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DEVOTED TO THE INDUSTRIAL, POLITICAL, AND EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT OF THE WORKING-CLASS

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Socialist Balderdash

By FRANS BOSTROM

It makes a fellow tired to read such rubbish as is contained in the Anti-War Manifesto and Peace Program prepared by the national committee at its May meeting and which is now being voted upon by the membership as National Referendum B, 1915. Nothing can better illustrate the preposterousness of the Socialist claim to scientificity than the average resolution, platform or manifesto drawn up by the idiotic bunch of opportunists, who, because of their skill in platitudes, have succeeded in gaining ascendancy in the national affairs of the party.

That Socialism is a scientific conclusion drawn from known sociological facts is undeniable; but that does not make the rainbow chasings of barnstorming political revivalists scientific, or even tolerably sensible.

Just think for a minute of what this piece of childishness says, this great manifesto. Let us begin with the beginning sentence: "The supreme crisis in human history is upon us." Let me ask the national committee if this means that we are to abandon the law of Economic Determinism? We have been taught that the great epochs in history have been the useful discoveries and inventions, that the social history of mankind was a mere corollary of these industrial advancements, mere re-adjustments in order to make the social structure fit the needs of modern machinery. But now our national sages tell us to put the cart before the horse. Let us read further: "European civilization is engulfed. . . . The future of the human race is imperilled." Does the committee mean that in this war we are to lose track of our sciences, the arts of making fire, melting iron, building houses, machines, ships and aircrafts, or does it really believe that the world would lose anything by having all its old moss-grown institutions overturned and destroyed? Pardon me my opportunist comrades for stating frankly that you are exceedingly poor stuff to make Socialists out of, if you are so devoid of optimism that you think that the world can move backward or the human race can be imperilled by anything that can happen through human agency.

1915 UTOPIANISM

Space forbids treating the subject in detail. Suffice it, however, to point out that after an explanation of how capitalism naturally leads to war, and a reminder of the strenuous efforts of the Socialists to prevent it, the committee admits that capitalism has created a Frankenstein that will destroy its creator and that the party has been engaged in fighting windmills. But never more. After this manifesto has been ratified, we will have a program that will settle the question. We are going to tell the governments of the world how we want the world governed. We want a United States of the world. But the ancient law of force, upon which all hitherto existing society has been based, and upon which in fact scientific

Socialism is based, is to be abandoned and the decrees of the world government are to be carried out WITHOUT RESORT TO ARMS. This is pure philosophic anarchy and comes from a big heart and a small brain. Gentle persuasion will create brotherly love. The powers that be will undoubtedly listen to our advice and mend their ways, WITHOUT COMPULSION. And if they don't we can point with pride to the fact that we have expostulated with them in resolutions and manifestos and thus done all that could reasonably be expected from us. This will entitle us to the votes of all mutts.

It did not seem to strike the national committee that if war breaks out, the organization will be paralyzed by martial law; that, as in Europe, the leaders will lose their heads and become patriotic, or their backbones and become cowards. That therefore no proposal to stop war is practical or even honest, which does not prepare the individual for the dilemma of being shot as a traitor or become a murderer of his fellows. The Quakers have that much sense.

Do we want to abolish war before we have gained our freedom? Are we to follow in the footsteps of the meek Nazarene? Or the eccentric Tolstoy? If war is one of the many evils of capitalism, why should we waste time and energy to trim the branches and leave the root untouched? What more can we do than advise our comrades to leave the war alone and to fervently hope that as many mutts may be killed as possible in order that the standard of average intelligence may rise correspondingly?

