



THE NORTHWEST WORKER



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

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The Struggle Abroad

GERMAN GOVERNMENT SPURN SOCIALISTS

Socialists in Turn Spurn Only Rebel in House

The Imperial German Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg refused to state positive terms of peace, in reply to the demand made by the German Socialists. Instead, he made it plain to a great gathering in the Reichstag that any peace proposals must come from Germany's enemies. Carl Liebknecht, the radical Socialist, who refused to cast his vote for war appropriations, attempted to interrupt the Chancellor while he was making his speech. He was howled down by the crowd in the gallery.

CRITICIZES LIEBKNECHT
Dr. Landberg, Socialist, severely condemned Liebknecht for attempting to interrupt the Chancellor. He said Liebknecht in no way represented the Socialist party.

Landberg was roundly cheered when he declared:

"Every German of all classes, including the working men, are unanimous that whoever dares attempt to cut even the smallest slice out of the body of the German Empire will meet with general German resistance until it is taken out of his hands."

ALLIES DISAGREE

NEW YORK.—The first possibility of serious disagreements among the allies is developing with the reluctance of Great Britain to put forth a major effort to check the Teutons in the Balkans.

The frequent war councils of the allies, which recently have been occurring in France, are now seen to have been due to differences of opinion concerning the importance of the Balkan operations.

The British have been for retiring from the field, while the others, certainly Russia and Serbia, are urging re-doubled resistance. The British government may tell the czar that since Slav interests are so seriously threatened in the Balkans, Russia ought to rescue them herself by buying a way through Roumania for her new Slav armies.

At this point the possibility of a separate peace by Russia begins once more to appear and complicates the situation still further.

N.Z. IRISHMEN FLEE RATHER THAN ENLIST

Conscription is virtually in force in New Zealand. Every able-bodied Irishman in the country will have to go to war.

This is the statement of P. T. O'Sullivan, leader of seventy Irish residents of New Zealand who escaped the country and fled to San Francisco on the liner Moana to dodge conscription. A group of sixty-five other Irishmen escaped a few days earlier, he said, on the liner Niagara.

"Conditions are such now that every man who can enlist has to do so. He is driven to it. Employers lay off clerks or reduce wages. New Zealand has promised to send 5000 recruits every month."

MORE PATRIOTISM

It is alleged that a Glasgow, Scotland, householder was complaining to the owner's clerk about the increase in her rent, and said she would not pay it. The clerk retorted: "That's what my boss wants, because he can get every house in his properties filled with Belgian refugees, and the city corporation to be security, and also be at the expense of putting the houses in order."

ITALIAN PARLIAMENT STIRRED BY SOCIALISTS

ROME.—A tumult was provoked in the Italian parliament when the Socialist member, Enrico Ferri, made a severe criticism of the government's war policy, demanding parliamentary control of the nation's military expenditures.

It is admitted that the Ferri incident is liable to lead to serious developments in the cabinet and parliament.

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PLEDGE TO RESIST CONSCRIPTION PLAN

British Socialists Unite for Vigorous Opposition to Government's Intentions

According to The London Labor Leader, the opposition against conscription is crystallizing all over England among the members of the Independent Labor party. The Scottish I. L. P. branches, in a conference at Glasgow, declared themselves unanimously opposed to conscription and pledged the resistance of 10,000 members against the measure. Lancashire and Cheshire branches, also the Gorton Trades and Labor council, the northeastern division of the party in Newcastle, and separate protest meetings in other parts of Great Britain adopted strong resolutions against the government's attitude in this matter.

The following resolution, adopted in Glasgow, is a sample of the spirit that animates the I. L. P.:

"This conference of branches of the Independent Labor party in Scotland declares itself determined and unalterably opposed to compulsory military service in any shape or form, whether partial or universal, and pledges itself to support the national administrative council in whatever means may be necessary to prevent both the enactment and the enforcement of any conscription law.

"Further, this conference, in the event of any such law being passed, recommends the members and adherents of the I. L. P. in Scotland of military age to refuse to be compulsorily enlisted, and this conference pledges to support such individual members in their resistance to conscription."

