

The Northwest Worker

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AMERICA.

By Anna Louise Strong I thank thee, Lord, that I am not As other nations are; No tyrannies my records blot Of emperor or czar, For speech to every one is free Who doesn't disagree with me.

I grant to Russia's cowering slave The boon of liberty; This is the country of the brave, The nation of the free. I need twelve hundred armed police To make paraders keep the peace.

I know that Truth her rule attains That in the end discussion gains By clash of mind on mind; By views of every kind I grant full liberty of thought If you will think the things you ought.

WHERE'S THE FLAG?

We are being continually told by "patriots" (for profit) that we should "honor the flag," die for it if need be; and often one sees "the public" rise when the band plays "The Star Spangled Banner."

As asked as to why this ceremonial respect for the colors, about the first thing one hears from the devotee is about how "the flag" stands for this, that and the other thing; but first of all, "for free speech," etc.

As a matter of fact we all know that in a class-riven society, where a small minority lives in luxury off the arduous labors of the hypnotized majority, there can be no "equality," either "before the law" or after the law gets in its deadly work; and we know that free speech and the right of peaceable assemblage exist only on paper, merely to lend a semblance of justification for flag-worship, ancestor-worship, and "the high and lofty principles upon which this government was founded," etc.

But if some of the mentally enervated workers who rise with such reverent alacrity to the strains of the S. S. B. should drop into Raymond, Tacoma, Arlington, Port Angeles, Port Townsend, or other towns that could be mentioned, and undertake to exercise some of the "rights" guaranteed (?) by Old Glory, he would soon be disposed to ask, "Where's the Flag?" After a bunch of "the boys in blue," encouraged by "patriot" Sam McGee's fire-water, had finished their patriotic "duty" of beating up a citizen for attempting to apply in person some of the "noble principles," etc., upon which this republic was founded, the mentally-enervated victim would come to his senses, and realize who owns "the flag" and the government it represents.

Why don't some of the good "patriots" who are so eager to defend "the flag"—with their "rights"—do something to defend the "rights" of injured citizens under its folds?

Do none of our voluble patriots (?) care whether or not an humble citizen's constitutional "rights" are violated, if only "the flag" gets lip-service and outward respect?

Some of these days a body of real patriots will be organized who will stand ready to defend their constitutional rights with their life's blood, if need be, even though the enemies of liberty be clothed in the garb of soldiers.

SOVEREIGN CITIZENS

While we were writing the foregoing lines, a worker brought word to this office that the (old) Weyerhaeuser Mill Co. has instructed its wage-slaves (excuse us, "sovereign citizens") to register and vote "No" against the proposed municipal water plant. How's this for "the land of the free and this of the" wage-slave? Some "freedom" in this country, all right—freedom to do as you're told or starve.

VOICE FROM MIDDLE AGES.

"The Eastland disaster may have been an act of God to defeat the outcry against the seaman's act."—Samuel Compers.

"They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not rise against nation, nor shall men learn war anymore."—The Hebrew Prophet Isaiah.

GRAVE PROBLEMS CALLING FOR SOLUTION.

Having expressed our editorial views (Issue of July 29th) on what we believed to be the proper attitude of Socialists in case the owners of the United States should become involved in war with some foreign nation, it is now in order that we stand ready either to defend our position or change our views in the light of further study and reflection. We did not for a moment suppose that our position would not be assailed. We welcome criticism. None of us know it all. Together we may finally arrive at the real solution of the grave practical problem confronting us. At any rate, honest and fearless discussion of the great issues we are soon to meet face to face cannot but be productive of good results.

ERNEST UTERMANN DOES NOT AGREE WITH US.

Comrade Ernest Utermann takes exception to our ultra-radical stand on the war question. He asserts that our views are as Utopian as those of the pacifists, and supports the stand of the National Committee. In our next week's issue we will publish his argument in full, together with our own reply. Comrade Utermann is one of the best informed writers in the Socialist movement, and we always read with interest and profit anything he has to say on party tactics.

ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW.

Seattle, Wn., Aug. 3, 1915. Editor, Northwest Worker:

Your remarks on "Resisting Invasion" in your issue of July 29th struck me as made without due consideration of the facts in the case. Like the optimistic Belgians in July, 1914, you cry, "The Germans are not going to invade our country." Further on you say (supposing an invasion possible) "Would we have to stand up and let them—the Germans—shoot us down?" Not at all. Neither the Germans nor English would shoot down a non-combatant.

