is threatened. Mr. Lloyd-George would throw a little liver to the starving hounds, lest they seize and rend the whole beef. Well, maybe he can save off their rush in that way. He is a canny Welshman, skilled in palaver and beguiling. And the human curs who serve him and his class have lived on liver so long—giving the real meat to their masters—they have lived on offal so long that they have lost the art of that shrewd teamwork of the grey wolves on the plains, who will wear down and conquer the fiercest bull.

"Unemployment must be banished, and the workers must never again be put in dread of the horrors of distress and hunger." Ha, ha! Sounds reasonable, doesn't it? Sounds good! It sounded good to us, and reasonable, a long, long, time ago. But now that Mr. Lloyd-George, the brilliant man, the wise and heavy thinker, has endorsed our long cherished, fanatical thought, perhaps we can hug it to our hearts with less misgiving.

"Employers must never again say: 'You are earning too much; your wages must be cut down.' Well, well, well; at last the wisdom of the serpent from the mouth of a corporation statesman! But will they heed? Will they heed the cunning Welshman who would save for them their hoarded ease? Charles Edward Russell, equally solicitous of defeating his own professed faith of socialism, some months back, handed out very similar warnings. Did they follow Charles Edward's theory here in Butte? In Utah? In Jerome? Not so that you could notice it.

In fact, neither Charles Edward Russell nor Premier Lloyd-George expect the employers to follow these tips. They know well enough that capital is both stubborn and unyielding. They would like to see capital survive as long as possible, because they are capitalists at heart, and they urge capital to save a rendering of its hide by tossing liver to the dogs; but they know that capital is too stiff-necked to do it. These brilliant, capitalistic-hearted statesmen, by their apparent solicitude for labor's happiness, are simply staying off for a little while the onrush of the proletariat; and in the meantime are preparing the proletariat mind to accept them as leaders when the storm breaks.

GOOD NIGHT COLUMN

"THE MUCKER"



If you want to know anything, ask the Mucker. If you don't know anything, ask the Mucker. If you know anything you don't know, tell it to the public through the Mucker's column.

Dear Fren Mucker:

Wel, Mucker, evri thing is bout jus like it wuz befor wen yuh hurt from me las time befor this, an meen gies an kids an wimn is still so hungri as ever. I use to think about the wurkin stife wuz born sim pul, but I bieve now uh lot of tum or jus loonie from forse of habit cuz yuh no, Mucker, wun of them gits wizer evri wunce an uhgin an yuh kin notis quite uh fue now wot wuz nevir born fools.

Sumbudy wants to konnyus to luk out wen uh fue more gits uh lile more into their nut. Jus today I set uh fellor wot I no voman cuz good wunce an bing, jus so quik as that heer air more bolshevicky in lile bean than yuh evri, soo an uh farmer wot I noed wot wuz wun nuthin heeded is uh hardy id partisan leeg speecher an haz bin evri since the Butte Broadway hull spit-ter haz bin telin how good the leeg wuzunt.

Yuh no, Mucker, yuh gotta give uh gie kredit fir not stavin uh fool that hull of hiz life even if it did luk like he staid uh boob fir to long va time. Yuh member wot I wuz sayin to yuh the four day, Mucker, wot, yuh no I wuzunt so hety an wot yuh sed id wuz. Yuh had part of er figered out an rite, I hadda docker an uh coupul days fule abbed an with part of uh sak of flour wot uh nabor jett us wot wen away. We hadda nuff grub sose id cun stay hoan 3 days an their wuz ware yur figerin lef an bruttiple. Stid of wun lile we aul natehuly speeted, the stork hung uh basket fulla twins on the family tree an in a dad twice fir wance.

Yuh no, Mucker, I hain't the kin of uh gie wot wants an had some but even if the stork had had some and fetched wun, yuh we didn heer nuff kloes fir it an yuh mite cun put uh note in the papir fir us an tel sumbudy wots got lolsa kid kloes jus how bad we cun use um. I onll got a gunny sak wun now an an that kinka ruff on the lile fellor. I see by the papir ware that cunmy feller, gits, is that it, is gonna tri an bee mater. Hees shure got lolsa them "hine like hiz name soums like to be ur wuzunt in uh phase ware uh recd mahto bee, hain't e.

I gotta quit yuh fir this time, Mucker. I tuk uh boord up outa the backyard sidewalk las week fir kintin an mi 8-year-old gir wot wuz jus big anuff to help uh lile roun the kitchen cum in uh bellerin cuz she staped in the sidewalk hole an broak wun toe an fell on er face an pritty near puncked wun i out. Uh fellor neede me, I hain't hapins to run out I wunt me, if mine hapins to run out I wunt me, an sum surymony, in gonap git uh livin if I hev to kolleek brek an milk with uh peece of gas pipe. I spose if the cheef of polceer hurd mee say that heed pinch mee fu hangin frank lile sose the A. C. M. gies who did due it cud be saafir than evrig. Ah reservey fir this time, Mucker.