CONSCRIPTION IN AUSTRALIA WANING

It would seem that the cry of conscription in Australia has reached a dead-end, for nothing has been heard of it for several weeks past now.

The names of prominent capitalists on the manifesto for conscription gave the show away as to its real meaning, and when organized labor sat up straight and said what it would do, conscription talk faded away in the gloom.

TELLING IT ALL

One newspaper unconsciously gave the show away in Sydney recently. Under a cartoon headed "Hamlet up-to-date—John Bull soliloquizes," it said: "To be, or not to be—that is the question; whether 'tis wiser in the end to suffer the strikes and lock-outs of industrial warfare, or take means against that sea of trouble, and by conscription end them?"

The workers then saw the real motives behind the conspiracy against the working class. Conscription was intended solely to end industrial trouble, to end the demands of the toiling masses for economic justice. So the cat came out of the bag, and—well, it got in the way of the sharp axe wielded by labor and we think it is dead.

UNIVERSAL OBEDIENCE

There will be no conscription in England—but every man medically fit for national service will be forced to volunteer.

After December 11, the "slacker" who fails to go into the army will be pushed. Every young man unmarried, medically fit and not indispensable to any business of national importance, must fight. Single men go first. The last bachelor shirker will be compelled before the first conscript father is called to the colors. That is the cabinet's cast-iron pledge to the married.

All fit men, including the majority now engaged in munition making, must go into the army. All married and elderly men who can be taken from business must enter the munition factories.

All work that can be done by women must be given to women.

The great servant class must be turned from domestic to industrial service. In London alone 150,000 men clerks must give place to female substitutes.

December 11, 1915, is the birthday of UNIVERSAL OBEDIENCE in England!

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A VINDICATION OF OPPORTUNISM IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

by Ernest Untermann

(WRITTEN ESPECIALLY FOR THE NORTHWEST WORKER)

PREMATURE HOPES WITHOUT FORESIGHT

In his inaugural address to the old International, 1864, Marx expressed the opinion that the workers should be educated in their duty "to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morality and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as paramount rules in the intercourse of nations." This kind of international politics was to be included in the general struggle of the working class for emancipation.

It proved to be a very difficult matter to master the mysteries of international politics. As for counteracting and preventing the diplomacy of the governments, it was altogether impossible. The secret international diplomacy of the ruling class governments can be counteracted and prevented only by a very efficiently organized secret service that gains information about the secret intentions of the rulers. Of course, the working class did not have that kind of an information service in those days any more than we have today. To counteract and prevent even the publicly known policies of the governments, we must be in possession of an internationally organized social power strong enough to checkmate the organized powers of government.

The old International did not possess such power, nor do the Socialist parties and labor unions of the present day control such power as yet. The old International did not have any influence even over the most important sections of the newly arising industrial proletariat of Europe, and, of course, it had no influence whatever over those sections of the petty bourgeoisie whose assistance was then quite indispensable for any kind of working class politics. More significant still was the sad fact that the leaders of the old International could not agree among themselves about the proper methods of regulating the relation between national and international politics. Such an agreement, of course, would have been the very first and most indispensable condition for a united international action of even those insignificant working class

sections that were in touch with this International. These working people, by the way, belonged mainly to those handicrafts which were destined to be displaced by the industrial proletariat.

Under these circumstances, the old International did not achieve even a united denunciation of the politics of ruling class governments. Such a united denunciation would at least have demonstrated the unity of the old International to the outside world, although it would have had no practical influence in checking the intentions of those governments, nor in compelling them to observe the laws of private morality and justice in the relations of nations. What the old International actually did achieve, however, was a very liberal denunciation of its own members. In these mutual denunciations, the members of the International themselves showed a respect for the laws of private morality and justice which could not have been recommended as a model for the international diplomacy of governments. On the contrary, the ruling governments might well have replied to the old International: "You fellows are fine models of morality and justice!"