How about the two-year-old child crucified on a farm-house door at Haecht? The little children shot down on the village green at Tamines? The other children bayoneted at Weerde? Surely these must have been non-combatants!

In a land not invaded by a brutal, merciless foreign army, it sounds fine to talk of not under any circumstances taking up arms in defence of the country, but when the invader actually lands upon our shores—when cruel war really begins—shall our fine resolutions be the mere fabric of a vision.

I have just heard of a good comrade—a native of Belgium—for several years a resident of Seattle and a red-card Socialist, who now for months has been in the trenches somewhere on the allied front. His parents, sisters and brothers lived in a Belgian village not far from the German frontier. It may have been Tamines where the little children were shot, or Trimploo, Westphalia, or Marchennes where the ravishing of women and girls was carried on by the wholesale. Wherever his native village was located you may be sure that atrocities were committed there by the German soldiers, and our good comrade, not being made of wood, having red blood in his veins, did what any true man would have done: He went home to help defend—what? The Belgian government? He didn't care a continental for the Belgian or any other government. He went to defend the Belgian people in the name of outraged humanity to drive the unspeakable assassins beyond the Rhine.

Had Kirkpatrick lived in Belgium the present year he would have modified the pledge in "War, What For?" That grand soul-stirring proclamation would have closed with this brief note: "The Teutons not being human are not included in the above pledge."

No, comrade, there can be no cut and dried rule of action for Socialists in war time. Man proposes but war disposes.

Fraternally, H. S. CROSBY. 4823 W. Dawson Street.

STILL SIGHING.

"The sighed-for period of prosperity will not come; as often as we seem to see its heralding symptoms, so often do they again vanish into air. Meanwhile, each succeeding winter brings up afresh the great question, 'what to do with the unemployed; but while the number of the unemployed keeps swelling from year to year, there is nobody to answer that question.'"—Frederick Engels' preface to "Capital," 1886.

Mutual aid amongst men has played at least as great a part in human history as the struggle for life.—J. Ramsey McDonald.

Land should be given to those who can use it, and tools to those who can use them.—Ruskin.

Workers Must Oust Kaiser, is View of Bohn

SPEAKER ASSERTS PARTY MOVEMENT IN GERMANY IS NOT REVOLUTIONARY—AUDIENCE ASKS NUMEROUS QUESTIONS.

Declaring the Socialist movement of Germany was not a revolutionary movement, and that, in fact, it could not be a revolutionary Socialist movement so long as the titled aristocracy to continue their rule, Frank Bohn, in a recent address in New York, told of some of his experiences in Germany and Austria recently. He addressed a fair-sized audience in the Lenox Open Air Gardens, at Lexon avenue and 110th street, under the direction of the Socialist Suffrage Campaign Committee.

Bohn's criticism of the European Socialists' attitude toward war was directed mainly against Germany and Austria, the only two countries he spoke of visiting, and his strictures did not meet with the unanimous favor of his audience. He based his views upon the statement that there had been an error committed in the history of Germany, in that, when other countries had ousted their royalty, Germany continued to keep its crowned heads. The Germans bow to the Kaiser and his clique, he declared, and until theocracy, no revolutionary Socialist movement is possible.

Says Vote is Valueless.

The Reichstag, he declared, was powerless and a 4,500,000 vote cast by Socialists had no other value than a register of noses. The laws are made by the Bundesrath, a body of fifty-five men appointed by the rulers. With such a ruling body, the people of Germany had no power to prevent war.

He believed it would have been much more effective if 10,000 men and women had gone upon the streets and openly declared that they laughed at militarism, that they would spit upon the uniform and medals and that they would fight against war. If the 10,000 had declared "hang us all; boil us all in oil—we will still oppose you," there would have been no war.

"Geographical divisions are responsible for the psychology of a people," continued Bohn. "The German nation is surrounded on all sides by other nations; its empire is composed of many small kingdoms. England is an island, a united people. France is a peninsula, a republic, and free from harassing influences about it. The United States has a broad ocean on each side."

It was natural, Bohn contended, that a land such as Germany should have a different psychology than that of other peoples.

"When, in 1848, there was a movement afoot for the purpose of furthering the idea of democracy, the German revolutionists found themselves too small to cope with the power of the landowning class," he went on. "The peasants were not the people to found a republic and the champions of democracy failed in their efforts. The western and southern portions of Germany were adherents to the cause, he said, but feudal Prussia stifled the movement through its military power. In other lands, however, the merchants and shop owners who were independent of the feudal barons, furthered the cause of democracy.