A SERIOUS SITUATION

While the committee indulged in hot-air Quixotisms and phrase gymnastics, the party, the only organization that even attempts to do something for emancipation, is slowly but surely heading for the rocks, poorly officered, crew mutinous, and leaking in every joint. The Socialist party is revolutionary or it is a fraud. It would be unreasonable to expect a national committee, the great majority of which is composed of incorrigible opportunists, to correct the blunders of a national convention, by giving the party a program that would give it some semblance of excuse for existence; for the committee has not the constitutional power to do so, even if it were inclined, which it is not. But we might have expected that it could have elected a more capable national secretary and have left out of the national executive committee the three members who from their past services have proven their incompetency for so important an office. Internecine strife is perhaps inevitable in the party, but it is not so necessary that those who like to fan the flame of hatred and dissension should be given encouragement. True, their term is short, but the committee has fixed it so that Berger, the fusionist, will be elected next winter, by a membership which does not know that he and the Kaiser stand for the same thing.

PACIFIST UTOPIAS

By ERNEST UNTERMANN

The various pacifist, anti-militarist and anti-imperialist programs advocated by sentimentalists of all classes arise from different motives, but are essentially alike in their utopian disregard of fundamental facts. All of them are impractical, because they advance as immediate demands certain adjustments which can be realized only in the course of a long evolution.

Tolstoy, Carnegie, Bryan and other non-resistants start from different practical premises, but arrive at the same impractical conclusion, by completely ignoring the essential facts of present-day capitalist life.

The sentimentalists from the different radical and revolutionist camps, who champion a pure pacifism, disagree with the bourgeois non-resistants in matters of the class struggle, but agree with them in making demands upon the capitalist state which can be realized only by a Socialist majority.

A political co-operation between the bourgeois and revolutionist representatives in the parliaments can not overcome the dominant capitalist majorities, because the increase in Socialist representatives weakens the very elements in the old parties that advocate a pacifist program, so that the issue narrows down to a struggle between imperialist capitalists and democratic Socialists.

The bourgeois pacifists who pose as radicals are invariably visionaries and reactionaries at heart. Tolstoy's non-resistance ideas are a latter-day copy of primitive Christian teachings. Carnegie's pacifism is dictated by utter blindness to the drift of social evolution.

The primitive Christian non-resistance practiced resignation as a matter of religious conviction, hoping for help from above and awaiting the millennium. Conditions in the ancient Roman empire left no other alternative to the lowly, but to resort to violence against overwhelming odds, or to drag out a life of resigned submission. Tolstoy copied this last program at a time when social conditions make an economic and political resistance inescapable for the modern working class, and when the capitalist governments are victims of militarist policies, from which neither they nor the working class can be emancipated within the frame of capitalist environment.

Carnegie's pacifism is of British parentage. Influential circles of English finance and industry have for years attempted an approach of the English government to the German, in order to avoid the other alternative, a war of extermination, which would endanger the interests of these Englishmen while attempting to strengthen the position of their domestic rivals in the imperialist camp. These British pacifists failed to change the conditions which enforced the alternative dreaded by them.

Bryan's political career is a series of reactionary programs and recantations.

It is true that the Tsar seemed one of the first to welcome Carnegie's program, but those who were best informed, the British and German governments, did not trust the Tsar, nor did they trust one another.

Socialist Utopians.

The Socialist and other radical utopians know that the modern working class can not adopt a non-resistance policy. Many of them also realize that the ruling classes will not willingly adopt a disarmament program which would deprive them of the power to crush rebellious workers at home. Yet these same utopians imagine that they can extort from the present-day capitalist governments a disarmament which would imply a voluntary agreement of all great governments to reduce their militarism and to arbitrate all international questions of political or industrial differences.

In support of this visionary idea these utopians argue that not every tendency of capitalist evolution is irresistible as fate so long as capitalism lasts, and that militarism, imperialism and colonial expansion belong to those tendencies which can be arrested and overcome even within the capitalist system.

Their forecast of the immediate future reckons with a revived and solidified Socialist International, which shall have enough power to stir public opinion into an effective opposition to the militarist and imperialist plans. They admit that even this revived Socialist International will represent but a minority of the workers of the world, but they count upon the co-operation of the bourgeois pacifists and hope to secure a majority in this way.