D. N. R.

HISTORY REPEATS.

What mayor was it who put the city on a good financial basis the last time?

Why, Duncean.

Who can put the city on a good financial basis this time?

Why, Dun(n)can.

Mayor Maloney went into office with the slogan, "A full ton of coal."

Looks like he will leave office with the slogan, "A full can of ashes."

Dunn and Democracy.

A vote for DUNN CAN clean the mess As DUNN CAN did, with such success, some years ago.

Go boost for Dunn.

He's tried and true.

He's proved himself a man.

Don't hesitate.

His record's straight—

An honest working man.

Though wolves may growl

And jackals howl,

He'll treat them with contempt—

He'll guard the right,

The wrong, he'll smite;

No graft will be exempt.

Go vote for Dunn and honesty.

He represents our class.

Don't cringe and squeal,

Beneath the heel,

Nor breathe the poisoned gas;

Which grafters use,

When they abuse

An honest, upright man.

You must confess

Butte's in distress

And only DUNN CAN

Clean the mess—

As DUNN CAN did with great success.

With your support

Dunn can succeed

In ousting those

Intrenched by greed;

While addeleptas have charge

And grafters run at large

In Butte—

Poor Butte's

In disrepute.

Let Dunn uproot

The cause of loot

In Butte.

RIGHT OR WRONG

(Contributed.)

"The question of right or wrong does not concern us." How severely the radical writers and thinkers among and for the working class have been condemned for uttering or writing these words. Those who have taken this position have been charged by the capitalists and their press with almost every crime on the statute books for so taking this position. The writers and thinkers of and for the working class, who have written or uttered this philosophically-sound statement have been jalled without any further evidence than the fact that they had so written or spoken. It has been specially charged against these who have taken this position that they advocated, murder, destruction of wealth and kindred crimes; in other words the masters' papers have attempted to lead the worker to believe that the worker who believes in that position is morally bad and blood-thirsty. Of course, the better informed editors of capitalistic papers know what these words mean; but having sold their minds to the masters of industry for a price, they must write what they are commanded to write regardless of the truth. No writings of the radicals have been more deliberately misrepresented than these words.

It is our purpose to present the matter to you clearly and honestly. First, we would ask you to have an open mind; ready to receive, weigh and consider this article. The writer of this article is not an I. W. W., but merely a fearless searcher for the truth. We mention the I. W. W. for the reason that that organization has been condemned because an author who wrote a booklet explaining the "Philosophy of the I. W. W." took this position.

Now the truth of the matter is that there is nothing alarming in the position "The question of right and wrong does not concern us." Nothing therein contained is dangerous except to those who live from the labor of others without rendering any service in return. Industrial slaveholders may well tremble at the sound or sight of these words because when the working class once understands the full meaning of these words the detronement of the masters of industry and their hirelings is but a matter of moments—in this is contained a lesson of disobedience to the rule of industrial tyranny.

We desire to briefly give you the idea what these words mean. This article is not intended as a defense of the radicals or I. W. W. and we shall present the facts as we see them. Before we proceed, further let us get clear on this word "right." If we use the word in the sense of justice, social, economic, industrial or political then indeed do all radicals including the I. W. W. believe that the question of right or wrong does concern us. But it is not used in that sense. One of the definitions of the word "right" is: "In accordance with rules and precepts, and it is in this sense that we use and discuss the term here."

Ever since the dawn of civilization society has been divided into two principal classes, namely: Those who labor and those who live from the labor of others without rendering any useful service in return to society. Those who live from the labor of others are now and always have been the ruling class. Let us disgress a moment to correct a common misconception. It is commonly accepted by those who have not given social, economic, political and industrial questions serious consideration that the purpose of the radicals, including the I. W. W., is the deliberate destruction of the present government. Now the fact is that government is not a form of government corresponding in the main to the mode of production then prevailing. Such being the case, any attack on the government (the visible government) would be useless, it being itself but an agency and not a principal. If this visible government has suppressed free speech, free press and free assemblage we shall indeed criticize it, and we will might it be as its constitutions plainly grants these rights. Where in this article we use the word "government" we mean the invisible government, the exploiters, industrial and financial masters, who control every human institution through the ownership and control of the tools and means of production. The ruling class—the exploiters, industrial and financial masters, have always controlled and now control the government, the courts, the army and the navy, the police department, the educational institutions, and all other social institutions. If these masters were dethroned and industrial freedom instituted on earth, a system of administration suitable to that industrial and economic condition would result as a matter of course. Industrial democracy being the control of the tools of the means and production by those who labor it would follow that all social institutions would correspond to this new freedom.