The Setbacks in Germany.

"Following the effort in Germany, about 1,500,000 Germans came to America. Again in the 80's another 1,500,000 left for this country, another enforcement of the Exception Laws, stripping Germany of 3,000,000 political democrats and Social Democrats. As a result, the German movement is now a reform organization, and is not revolutionary. A change in government means a change in the minds of the people, and Germany has made no such change.

"In the movement of '48," said the speaker, "the five Socialists in the Reichstag were thrown into prison for declaring that they represented the working men of France, England, Russia and other countries, as well as those of Germany. Today, the Socialists are going to the front and fighting the battles of the ruling classes."

An armed revolution is the only method which will wipe out the German aristocracy, Bohn argued. England stands 300 years ahead of Germany in the march toward democracy and France stood more than a century ahead, he contended.

"Germany will not march in step with other nations until its patriotism, its faith in the Kaiser, is stifled," he declared. "Germany must fight the fight of democracy."

The German movement, according to Bohn, had turned completely over to the militarists. It had lain down, he asserted, and he quoted Albert Sudekum, a member of the Reichstag,

FORWARD TO MARX

(By Dr. Joseph Slavitt in the New York Call)

I wish to call attention again to a dangerous current in our movement, because it will be forewarned is to be forearmed. I say "again" because some years ago I pointed out this current to Call readers in my articles on "The New Dialectic," dealing with "Wm. English Walling's attempt to 'pragmatize' Socialism. Consciously, or unconsciously, this current comes to the surface now and then, and now it has revealed itself in the letters to The Call in the recent Lester Ward controversy.

The characteristic element of this current or tendency, despite its variety of forms and attractiveness (sometimes of appearance is readily recognizable. It always consists in the attempt to revise, recast, modernize, "re-interpret in modern terms," "adapt to present needs," or even outright to reject the Marxian theory, because, forsooth, these theories are antiquated, inadequate, outgrown, unphysical, unsound, dogmatic, metaphysical, half-truths, "survivals of the middle ages," "speculations of a past generation," etc. etc. ad nauseam.

Thus, for instance, in addition to the above-mentioned attempt at "pragmatized" Socialism, I recall a "Reconsideration of Marxian Theory in the Light of Bergsonian Philosophy," published in the Weekly People some time ago. Then there were the attempts to reconsider Socialism in the light of Christianity, Judaism, the Bible, and what not. Recently, in a "Motion to Substitute" (see New Review, July 1), the class struggle and class-consciousness are nominated for the dump-heap in the light of household hygiene and "common sense," those theories being considered "unattractive, unsound, and unnecessary." Now comes Comrade Liebel in a letter to The Call and "seconds the motion." And close upon his heels follows Comrade Floyd Melvin with a scholarly brief for this tendency.

Comrade Melvin sums up his letter thus: "Let us continue to value Marx for his heroic example of self-sacrificing intellectual labor for the cause, but let us seek the theoretical basis of our movement in a more modern interpretation of sociological science." He considers the work of Marx of "more or less accidental and therefore of uneven value," and that "some of it has been positively misleading and mischievous to the Socialist movement." And he exhorts Socialist students to "complete and appraise the Marxian doctrines by familiarizing themselves with current sociological science." The writings of Lester Ward, he asserts, "without the slightest doubt," form "a more satisfactory and logical basis for Socialism than do those of Marx."

Well, there is some doubt—at least, in some minds. I yield to none in appreciation of modern science, including sociology. But not even sociology gives an adequate scientific explanation of social phenomena without the Marxian analysis of the capitalist economic system and the Marxian exposition of the process of social evolution. In short, sociology uninspired by the scientific Marxist method and concept is a mere mass of inspired generalities.

Let our would-be "revisers" show clearly, unequivocally and conclusively. We live in New York, but we come from Missouri. Is the Marxian analysis of the capitalist mode of production, exploitation and development cor-

rect? Are there social-economic classes and are these classes more or less conscious or unconscious of their social-economic position and powers? Must class-consciousness necessarily play in a class-divided society as society is today? Are the social-economic structure and the social-economic needs, interests and powers of the social classes—are not these the main-springs (mind you, not the only, but the main forces) that operate to determine social events and changes and even to shape to a great extent social and class psychology? And I want to know particularly just exactly what it is in the work of Marx that has been "positively misleading and mischievous to the Socialist movement."