It is certain that this program can not be realized within any period which the present active generation can practically encompass. Whether these tendencies can be curbed or overcome in the next generation, within the limits of capitalism, is a matter of theoretical speculation which can hardly claim any influence over our present-day policies.

If this utopian anti-militarist program can not be realized, say, within the next five, or at most, ten years, then it must be evident that our opposition can not take the shape of definite immediate programs, but can be expressed only in the form of a general propaganda of fundamental principles, like our demand for the abolition of capitalism.

Carnegie's Failure.

Carnegie and his friend Chamberlain lost their cause, and it is not very probable that they will gain in the near future, no matter how the present war may end.

Even if England and Germany could have agreed on a common program of reducing their armaments, its execution would not have been possible without the consent of Russia.

It is true that the Tsar seemed one of the first to welcome Carnegie's program, but those who were best informed, the British and German governments, did not trust the Tsar, nor did they trust one another.

Now the question of disarmament will be decided by the armed conflict. If there are any vanquished at the end of the war, they will be forced by the victors to agree to a partial disarmament. If there should be no victor strong enough to enforce peace terms, disarmament will be farther away than ever. In the one case, the victor will not disarm, in the other none of the principal nations will disarm. They will rather prepare for a new struggle.

Will U. S. Disarm?

The United States has a much smaller army than most European nations, and a navy inferior to that of the great maritime powers. Disarmament would be technically easier, and strategically less dangerous, for this country than for most others, provided that Europe and Asia would also reduce armaments to a point where an invasion of America would become impossible.

There is no probability of disarmament in this country, however. On the contrary, in view of the most probable outcome of the European war and of the situation in Mexico and China, the American government will increase its army and navy.

Even if all the Socialists, labor unionists and old party pacifists should join hands in the effort to curb American militarism, they could not succeed this year, nor next year, nor within the next five years. They are not united, neither in a common cooperation nor within their own ranks, and there is no immediate prospect that their mutual and internal differences will be settled quickly enough to make them solid and effective as a force that could prevent an invasion of Mexico and an armed conflict in Asiatic regions.

Imperialism on the Upgrade

All signs point to the probability that not only the militarism and imperialism of at least some great European nations, but also that of the United States are on the ascending arc and will continue on it for a generation or longer. In view of this probability, all programs demanding an immediate disarmament all over the world, or an international court of arbitration, universal national independence, etc., are necessarily visionary.

The Socialist party should not advocate any visionary programs. It should be the one political party that reads the drift of evolution correctly and should advocate only such immediate programs as seem reasonably practicable within the compass of present-day politics. All foreseen adjustments, which must be realized in a more remote period of evolution, should be advocated only as matters of fundamental propaganda.

The Need of Organization

By EUGENE V. DEBS

The subject here discussed is a trite one, but it is nevertheless of perennial interest to the workers.

The substantial progress of the Socialist movement and the successful outcome of the social revolution are wholly dependent upon the thorough and efficient organization of the working class. The impending social transformation involving the change from capitalism to Socialism is, therefore, in a word, a matter of organization.

But the fact should not be lost sight of that organization itself is subject to continuous change, especially in this evolutionary epoch, and that the forms and methods of a decade ago, or even less, are now outgrown, or at least out of date, and that unless organization adapts itself to the changing conditions under which the class struggle is being waged, its efficiency for good will be impaired, and in time it will be discredited and fall into disuse, if it does not become actually reactionary and a hindrance instead of a help to the workers.

The class struggle is the fact to be kept uppermost in mind when the matter of organization is considered. It is this fact that is the bed-rock of militant Socialism. Build upon this rock, industrial and political organization of the workers cannot fail. The storms and tempests may assail it, but it will stand impregnable and defiant against them all. But the very hour it slips from that foundation it is in the shifting and treacherous quicksands and its doom is sealed.