At all events, this attitude of the members of the old International, and this international politics suggested by its leading head, did not agree with the materialist conception of history which was supposed to be their scientific pilot. Of course, nothing better could have been expected from the Bakounin crowd, for they had no claim to the historical method. Marx-Engels, however, and their own disciples, who laid claim to the possession of a reliable method of historical interpretation, certainly had raised different expectations.

MARX FORGETS HIS "HISTORICAL METHOD"

Quite aside from the fact that the laws of private morality and justice are not as simple and matter-of-course things, nor as easily followed, as the inaugural hinted, this whole attitude hitched the buggy before the horse. According to the materialist conception of history, morality and justice, also in private relations, are determined by the class-struggles, not vice versa, in the fundamental analysis. The moral ideas of a newly arising class can have no binding power for the older classes, so long as the new class lacks the power to assert its

own morality and justice. Even if Marx meant only that the ruling governments should follow their own alleged morality and justice in the relations of nations, he would have been asking the impossible. According to his own fundamental interpretation, the consciousness of these governments was determined by the "conditions of production" and could not follow moral laws that were contrary to such conditions. Such a demand, made upon such governments by those leaders of that old International, who were themselves either the offspring of the petty bourgeoisie or of decaying artisan classes, was a grotesque repudiation of historical materialism by the founder of that historical method himself.

The mere fact that such a self-repudiation and self-refutation could overpower Marx proved that his own head, in spite of its scientific clarification, still became an occasional victim of powers that even in later life played many a prank with him. The same sinister powers have also been fatal to the very own disciples of Marx and have to this day kept alive those hateful and inconclusive controversies, within the Socialist parties, which drove the old International continually to the brink of fermentation.

WHEREIN MARX ERRED

Marx-Engels had indeed foreseen the general direction of capitalist development, but they had not foreseen the special forms, nor the speed, of this development. For this reason they also came to a false estimate of the forms and speed of working class evolution. The forms of economic labor organizations as well as the speed of their mental development depend mainly upon the evolution of capitalist production and circulation. Since the development of the industrial proletariat is the principal condition for the growth of the Socialist class parties, the speed of this party development, and the forms of their tactical problems, also depend mainly upon the forms and speed of capitalist development. In other words, the evolution of political working class consciousness and its speed depend upon conditions which are not within the power of the working class.

The beginnings of the first Socialist working class party in Europe, the German, which took shape about one year before the foundation of the old International, developed about the middle of the sixties of the nineteenth

(Continued on Page Three)

HERE AND THERE

LOCAL NO. 1 TO GIVE CARD PARTY XMAS NIGHT

At the last regular business meeting of Local Everett, the matter of giving some kind of holiday entertainment was brought up. It was generally agreed that some sort of social be given, and after some discussion it was unanimously decided to have a Pedro party, to be held Christmas night at The Forum, 1612 California St., the proceeds to be put into the local treasury.

Comrade Henry Hanson, who is always one of the first to co-operate in any plan to further the interests of the local, made a proposition that should be taken advantage of by every Socialist and sympathizer who intends to celebrate the day by attending a dance. He proposed that any one attending the party, whether as participant or spectator, might pay the cost of admission into his dance, at Fraternal Hall, to the committee in charge of the party, as a part of the proceeds of the evening. His talk was greeted with enthusiasm.

A committee of three was chosen to take charge of the affair, who met later in the evening. It was decided to charge ten cents to those taking part in the game to include a light refreshment consisting of a cup of our famous coffee and a sandwich. Further it was agreed to permit those wishing to dance to pay only an additional fifteen cents admission to the dance following the party.

An evening's entertainment, for twenty-five cents, to be paid to the local! This is a rare opportunity to combine recreation with propaganda. It was voted to give Comrade Frank Hebert full charge of the arrangements for the game. As he has had a great deal of experience serving in the same capacity for similar affairs, there is no question as to the result. Be assured that everything will be done that is possible to make it an event long to be remembered. If you do not play, come and look on and become acquainted. We expect to have music. After the party a large number will no doubt attend Comrade Hanson's dance.