If sociological science leads Comrade Melvin and others to "appraise" Marx's works as "accidental," then sociological science and its appraisers have yet to learn the great fundamental Marxian principle that a work like Marx's was a necessary historical and social product and not the mere speculations of an individual brain. Marx was more than a pioneer; he was necessarily in advance of his time, although his product. He built so far in advance that it has taken sociology half a century to reach a stage where it could begin at all to appreciate the important conclusions of his work. And while every sane socialist will cheerfully acknowledge that Ward and other modern sociologists have done excellent work, and have even approached very closely the Socialist position, still this proves all the more conclusively the soundness of the Marxian position rather than the need for its revision or rejection.

Let us continue to value modern science and modern sociology, but let us seek the theoretical basis of our movement in a more Marxian interpretation of social phenomena. And, although it may be found worth while to "appraise" Socialism and the Marxian theories from the Christian, or pragmatic or sociologic, or other standpoint, nevertheless it is equally worth while—nay, it is imperative—to appraise these very standpoints in the light of the Marxian theory. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

It is an open secret that many a member in our party is psychologically but a combination of bourgeois mentality and Socialist sentimentality, with or without a dash of respectability to taste. This type of Socialist is strong for Socialism, any kind of Socialism—modernized, spiritualized, pragmatized, sociologized, Christianized, sterilized and anesthetized—any kind except Marxian "proletarianized." You see, this Marxian kind is coarse and vulgar, doncherknow! It wallows in the mire of "material" things, and chatters about "classes," and it's unattractive, and isn't shaved, and wears the whiskers of the past generation.

There is now a greater need than ever before for a more general education in Marxian Socialism. The slogan of "Back to Marx," raised recently in some quarters, is a healthy sign, except that it should be "Forward to Marx." It is not Marx who is the back number; it is the general membership that is backward in their knowledge of Marxian Socialism.

We charge our comrades of the warring nations with abandonment in practice of their position in theory. Shall we of America abandon even the Marxian theoretical position?

THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.

For the year 1914 the following estimate of the national wealth of the great nations shows how much ahead the United States is over the others:

Table with 2 columns: Nation and National Wealth. Includes United States (\$150,000,000,000), Great Britain and Ireland (\$85,000,000,000), Germany (\$80,000,000,000), France (\$50,000,000,000), Russia (\$40,000,000,000), Italy (\$20,000,000,000), Spain (\$5,400,000,000), Netherlands (\$5,000,000,000).

Seeing the U. S. stand out so far ahead of all other nations in point of national wealth ought to make every jobless and homeless wage-slave in the country swell up with pride and patriotism. Oh you Uncle Samuel!

WORKINGMAN'S PSALM.

The politician is my shephard; I shall not want for anything during the campaign. He leadeth me into the saloon for my vote's sake. He filleth my pocket with scab cigars; my cup of beer runneth over. He inquireth concerning my family even unto the fourth generation; yea, though I walk through the mud and rain to vote for him and shout myself hoarse, when he is elected—straightway he forgetteth me. Although I meet him at his own house he knoweth me not. Surely the wool has been pulled over my eyes all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of a chump for evermore. Amen.

Trunks and leather goods. Everett Trunk Factory, 2815 Rockefeller.

Whether you agree with all I've mentioned in the Northwest Worker (formerly the Washington Socialists), or not, you cannot afford to ignore the facts it weekly presents for your consideration; least of all can you afford to ignore the world-wide movement of which it is one of thousands of spokesmen—a movement whose press is printed in fifty different lan-

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TO THOSE WHO RECEIVE A SAMPLE COPY OF THIS PAPER This paper is paid for. Read it very carefully. If you like it, subscribe now. Send in twenty-five cents for a three months' trial subscription. Whether you agree with all I've mentioned in the Northwest Worker (formerly the Washington Socialists), or not, you cannot afford to ignore the facts it weekly presents for your consideration; least of all can you afford to ignore the world-wide movement of which it is one of thousands of spokesmen—a movement whose press is printed in fifty different languages. "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting, get understanding." Send in one-cent stamps, or money order, to No. 1612 California street, Everett, Wash. GETTING AT IT. "Mrs. O'Rooney, why do I never see Patrick at church now?" "Mrs. O'Rooney shook her head sadly. "Is it Socialism?" "Worse than that, your reverence." "Is it atheism?" "Worse, your reverence." "What is it then?" "Rheumatism."