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- Everybody's News Stand, 215 S. Montana
- Depot Drug Store, 428 East Front St.
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- Helena Confectionery, 755 East Park St.

THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1919.

TOM MOONEY DEMANDS HANGING OR FREEDOM—THIRD TIME.

Three years ago, the terrible preparedness parade bomb explosion took place in San Francisco, killing 10 people and wounding 40 more. Union labor marched in that parade 150,000 strong. Many unions, the newspapers and the police department received crude letters of warning of the impending outrage. No one has ever discovered the authors or perpetrators.

Tom Mooney, union man for 15 years, member of the molders, and at the time of his arrest an organizer for the platformers of the street railway, again demands on the third anniversary of this terrible crime to be taken out of the hot hellhole where he is imprisoned in San Quentin, Calif., and "hung by the neck until he is dead," or else be given his freedom absolutely. Mooney addressed this demand to Governor Stephens of California, who commuted his death sentence to life imprisonment.

This means to Tom Mooney that he is buried alive for life in a desert dungeon for a crime he never contemplated—much less committed. It has been absolutely proven by photographic evidence that Mooney was on top of a seven-story building a mile and a half away, watching his union brothers parade, when the explosion occurred. With him was his wife, Rena Mooney, music teacher. She had her studio in this building for 8 years. An immense American flag draped over the front windows of the building, which drove them up to the roof so they could see the parade.

Although 21 people and four photographs testify to their presence on the roof until after the explosion took place, still on the framed-up evidence of Oxman, an Oregon cattleman of shady reputation, and Estelle Smith, professional prostitute, Tom Mooney was sentenced to be hung and has already spent 3 years in prison.

For the first time in American history, a man obscure in the labor movement has come forward, and with the same spirit that animated Wendell Phillips, has made himself and his principles known to the whole world. For the third time, Mooney has demanded that either his life be taken or liberty be granted. Today no jury nor any judge in this broad land would dare condemn Tom Mooney to death on the flimsy evidence framed up against him. Tom Mooney is a real, red-blooded American with a strong faith in the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

For the third time—and let us hope—the last time, he demands "Give me liberty, or give me death." The sweltering prison cell, where he is buried alive, is no hollow mockery—it is made of stone and steel and sets itself solidly between liberty on the outside and a life-time of slavery within.

Tom Mooney is working as a molder, gobbled of the product of his toil as a prisoner, suffering the fate of compulsory servitude against which this nation once rebelled. The world of labor is with Tom Mooney and young Billings. On Sept. 1 to 5, their protest will again be registered by "downing tools" or else they will decide to "do nothing" and let Mooney and Billings rot in jail another three years, and then again and again until their lives are done.

On her speaking tour through the east, Mrs. Mooney went to Washington, D. C., at the time the president returned from France. She was assured that everything possible would be done by the president and that any petitions presented would be personally considered.

After appearing before immense audiences in Chicago, Rena Mooney started for the Pacific coast over the northern route, Duluth, Minn., extended her a four days' ovation—with audiences almost as large as in Chicago. She is scheduled for Minneapolis, Butte, Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma and Portland.

THE O. B. U. MOVEMENT

When we think of the One Big Union, if we understand the subject, we think of it as an idea rather than as an organization. The One Big Union idea expresses the need for closer affiliation of those who toil in mine, mill and factory, the need for unity and solidarity among the producers of the wealth of the world.

Quite often some individual with more enthusiasm than brains speaks of the "magnificent American labor movement"; it sounds fine, but the cold facts rather dampen our pride if we have the courage to face them.

In this country there are just two industries that are well organized: One is the coal-mining industry, the other is transportation.

The United Mine Workers of America are an industrial union; that is, the organization takes as members everyone working in and around the coal mines.

The U. M. W. of A. is the most powerful single organization in America, but although its membership numbers in the neighborhood of 400,000, there are still many coal fields that it does not control.

The Mine Workers were at one time what might be called a revolutionary union; most of the militant leaders subscribed to and taught the class struggle. Of late years, however, the officials have been playing politics, both nationally and within the A. F. of L. Much of its early militancy has been lost and although an industrial organization, its tactics are those of a craft union.

