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MONDAY, MAY 19, 1919.

Woodrow Wilson said: "If there is one thing we love more than another in the United States, it is that every man should have the privilege, unmolested and uncriticized, to utter the real convictions of his mind."

For having voiced "real convictions" Eugene V. Debs and thousands of others are dying by inches in state and federal prisons.

STAND BY THE PRIMARY.

Considerable of a hue and cry against the primary law is noticeable in the organs of big business and big politicians throughout the state. On the other hand, a perusal of the editorial columns of the publications of the state that are not controlled by big business or politicians will show that the papers of the people are uniformly against the repeal of the primary and the reversion to antiquated convention politics when the will of the many was subjected to the desires of the few.

In the minds of public-spirited citizens of the state—those who fail to lick the boots of the big corporations and the would-be political bosses—there can be no doubt as to the advisability of maintaining the primary election system. In the days that are passed when nominations were made and elections assured at convivial meetings of a few selected friends of the corporations and their political men Fridays, the people of the state of Montana had plenty of opportunities to witness the workings of that system. Since the primary system has been in effect they have had opportunity to see how that system operates and, be it said, the advantage, from the standpoint of the people, is all in favor of the primary system.

Granted, there are defects in the present primary law. Either through the initiative or through their legislators the people of the state can correct those errors; but even the primary law with some defects is better by far than a return to the old system when, for a few dollars paid into the hands of the convention delegates, nominations could be bought and elections swung, irrespective of the desires of the multitude. The fact that all this hue and cry against the primary originated with fallen political leaders, whose leadership was taken away from them through the primary, should, in itself, be sufficient to point the way every self-respecting voter of the state should stand on the question of its repeal.

There is but little doubt that every citizen of Butte, with the possible exception of the Treacys, the Crowleys, the Culls and others of the ilk who live through manipulating politics, will stand solidly for the retention of our primary law.

The Bulletin understands that in Silver Bow, as well as in other counties of the state, petitions of protest are being circulated in an effort to prevent the voting on the proposed repeal. It is the duty of every citizen of worth to sign such a petition for, with their well known abilities at making black appear white in the matter of election returns, it is barely possible that the proponents of the repeal might set at naught the undoubted desire of the people to continue the primary by making the return read that it had been repealed.

FREEDOM FOR MOONEY; FREEDOM FOR CLASS WAR PRISONERS; THE GENERAL STRIKE!

The general strike has been used by the labor movements of Europe for many years; as a weapon with which to obtain economic and political reforms it has been found to be the most powerful possessed by labor.

The general strike is the result of the growing knowledge, the increasing conviction of labor that the institutions of the capitalist state, function only in the interests of the employing class.

In every case in which the issue has been between the workers and their exploiters, in every case where workers have had their lives and liberties jeopardized because of their activities in industrial disputes, in every case where the warfare between the classes has resulted in a revolt of the oppressed, sometimes one and sometimes many workers have been sacrificed on the altar of ruling class hatred; they have been persecuted and punished for their temerity in challenging the rule of the master by the courts and judges of capitalism.

At times, the persecution takes on the color of legality, the offending worker is sent to prison because he has violated a law enacted by bought and paid for legislatures at the behest of some autocratic corporation who desire that minor obstacles that hamper the persecution be removed.

Again, the victimized worker is convicted of some heinous crime of which he is entirely innocent, by a bribed jury, perjured evidence and sentenced by a corrupted judge.

The living, breathing example of this form of persecution is Thomas Mooney.

Thomas Mooney, hated by the corporations of California because of his successful efforts toward organization of the workers.

Thomas Mooney, hated by the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco because they could not buy his soul as they have bought the souls of many, many labor men in that city of black-mail and corruption.

Thomas Mooney, first sentenced to hang, now serving a life sentence because the profit-mongers of the Bay counties found him in their way.

Thomas Mooney, for almost three years now, confined in

Union Stock Holders in the Butte Daily Bulletin

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA—Locals: Sand Coulee, Sacket, Roundup, Lehigh, Klein, Washoe, Red Lodge, Smith (Beas Creek).
FEDERAL LABOR UNION—Livingston.
MACHINISTS' UNION—Great Falls, Butte, Livingston.
MACHINISTS' UNION—Great Falls, Butte, Livingston, Seattle.
GENERAL 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 Bozeman.
STREET CAR MEN'S UNION—Butte.
BARBERS' UNION—Butte.
METAL MINE WORKERS' UNION (Independent)—Butte.
PRINTING PRESSMEN'S UNION—Butte.
MAILERS' UNION—Butte.
STREETCARTERS 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.
LATHING WORKERS' UNION, NO. 25—Butte.
PLUMBERS' UNION—Butte, Seattle.
BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY CARMEN OF AMERICA, LOCAL NO. 224—Miles City.
TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL—Miles City.
HOD CARRIERS' UNION—Helena.
BROTHERHOOD RAILWAY CARMEN OF AMERICA, COPPER LODGE NO. 439—Butte.
BUTTE FOUNDRY WORKERS' UNION—Butte.
TAILORS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION—Butte.
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

prison because Mammon in California must have its pound of flesh.