The economic and political organization of the working class upon scientific principles is the most stupendous challenge to all the future in the name of all humanity. It is precisely because the workers are not organized efficiently and are unable to develop and assert their invincible power that they grovel at the feet of their petty masters and cry out impotently against their unhappy fate.

The ruling masters of capitalism of themselves are not strong but pitifully weak and contemptibly vulnerable. The despotic power they have and exercise, as such power is always exercised, is not inherent in themselves or in their class at all, but is to

be found in the ignorance, weakness and impotency of their unorganized and helpless workers who are dependent upon them for employment.

The task before us, therefore, is the economic and political organization, with all the education, enlightenment, discipline, and self-restraint this implies, of the working class.

The recruiting, awakening and coordinating of the workers in their own Industrial Grand Army, where they stand elbow to elbow in class-conscious array, feeling themselves multiplied many times by the magic touch of solidarity; and their spirits rising within them and finding expression in boundless enthusiasm in anticipation of the fulfillment of their age-long dream of emancipation, is the greatest work in which any human being ever engaged since the world was born.

To give one's self wholly and unreservedly to this cause is to be born again and to feel the new life bounding in one's veins and swelling into hope, courage, and self-reliance such as forever defy disappointment and defeat and stand unafraid before all the world. To the extent that the workers are rightly organized and fitted to take their places in the new order as free and self-governing citizens of the collective commonwealth, the revolution will come in peace instead of the deluge of blood which has accompanied all the upheavals of the past.

We need not worry as to how to get rid of our exploiters once we know how to get along with ourselves.

With the workers organized as an industrial and political army, they could walk peacefully into their own, and all the power that now rules and curses the world would dissolve and fade at their conquering approach.

Let us study the art of how to unite for our common good, and stop fighting among ourselves for our common destruction!

Let us bend all our energies to organize the workers industrially and politically and let minor differences take care of themselves!

The industrial evolution is compelling the industrial organization of the workers, and we have but to watch its progress and adapt our methods to the changing conditions.

TO SNOHOMISH SECRETARIES

Secretaries are hereby notified that the dues have been raised to 17 cents per stamp. This is in accordance with the ruling of the state secretary, who informs us that the extra 2 cents is to pay for the per diem fund for state conventions. When ordering your stamps from the county secretary in future see that you send in 17 cents for each regular and dual stamp. This works out at the rate of \$3.40 for a book of regulars and \$1.70 for a book of duals.

THE JULY LEAFLETS

July leaflets from the Appeal have not yet come to hand, so it looks as though the order did not reach the publishers in time. Those locals that have paid for July leaflets will get August leaflets in their place. Money for the September leaflets should be sent in right away so that the county secretary can send away the money early enough to be sure of their delivery. All money for leaflets not in this office by August 20th will be held over till the next month's leaflets are ordered. Snohomish County Secretary

LIBERTY BELL MUTTS

The periphrastics of our "Liberty Bell" (!) have evoked some caustic editorial comments on the history thereof. School children and "patriots"—for revenue only—know lots about the history of "Liberty Bell" which, in the vernacular of the street, "ain't so." Socialists don't know so much about the bell's history, but what they do know is so.

The labor paper of Seattle, the Union Record, like the Labor Journal of Everett, is edited by a Socialist. Therefore it is informing as well as interesting. And what it says is SO. And it told the truth about the lie of "Liberty Bell" pealing out its message of freedom (sic) on July 4, 1776. To wit, it stated frankly that the school-book story of "Liberty Bell" and its glad tidings of freedom, etc., is pure "bunk." To this the Seattle Star took tactical exception, for the benefit of its "patriotic" advertisers.