In the transportation industry, railways, the alliance between the four brotherhoods, the engineers, the firemen, the trainmen and the conductors, gives them complete control of transportation, if they choose to exercise their power.

Like the miners, the railway organizations devote their ef-

Union Stock Holders in the Butte Daily Bulletin

- UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA—Locals: Sand Coulee, Stocker, Roundup, Lehigh, Klein, Washoe, Red Lodge, Smith (Bear Creek).
- FEDERAL LABOR UNION—Livingston.
- MACHINISTS' UNION—Great Falls, Butte, Livingston.
- MACHINISTS' UNION—Great Falls, Butte, Livingston, Seattle.
- CEREAL WORKERS—Great Falls.
- TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION—Butte.
- BLACKSMITHS' UNION—Butte, Miles City, Seattle.
- ELECTRICIANS' UNION—Livingston, Deer Lodge, Butte, Anaconda, Seattle.
- BAKERS' UNION—Great Falls.
- SHOE WORKERS—Great Falls.
- PLASTERERS' UNION—Great Falls.
- RAILWAY CAR REPAIRERS—Livingston, Miles City.
- MUSICIANS' UNION—Butte.
- BREWERY WORKERS' UNION—Butte.
- HOD CARRIERS' UNION—Butte and Roseman.
- STREET CAR MEN'S UNION—Butte, Portland.
- BARBERS' UNION—Butte.
- METAL MINE WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA.
- PRINTING PRESSMEN'S UNION—Butte.
- MAILERS' UNION—Butte.
- STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS' UNION—Butte.
- BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS' UNION—Butte.
- PIPEFITTERS' UNION—Butte.
- BROTHERHOOD BOILERMAKERS AND HELPERS—Butte and Livingston.
- STREAM AND OPERATING ENGINEERS—Great Falls.
- BUTCHERS' UNION—Butte.
- INTERNATIONAL MOLDER'S UNION, LOCAL NO. 276—Butte.
- LAUNDRY WORKERS' UNION, NO. 25—Butte.
- PLUMBERS' UNION—Butte, Seattle.
- BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY CARMEN OF AMERICA, LOCAL NO. 321—Miles City.
- TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL—Miles City.
- HOD CARRIERS' UNION—Helena.
- BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY CARMEN OF AMERICA, COPPER LODGE NO. 431—Butte.
- BUTTE FOUNDRY WORKERS' UNION—Butte.
- PAINTERS' UNION—Butte, Seattle.
- CARPENTERS' UNION, NO. 1335—Seattle, Wash.
- TAILORS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION—Butte, Portland.
- BOILERMAKERS, SHIP BUILDERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA—Tacoma, Seattle, Livingston.
- INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BLACKSMITHS AND HELPERS, LOCAL NO. 211—Seattle, Wash.
- WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' COUNCIL—Painters' Hall, Seattle, Wash.
- BUILDING LABORERS' UNION—Seattle.
- INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS AND PILEDRIVERS' LOCAL NO. 86—Seattle.
- AND THOUSANDS OF INDIVIDUALS IN BUTTE AND MONTANA

forts simply to getting wage increases and minor concessions, and have, until recently, had no affiliation with other organizations.

In the A. F. of L., beside the Mine Workers, are something like a hundred international unions; they are autonomous, that is, the federation, theoretically, has no authority over them; in this fact lies one of its weaknesses.

Split up into a hundred different groups, with overlapping jurisdiction, in many instances, the three million wage earners, in the A. F. of L., are constantly at one another's throats because of trade-rivalries, competition for the job.

The closed shop policy, while it has bettered the immediate condition of the members of the unions, has, to a large extent, prevented the organization of the bulk of wage earners, particularly in what is called the unskilled occupations.

With a closed shop, the competition for the job is between the union and the non-union worker; it is felt by many that if the union membership becomes too large that the competition would be between members of the same union; this is the reason for the enormous initiation fees charged by some unions.

In the 38 years of its existence, the Federation has succeeded in organizing about three million wage earners, about one-sixth of the total number in the United States.

It is interesting to note that while the actual membership of the American Federation grows from year to year that the percentage in relation to the total number of toilers either remains stationary or becomes smaller, due to the fact that no concerted effort is made to reach the unorganized.