Food, clothing and shelter are required to sustain material life. Without these things human life and human society would cease to exist. The claims which controls these essentials of life and society and the tools and means of producing same, controls the life of society itself. In other words, that class which so controls is the ruling class. The ruling class interpret laws in such a way as to maintain its supremacy, its power to control and own the tools and means of production and the product of toll. It compels the use of governmental agency for keeping the workers in subjection and to punish or destroy those who dare to protest. It so influences the educational institutions as to teach the child to be obedient to the masters, to be a willing worker and not to think for himself but always in the interest of the masters. The masters so use social institutions as to protect and perpetuate their power to rob the worker of the major part of his toil. Through the control of political institutions the press, the schools, and other social institutions, the masters lay down certain rules of the conduct for the working men and through these

same institutions, with or without laws, enforce and teach obedience thereto. Most of these rules of conduct are intended to preserve existing systems of production and exchange. According to the ruling class theory and practice if you obey these rules you are right, otherwise you are wrong. As we said before there are two classes in society. First, the workers. Second, those who live on the labor of others without rendering any useful service in return. The amount of social wealth produced is limited aside from the question of raw material because the number of workers is limited. This social wealth is produced by the hands and brain of labor. If the worker gets more of the social wealth, the exploiter gets less and if the worker gets less the master gets more. Laws of economics demand that a sufficient number of workers to carry on production and to maintain a reserve army of workers be paid enough in wages or food, clothing and shelter to keep up production. It is the aim and purpose of the master to keep the wages as low as possible because lower wages means more profits, while to the workers more wages means more food, clothing and shelter for himself and his family—a freer and fuller life. The worker says low wages are wrong, the master says that low wages are right. Here on the question of right and wrong the two classes cannot agree, and what is more, never will.

During the period of chattel slavery in Rome and other countries the owners of the slaves, the lands, mines and mills decreed that the slave was personal property, that he might be whipped or killed by the masters, that his and his family might be sold, that he had no right to run away.

The slaveholders said that this is the right, but the slave said it is wrong. If the slave had not considered these restrictions on his liberty wrong we would have chattel slavery today. The slave said your code of conduct is offensive and oppressive to our class. You say this is right and that is wrong, but we are economically opposed to each other. Therefore "the question of right or wrong as defined by you does concern us." We are fighting for liberty and we cannot permit you to tell us how to obtain it because you will not tell us the truth.

So under serfdom when the worker and his family were attached to the soil and might be sold with it. Under this system the serf and his family worked a certain number of days each year for the master and a certain number of days for himself. The rule of that day as announced and enforced by the owners of the estates—the land barons—said this is right but the serf was unable to see under what rule of justice, the land baron was entitled to any part of the serf's toil, since he, the baron, rendered no service in return to the serf. They could not agree on the code of conduct. If the serf had continued to obey the rule of the barons we would have serfdom today. The question of right or wrong did not concern the serf.

And so we come down to capitalism in our time. The exploiters own the tools and means of production, the mines, the mills, the factories, all means of transportation. The masters say this is right, but the worker says this is wrong. These tools and means of production, the mines, the mills, the factories, all means of transportation, are needed by society and should be used and controlled by and for those members of society who render useful service to themselves and society and not by those who do not labor, but live from the labor of others.

The exploiters—the ruling class of today, take from labor the greater part of the product of their work without rendering any useful work in return. The ruling class—the exploiters say this is right. The working class say that it has created all wealth and therefore should have all; that every man should labor at useful labor and that those who do no useful labor should have no part of the wealth produced. The ruling class say that industrial democracy is not a good thing in America—the rule laid down by the masters of industry forbids the discussion of industrial democracy; that capitalism is no longer capable of meeting the needs of society and that industrial democracy should be discussed in public. In case of strikes the ruling class demand that military forces be used to intimidate and if necessary destroy the strikers. The working class say this is wrong. So you see that there is not and cannot be any agreement between the ruling class and the working class as to the code of conduct. What is good for one class is bad for the other. The working class should point out plainly that "the question of right or wrong as defined by the exploiters does not concern the worker."

Because the working class and the employing class have nothing in common—there is no common interest. The efforts now being made to wed capital and labor fail. Either labor must establish industrial democracy or industrial slavery closely allied to chattel slavery is inevitable. Let us carry forward the fight for industrial freedom.

A St. Paul newspaper is among those who have sent investigators to North Dakota to study the new laws. This man in his first article states one noteworthy truth: "There is no dispute regarding the fact that the present machine is carrying out the wishes of 80 per cent. of the voters of North Dakota. Neither is it disputed that the old machine carried out only the will of bosses and their allied 20 per cent. of the state's voting population. This is a fact that the rabid opposition press never takes into consideration."

In the Chicago Herald-Examiner of last Friday was printed a letter from E. M. Otto of Upham, N. D., telling something of the progressive legislation in North Dakota. "The Nonpartisan league has done some fine work since it got into power," he writes. "This is a fine state for the working men, but a poor one for the lazy rich."

LONELY LOU.