Comrade Bruce Rogers called the attention of the Union Record to some facts substantiating its claims, quoting the Spokane Socialist, to this effect:

The story that Liberty Bell rang out the glad tidings of the declaration of American independence on July 4th, 1776, is fiction. The bell did not ring; there was no boy in the ante room, nor any grandpa in the steeple of Inde-

LECTURES HELD DURING NEXT WEEK

CARRIE W. ALLEN
Fri., 30th, Sat., 31st, Aug. 1st, Mon.
Tue., 3rd, Lyman; Wed., 4th, Sauk;
Thurs., 5th, Dewey; Fri., 6th, Lopez;
Sat., 7th, Bayview; Sun., 8th, So. Bel-
lingham.
EMIL HERMAN
Aug. 1st, Hoquiam, 2 p. m., Aberdeen, 8 p. m.; Mon., 2nd, McClips;
Tues., 3rd, Westport; Wed., 4th, Cos-
mopolis; Thurs., 5th, South Bend; Fri.,
6th, Raymond; Sat., 7th, open; Sun.,
8th, Ilwaco.

CARL ULONSKA
Sun., Aug. 1st, Walla Walla; Mon.,
2nd, Wallula; Tues., 3rd, Kennewick;
Wed., 4th, Richland; Thurs., 5th,
Pasco; Fri., 6th, Horse Heaven; Sat.,
7th, Prosser; Sun., 8th, 2 p. m., Mab-
ton, 8 p. m., Grandview.

occurrence.

"To my way of thinking," comments comrade Rogers, "it would amount to very little if true, for certain it is that conditions in the country give the lie effectually to all our symbols and formularies of freedom. Another thing that is told of the bell is that it became cracked while tolling the death of John Marshal. I could very well believe that, for one, I would expect any self-respecting Liberty Bell to do

A DANGEROUS CITIZEN

Surgeon General W. C. Gorgas, draining Panama marshes and bringing health to the men working in a climate that had decimated the French, was a most estimable citizen. Many people have been glad to honor him for his great work. But Major General W. C. Gorgas, proposing to add thirteen years to the average of human life by doubling the wages of workmen, is in a fair way to be denounced as a dangerous citizen. Doubling the wages of workmen can be done only by taking from the House of Have and giving to the House of Want. Destroying insect parasites is popular; restraining human parasites is dangerous.—S. C.

CREATOR OF HENRY DUBB WRITES OF EVERETT COMS.

One of the local comrades is in receipt of a letter from Ryan Walker, who will lecture here within a few months. Accompanying it is a cartoon in commemoration of the handkerchief that made Walker famous. It is captioned thusly: Junior and Henrietta, remember that your Henry Dubb Paw wants Everett Henry Dubbs, not to blow their noses on Henry Dubb handkerchiefs.

He says in part: "I have heard a great deal about the Everett comrades and their work, and I am looking forward with the greatest pleasure to meeting them. Everett is a place I wanted very much to visit while I was in Washington, on my last trip west. I was very much disappointed when I had to stop over there and wait for a train, and not be able to meet any of the comrades.

"On this coming trip, I hope to meet all of you, and trust that everybody will like Henry."

A chance on a fifty dollar diamond ring for every dollar's worth of subs sent in by you.

No man is good enough to be another man's master.—Kirkpatrick.

MONROE PICNIC

AT KRUSE'S GROVE SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1915

The Socialists of Monroe will hold a picnic at Kruse's Grove, one mile from Monroe, next Sunday. There will be something doing all day. Sports, music, refreshments and dancing.

CARRIE W. ALLEN WILL LECTURE

On the Cause and Cure of War. Hope to see all the Socialists in the surrounding district there on that date. Come early in the morning and enjoy the whole day's doings.

ADVERTISERS

ARE SPENDING THEIR GOOD MONEY ON YOUR PAPER

They do this in order to get you to spend your good money in their stores. We should not have to convince you that you ought to do this as your own material advantage demands that you do it. The competitive system has within itself the seed of its own destruction. By patronizing only those that advertise in this paper you help them to survive in the struggle for existence, which in turn helps your paper to survive.