The world knows that Mooney is innocent.

His innocence has been proved by evidence that has never been and cannot be refuted.

His innocence has been proved by the fact that every witness brought by the prosecution has been proved to be a perjurer. It has been proved that Fickert, the degenerate who holds the office of the district attorney, combed San Francisco's infamous red-light district for men and women sufficiently debauched to swear away the life of a fellowman; it has proved that Fickert's witnesses not only lied on the witness stand, but that they represented every shade and degree of the depths to which human beings can descend in an attempt to satisfy the perverted passion of their natures.

Many labor men of San Francisco have traveled the primrose path that always leads to treason to the workers; the path that is paved with the gold of the Chamber of Commerce.

They could not buy Tom Mooney, so today he dies a living death; he is shut away from the air and the sunlight he loved so well.

He cannot see the children of the poor for whom he worked, for whom he tried to make a better world; he is in prison when the workers need brave spirits such as his, as they never needed them before.

Thomas Mooney is not the only worker in the jails and penitentiaries of the ruthless ruling class.

More than two thousand men and women of the working class, men and women who dared to challenge the supremacy of the mighty ones of the earth, men and women who dared to question the power of the masters to live for ever on the labor of the workers, men and women of the workers with vision and courage, with brains and ability that the masters fear are suffering the mental and physical tortures that make up the life of the victims of a barbarous capitalism.

You workers who are out of jail! What are you doing to right the monstrous wrongs that a maddened and terrified exploiting class are inflicting on your fellows?

Are you going to permit the oppression and the persecution to increase until no worker dares to raise his voice in defense of his class?

Are we to continue to bow our heads to the weight of oppression or are we going to do as the Mooney defense committees are asking?

There is but one answer that can be given by any worker whose soul is not the soul of a slave.

Lay down your tools on July 14th!

Stop producing wealth for the employing class and with that silent protest let there be heard from 10,000,000 throats the demand of an enlightened working class, a working class determined to no longer submit to the wrongs and indignities that an employing class, grown arrogant with power, will inflict upon us.

Freedom for Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, for Gene Debs and Bill Haywood, and freedom for all the toilers and their spokesmen, freedom for all victims of the courts and laws of the industrial autocrats who rule this nation.

The general strike is the weapon of the workers! Join in the general strike for the freedom of all class war prisoners and thereby loosen the chains of industrial slavery that weigh so heavily upon the workers of this land.

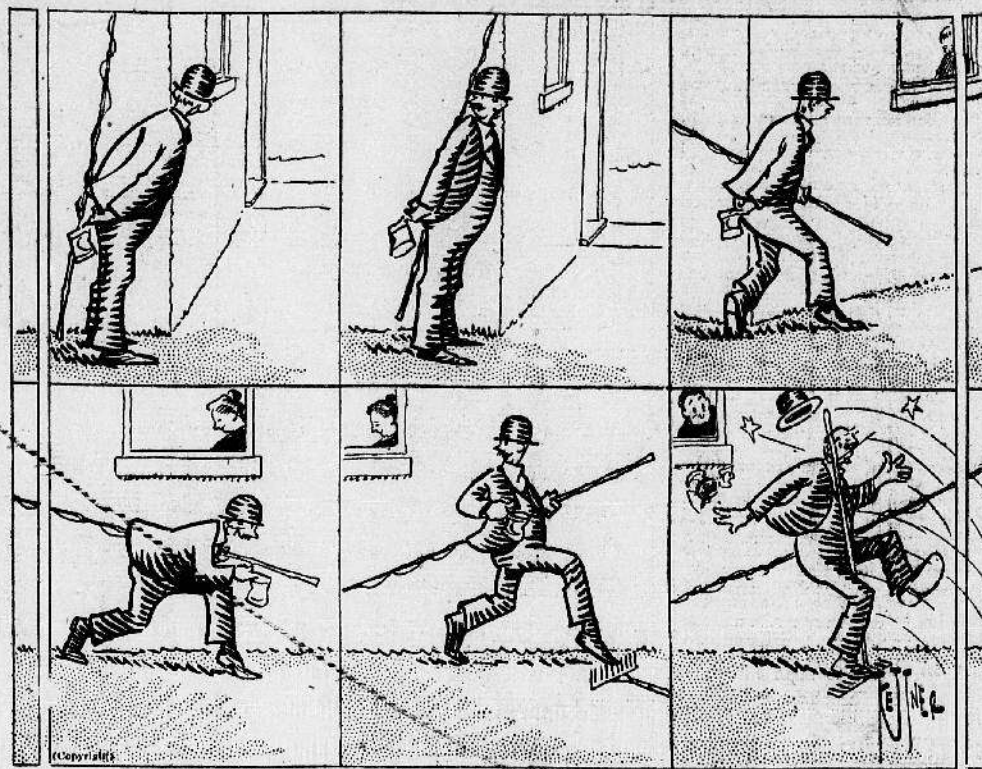
Join together as workers irrespective of race, creed or color in a mighty protest that will bring the cold sweat of fear to the brow of capitalism.