For further information call 478Z.

THE RIGHT SPIRIT

Meiers Road House, Fairbanks Trail, Alaska, November 26, 1915.

To The Northwest Worker. Gentlemen.—Please find enclosed five dollars for which you will kindly send me Pearson's Magazine, Appeal to Reason and The Northwest Worker for another year. I wish the Appeal from Dec. 1st, 1915. The remainder of the \$5.00 you may apply to any fund of The Northwest Worker.

E. L. KIMBREL, Meiers Road House, via Gulkana, Alaska.

ACTION STARTED

Comrade J. M. Salter has begun action for \$15,000 damages against John T. Pewters and the Everett Tribune for the libelous and scurrilous attack which appeared in the issue of Nov. 14th, in the form of a communication from John T. Pewters.

The communication received an endorsement and a request for publication from the Bol Club and League of American Flag.

Members of the above-named bodies are keeping mighty meek these days and are not so anxious to prove the allegations against Salter as they professed to be before election.

PREDICTS MINERS WILL SWIPE J. D.'S 'UNION'

DENVER.—Upton Sinclair, who has just completed a tour over the trail of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., through the coal fields, predicted that the United Mine Workers would be in complete control of the new organization built up by young Rockefeller within another year.

Sinclair says that he has talked to all of the miners who are leaders in the new Rockefeller organization and that they are quietly planning to go over to the old organization that was broken up by the big strike of 1914.

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STATE OWNERSHIP BEST IN WAR TIME

Government ownership of railroads is a vital step in the military preparedness program of any nation, including the United States, Minister of Railroads von Breitenbach, who directs the largest part of Germany's gigantic network of railways, said recently.

"Without misjudging the efficiency of well administered privately owned lines," said Breitenbach, referring to railway organization in the United States, "the efficiency of government lines is greater."

"It is inconceivable that private owners should enlarge their stocks of locomotives and cars so as to be able to meet any requirements of congestion."

"State railways, on the other hand, try to prepare for such traffic. This makes their position strong and enables them to realize the demands both of war and peace traffic."

WANTS BALLOT ON WAR BY U. S.

WASHINGTON.—Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, would have the federal constitution amended to prevent any war of aggression by this nation without approval by popular vote. The Oklahoma senator will press a resolution providing for the following amendment to the constitution:

"No war of aggression shall be waged by the army or navy of the United States except upon a declaration of war by congress ratified and approved by a majority of votes cast in a majority of the congressional districts of the United States."

DEBS IN LEAD

The final count on the referendum for candidates and officials of the Socialist party is as follows:

For president—Eugene V. Debs 468, Chas. Edward Russell 207, Allan L. Benson 147, Emil Seidel 90, Fred D. Warren 82, Victor L. Berger 38, J. Stitt Wilson 31, Seymour Stedman 29, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick 28, Arthur LeSueur 15, James H. Maurer 14, Adolph Germer 10.

SEIDEL FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

For vice-president—Emil Seidel 248, Allan L. Benson 130, Kate Richards O'Hare 121, Fred D. Warren 109, C. Edward Russell 108, J. Stitt Wilson 53, James H. Maurer 48, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick 43, Victor L. Berger 38, Adolph Germer 22, Arthur LeSueur 21, Geo. R. Lunn 19, Seymour Stedman 19, Duncan McDonald 16, Meyer London, 13, Morris H'liquit 12.

For members of the National Executive Committee (five to be chosen)—Victor L. Berger 356, Adolph Germer 327, Morris Hillquit 319, James H. Maurer 312, Emil Seidel 280, Arthur LeSueur 238, Kate Richards O'Hare 201, George H. Goebel 199, J. Stitt Wilson 196, Allan L. Benson 132, Eugene V. Debs 123, Fred D. Warren 120, Geo. R. Kirkpatrick 101, Osmer Aminger 86, Anna A. Maley 78, C. Edward Russell 74, Geo. R. Lunn 73, John C. Kennedy 72, Meyer London 65, John M. Spargo 59, Carl D. Thompson 43, Pat Nagle 41, Dan Hogan 41, Lewis J. Duncan 41, C. E. Ruthenberg 39, Tom Hickey 39, Geo. D. Brewer 33, Fred W. Holt 36, Kate Sadler 26, Job Harriman 25, Walter Thoms. Mills 25, Henry M. Tichenor 24, H. G. Greel 24, John Spargo 22, A. M. Simons 20, Seymour Stedman 20.