Such attempts as are made generally end in failure, due to the rivalry between the international unions for the new membership.

The craft idea is promulgated at the expense of the class idea and it is not uncommon for the battles between rival organizations to be more bitter than the struggle between worker and employer.

The officials of the A. F. of L. preach that the interests of employe and employer are identical and have advanced no farther than the idea of a fair day's pay for a fair day's work.

They believe or profess to believe that collective bargaining is the Alpha and Omega of the struggle between capital and labor, but so far collective bargaining means to them only bargains between individual craft unions or loosely united groups and their employers, with the right to sanction strikes still vested in the heads of the international unions.

The conception held of society by these executive heads of the internationals and the executives of the A. F. of L. is the capitalistic idea of a society forever made up of a subject wage-earning class and an idle, non-producing, ruling class.

No vision of a better order seems to inspire them; the only appeal made to the unorganized worker to induce him to join a union, and the only arguments advanced to keep those already members paying their dues is that wage increases can be secured, and that where closed shops exist no job can be secured by a non-union man.

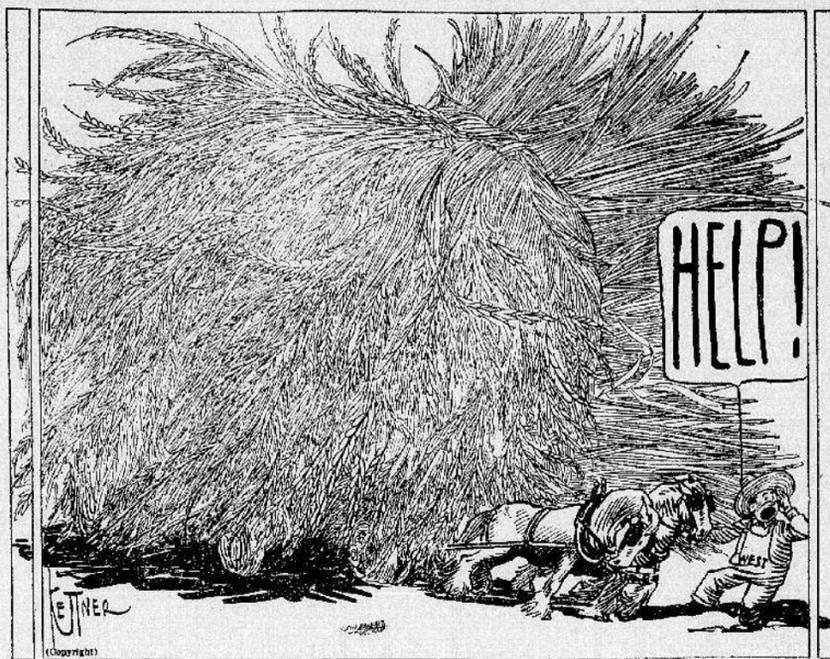
Undoubtedly these are powerful arguments from the material standpoint, but they do not make for a sound movement, nor do they advance the interests of the working class as a whole. Because of the lack of working-class education in the trade union movement, because it depends largely for its existence on the closed shop, rather than on the intelligence of class-conscious workers, the A. F. of L., during periods of industrial depression, loses members so rapidly that during the periods of so-called prosperity, strenuous efforts are required to make good the losses.

(Continued Tomorrow.)

Frank Eiel, banker and merchant prince of Dillon; N. T. Lease, retired contractor, confessed labor hater and member of the state council of pretense, of Great Falls, and W. G. Fiske, a retired merchant of Hamilton. Can you beat it! Three men, two of whom, at least, who have made their fortunes just as has Willie Lookey, in Butte to curb Willie's profits. Don't smile, if you can help it.

Since County Attorney Jackson poses as such a strong friend of the unions, we would suggest that before he becomes too closely involved with Messrs. Eiel, Lease and Fiske, of the government's efficiency and trade commission, he investigate to see if the gentlemen mentioned have paid-up cards in the White-washers' union.