"While one worker is in prison, I am not free." Thus spoke Gene Debs. Let these words be the battle cry of the workers on July 14th.

Those who expect the special interest politicians and statesmen to reform the world for them for the asking, might reflect on the hard time Moses had to get something out of Pharaoh. The Israelites finally did the only sensible thing—they took things into their own hands and ran away. Even then special privilege went back on its promise and came after them with the army. The heart of special privilege has not changed a bit since that day, although the people have slowly forced it to change its methods somewhat.

If in doubt about the man one of the old parties brings out as a "fairly good" candidate, why not ask his wife her opinion of a fairly good egg?

Movie of a City Farmer Playing Hookey



Political and Industrial Conditions in Europe and U. S.

(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, May 19.—All through the winter's developments at Paris and until the publication of the treaty with Germany, liberal opinion about the peace conference and the league of nations has been exceedingly timid and faltering in America.

Socialist scoffing and ridicule have been plentiful from the beginning, but it was held to be merely a continuation of the socialist attitude toward the war and all its works. Men and women who try not to be doctrinaire and who fear snap judgments have kept their minds open. The attitude throughout has been one, not of skepticism, but of a great yearning hope that somehow the horrors of the war would justify themselves in some degree through the medium of Wilson leadership at Paris.

Today we have the result before us, and there is a sudden lifting of voluntary censorship on popular judgment. The American is a provincial, if absorption in the problems besetting 100,000,000 people can be called provincialism. He is loth to project his mind and imagination to the European field and form judgments as to what is happening there. But today the duty is upon him as something that he cannot escape. And we are already seeing a rapid breaking down of doubt and reticence.

In what follows the writer is convinced that he is merely charting the tide of liberal opinion as he meets it here in the east, without prejudice and without interjection of his personal views. He has himself been one of those who deprecated too intense an interest in foreign affairs, on the ground that our first job here is to take those first steps toward rule by the plain people which must necessarily be concerned with the immediate domestic interests of the average man, on the theory that not until our workers and producers are united on their most immediate interests can they unite on larger questions of foreign policy, and on the additional hypothesis that, once united, their attitude toward these larger international questions is certain to be the enlightened democratic attitude.

Today we must decide what we think about the league of nations, because our domestic future is tied to the plans of our diplomats and we can no longer withhold our approval or condemnation if we are to make even a pretext of intelligently directing our own affairs.

Without exception, the true democrats of press and pulpit and platform and street corner have decided. And their decision squares with the judgment of the British labor party and the French Federation of Labor and of such British experts on international affairs as J. A. Hobson and Norman Angell and Bradburn and Webb and Lamburn and Shaw.

This judgment is that the league of nations, so-called, is nothing more nor less than an alliance by the strongest financial and military powers of western Europe, plus the United States, entered into for the purpose of permanently destroying their enemies and bringing the entire civilized world under their control for purposes of economic exploitation.

As for the ending of wars, liberal judgment is that the humiliation and destruction of Germany, the ignoring of Russia, the exclusion of most of Africa and Asia and Latin America and neutral Europe from the league and hence from any voice in affairs, is the surest method that

could be devised for ensuring future wars as soon as the excluded nations and peoples can band themselves together in an opposition and resentment as bitter as any that every raised armies and precipitated wholesale slaughter.

Consider the provision of the league covenant that control of the league shall at all times rest in a council of nine, of which five members shall consist of England, France, Italy, the United States and Japan. The four other members shall be admitted at the suffrance of these five. It has been pointed out that this is equivalent to the proposition that the United States of America shall at all times be governed by a council to be appointed by the governors of the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio and Illinois.

Consider the failure to apply the principle of mandates to any colonial possessions except those of Germany. France and Italy are still free to exploit as they will their colonies in Tripoli and Morocco and West Africa. England is still free to do as she chooses in Egypt and India and Ireland and Africa. We are left free to work our will—Wall street will—in Latin America.