LANFERSIEK IS LEADER

For National Executive Secretary—Walter Lanfersiek 408, Carl D. Thompson 210, John M. Work 80, H. M. Sinclair 41, Kate Richards O'Hare 38, Fred D. Warren 19, L. E. Katterfeld 18, John C. Kennedy 13, Frank Bohn 13, Ralph Korngold 11, Frans Bostron 10, Robert B. Ringler 9, Anna A. Maley 6, Theodore Debs 6, Adolph Germer 6.

Those nominated will be given until Jan. 1 to accept or decline. The ballots will then be sent to the membership immediately, the election closing about March 1.

If you have nothing else to do on Saturday evening come to The Forum, 1612 California St., and join the Christmas Card Party. The game starts at 8 p.m. Prizes will be awarded.

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SHIPLEY'S SEATTLE LECTURE ATTRACTS GOOD CROWD

WILL SPEAK AGAIN SUNDAY

The Seattle comrades were so well pleased with Shipley's "Wonders of the Heavens," given at Stevens Hall last Sunday, that they then and there engaged him for "The Autobiography of the Earth," illustrated lecture, for Sunday, Dec. 26, same hall. Also for his third lecture in the Nebula of Man series, THE EVOLUTION OF MAN, to be given Jan. 2nd. The lectures will begin promptly at 8 p.m.

MORE PATRIOTISM

A sensation was created in the British parliament when Philip Snowden, Labor-Socialist member, drew the attention of the House of Commons to the fact that the Whitehead Torpedo Co., Weymouth, England, has a branch in Hungary at which torpedoes, submarines, destroyers and floating mines are being made for the Austrian government, and are being used against the Allies.

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SEATTLE ACTIVITIES

The Seattle locals are organizing on a large scale. Comrade Raymer of Raymer's Book Store, sends us word that the precinct organization work is going ahead fine. Every Socialist and sympathizer is visited and a card with the following questions are made out and filed for general use: Name, address, precinct, telephone, occupation; Are you employed, married or single, party member, nationality, citizen, age, will you distribute literature, watch at polls, what Socialist publication do you take? Remarks.

The precinct in which Com. Raymer is active polled a majority of votes for Socialism at the last election and this was made possible only through organization work. Wonders can be done by a good bunch of workers.

An effort is being made to organize the whole of King county along these lines and we hope they have success.

We are attempting to work along the same lines in Everett and we can use a lot more workers than we have. If you are willing to help in this work, turn your name in at the office of The Northwest Worker and you will be put to work.

SUB RUSTLERS

O. B. Spink, Everett..... 8
Hans Bonnievie, Everett..... 3
Local Clarkston..... 3
G. Cuthbertson, Hartford..... 2
J. W. Morris, Arlington..... 2
A. L. Hull, Colville..... 2
B. Zahler, Hartford..... 2
Singles—A. Macey, W. Dougherty, F. G. Crosby, Local Cashmere, Mrs. Boomer, Local Hoquiam No. 1, Local Trafton, Local Republic, Local Charleston, Local Bayview.

SPECIAL DONATION FUND

The following comrades have given us a start on the Special Donation Fund which is for the purpose of wiping out the deficit of \$250:

Proletaria Bill.....\$5.00
Varian Shaw, Woodenville..... 1.00
Sophus Bonnievie..... 1.00
Comrade from Silvana..... 1.00
Total.....\$8.00

No other drug store in the city but the City Drug Store advertises in your paper. Turn your trade its way.

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Card Party Christmas Night in the Forum

PRIZES = 8 p. m. sharp = REFRESHMENTS

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