A Bumper Crop



Political and Industrial Conditions In Europe and the United States

George P. West, the author of the following article, recently retired from the position of special assistant to Mr. Basil Manly, one of two joint chairmen of the United States war labor board. Prior to that he was editor of the Public, one of the national magazines of liberal opinion. Mr. West is perhaps best known for his connection with the industrial relations commission, of which Frank P. Walsh was chairman, the federal body which conducted a country-wide investigation several years ago, revealing a remarkable story of the conspiracy of capital against the workers in this country, and placing before the nation facts regarding the industrial situation which form a basis for all campaigns for a better industrial order. Mr. West was one of the chief investigators and joint author of the commission's report. Mr. West has recently been engaged to write for the Bulletin, in connection with the Fargo Courier-News, a series of letters on national, industrial, political and social events of great significance.—(Editor.)

New York, July 24.—Just how the prediction frequently heard lately—namely, are some of the world's economic institutions is shown by among economists of some schools that Germany will be driven by defeat into a greater prosperity and a higher level of general welfare than will fall to the lot of the victors of the world war.

Already the German government, which in reality is no more socialist than that of England or France, has been forced by necessity to take certain drastic steps that have been urged in vain by influential minorities in all countries for years, on the ground that they would increase the general welfare.

The latest news is that Herr Erzberger, minister of finance, has perfected the details of a tax program that will raise the huge sum of 99,000,000 marks by a levy on capital, or, in other words, by the confiscation of private fortunes above a certain figure. Fortunes of 5,000 marks and less will be exempt, but beginning at that figure the new levy will take for the state anywhere from 10 per cent to 65 per cent, depending on the size of the fortune. The higher figure will apply on all fortunes exceeding 2,000,000 marks. Taxes may be paid with government war bonds.

Thus with one stroke Germany proposes to wring the water from its extremity and restore the value of money to something like its old figure, while at the same time relieving German industry of having to pay tribute to the wealthy minority who own its bonds.

So crushing is the German war debt and the terms of the peace treaty that Germany must either sink into utter chaos or dispense with such luxuries as the leisure class and the unearned incomes that support it, not to mention the great wastes and curtailments of production that are inseparable from private monopoly and privilege, and while this will be good for Germany, national pride and the hard necessities of the case may force her capitalists and landlords to accept without a struggle these beneficial changes that in other countries can only be brought about after endless friction and conflict and the disorganization attendant on conflict. Of course there is a big "if" here, for even in defeated Germany privilege will not yield without a struggle, and Herr Erzberger's tax scheme has not yet met the test.

What a nation like Germany can accomplish in saving and in increased production when these are seen by the entire population as absolutely necessary for continued national existence may surprise the world, in the opinion of engineers and economists who have studied the wastes of industry as at present conducted. It is no longer socialism, nor anything else queer and unusual, but the matter-of-fact calculation of engineers and scientists, that in industry after industry, production can be drastically reduced by insisting on maximum production and disregarding these private interests that stand in its way. For instance, in this country the private coal operators and the railroads have co-operated to keep in operation at least part of the year two or three times too many coal mines, many of which have no excuse for existence because of their high costs or their distance from the market. The big low-cost operators are glad to encourage this condition and perpetuate it, because it means high prices for coal. Again, established private interests stand in the way of revolutionary changes of

proved practicability, such as central power stations at the mines, and the conversion of coal at the mine into a gas that would give greater heat value per unit while at the same time yielding by-products of enormous value—benzol and coal tar. These established and demonstrated savings are estimated by the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, a government bureau, at \$1,000,000,000 a year at the lowest, for this country. This is only one of many vast economies which, economists point out, the skillful and ingenious Germans may now inaugurate.

Socialists claim savings as one of the major benefits of a community organized on a co-operative basis. The socialist theory is that the "capitalist class" will never voluntarily change industry over to this basis, nor inaugurate the savings that go with co-ordination and co-operation on a big scale. And if Germany survives without a revolution, she may furnish the world with a test of what we may expect of the men now everywhere in control—the capitalists and managers and organizers and engineers. If in Germany, such as she is with disaster, the class is not far-seeing enough and public spirited enough to sacrifice its immediate personal interests for the sake of maximum production, then nowhere can we expect to see the changes come except at the demand of a triumphant proletariat.