Consider the adoption of the British government of conscription as a permanent peace time policy. Consider the failure of the covenant to insist that armaments be reduced, or to provide any limitation except "advise that they be ignored, by specific authority of the covenant. Consider the failure of the covenant to contain any ringing declaration that the making of war shall be considered a crime. Consider the explanation officially put forth that each nation shall be free to increase her army and navy according to her geographical position and "national interests."

Consider the refusal of the official representative of the struggling Mexican democracy crossed the ocean to say in defense of Mexico's attempt to reserve some benefit of its great resources for the people who own these resources and whose labor develops them for the profit of New York and London banking interests.

Consider the omission of any provision for popular election of delegates to the council or the larger house of delegates that shall control international affairs.

Consider Article X, unamended while many other articles were radically altered, by which every nation signatory to the covenant pledges itself to safeguard the territorial status quo so that the spoils now falling into the laps of the victorious nations shall be retained always.

It is safe to say that nothing could have been arrived at so eminently satisfactory to international capitalism, to the spoilsmen and exploiters of every major economic power, as the league of nations covenant and the peace treaty of Paris.

Perhaps it was the best that could be hoped for in a world governed by economic imperialism and privilege. At least we can face that fact and renew our efforts to smash imperialism and predatory capitalism.

This judgment of the peace treaty and the league of nations is of course the signal for those who opposed our entry into the war, to assert that they were right all the time. They say they would have liked to see some good come out of the war, but never believed that the spoils now falling into the laps of the victors would compensate for the bad, and that now they know they were right. There is no question that liberals who sincerely favored our participation are

disappointed. They had hoped that President Wilson would join forces with the British liberals and laborites and the French socialists and bring us a peace of understanding—a peace in which a disillusioned Germany in democratic hands could join with the other nations in the healing process of reconstruction and international co-operation. They had counted on something of the spirit of Christianity creeping into the peace arrangements and supplanting fear and hatred between nations. Yet they are far from accepting that the outcome demonstrates the futility of the decisive American effort to overcome the imperial German government and its military power. The wisest of them, indeed, anticipated about what has occurred, and still saw as the first task of democrats the world over the decisive defeat and discrediting of the ambitions and philosophy of the men who ruled Germany. For lack of the German aggression was something worse even than predatory capitalism and economic imperialism. There were these things in partnership with an archaic, barbaric worship of pomp and power, a superstitious exalting of one man as something more than human, a perfect medieval infatuation with the "flaming sword" and the cult of organized violence. Even to the extent that the professions of the more democratic nations meant hypocrisy, even that hypocrisy marked a big advance over the avowed belief of Germany's ruling cast in the right of might. And so long as there existed the danger that that barbarism would prevail in the world, the sins of the other nations would look white in comparison, and we should never have been able to join the issue with privilege and imperialism in our own countries. Always the menace from something infinitely worse would have silenced criticism at home and sanctified those evils which were so much less ugly, or at least so much less obvious in their ugliness, than the thing which animated the commanders of the army that marched into Belgium in 1914. We have only to consider the situation of the world today if the imperial German government were now victorious. All the forces of privilege in the allied nations that now loom up so hideously would then be concealed from men's eyes, and the non-German world would be facing a long period of preparation for doing the job that now lies behind us. In a word, the sins of plutocratic governments are manifest to us today, and we are left free to deal with them, only because the soldiers of the allies have disposed of the uglier thing which obscured our vision because it was the greater threat. The armies have done their big bit in making the world safe for democracy. Now it is up to us.

FAMOUS WOMEN

Boleyn, Boleyn.

Anne Boleyn, queen of England, was executed on this date in 1536. Henry married her very quietly after his divorce from Catherine of Aagon, and soon afterward she was crowned at Westminster with unparalleled splendor. In due time Anne gave birth to a daughter, famous Queen Elizabeth of later years. For two and a half years after this event the royal couple lived in apparent harmony. Then Henry professed to be troubled by rumors which reached him accusing the queen of bestowing her affections upon others. Later open charges were made and Anne, with her brother, were tried by the house of peers who found them both guilty and condemned them to death.

Today's Anniversary.

FIRST FREE SCHOOL.

The first free school was opened in New York 113 years ago today, and was the outgrowth of a plan to establish a free institution for the education of girls. The little school in Madison street was the beginning of the great metropolitan system of public schools as it exists today, and the pioneer institution still exists as public school No. 1. During the last century popular free education has made the circuit of the civilized globe and illiteracy has become the exception instead of the rule in all advanced nations.

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