The extreme view of Germany as a land blessed by defeat is well illustrated by an editorial recently appearing in "The New Age," a London weekly which is the organ of one of the most influential groups of radical "intellectuals." Says the New Age:

"We assert that far from finding themselves more unhappy than they have hitherto been, the German people (the oligarchy excluded) will in consequence of the peace terms find themselves happier than they have ever been. For the masses life will be better worth living in Germany than, perhaps, in any other country. The crushing burden of imperialism has been taken from off their shoulders; and only a false pride will grieve at the loss. The German people, in so far as they can be truthful with themselves, will find occasion for nothing but satisfaction.

"To the people of Germany that is to say to 99 out of every 100 of its sixty or so millions, the private property now to be confiscated and the public debt now to be appropriated by the allies would have been an equal burden if they had been left in the hands of German capitalists.

"In contrast with the real as distinguished from the sentimental prospect for Germany, we invite the German people to consider what their deliverance from Prussianism is likely to cost us. We have been victorious; we have succeeded in all in which the German governing classes have failed. Happy are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted, but who shall comfort us who rejoice? We have adopted conscription both for the army and navy; we have increased the burden of our colonial responsibilities. We have been confirmed in our imperialism. The way to end war, which has resulted for Germany in an inability to make war, has resulted for us in an obligation to be prepared for war in every quarter of the world. For every penny our rulers extracted from our labor to spend on empire before the war, we must consent in future to spend a pound. The whole burden hitherto borne by the German people will have fallen on us, to add its weight to an already crushing load.

The very debt the allies propose to collect from Germany can be proved to be to the disadvantage of the allied peoples, as, by the same reasoning, it can be shown to be to the advantage of German labor. For what is debt but a demand for goods and services, that is, for labor? And if the demand is made of German labor, it cannot at the same time be made of British labor. In other words, there will be employment for labor in Germany, where there is unemployment for labor in England. The surplus of German production over the purchasing power of German labor will, it is true, be exported without return; but the surplus of English production over the purchasing power of English labor is likewise "exported" without any return that affects the well-being of 90 out of every 100 of our population.

Much of this seems far-fetched, but it at least serves to challenge and correct a lot of loose thinking on the subject. As for predictions of what will happen in Europe, it is like predicting next week's weather, and most of us will remember how the best economists according to 1914 that the war could not last more than a year.

JUSTICE

All hail the dawn of a new day breaking,
When a strong-armed nation shall take away
The weary burden from backs that are aching,
With maximum labor, minimum pay,
When no man is who hoards his millions,
When no man feasts on another's toil
And God's poor, suffering, starving millions
Shall share his riches of sun and soil.

There is gold for all in earth's broad bosom;
There is food for all in land's great store,
Enough is provided if rightly divided,
Let each man take what he needs,
No more,
Shame on the miser with unseemly riches
Who robs the toiler to swell his hoard,
Who beats down the wage of the digger of ditches
And steals the bread from the poor man's bard.

Shame on the owner of mines, whose cruel
And selfish measures have brought him wealth
While the ragged wretches who dig his fuel
Are robbed of comfort of home and health,
Shame on the ruler who rides in his carriage
Bought with the labor of half-paid men,
Men who are shut out of home and marriage
And are herded like sheep in a novel pen.

To broader vision and fairer play
Or let the hand of just law shake him
Till his ill-gained dollars shall roll away,
Let no man dwell under a mountain of plunder,
Let no man suffer with want and need,
We want right living, no more alms-giving,
We want just dividing of labor and gold.

WORKER.

Today's Anniversary.

Salt Lake City Founded.
Salt Lake City was founded by the Mormons on July 24, 1847, 72 years ago today. At that time the whole region lay far beyond the advancing wave of civilization. But the city did not long remain the isolated oasis in the desert. The city is laid out street-board fashion, with all the streets wide and the blocks 40 rods square. The tabernacle of the Mormons is especially famous for its extraordinary acoustic properties. If a person lightly scratches his finger nail along the pillar in one end of the building, the sound is heard in the opposite end of the building.

London.—New Zealand will place a 100-year ban on German emigration according to Dominion Premier Massey, speaking at a luncheon here.