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YE PARTY COLYUM

OUR ARM NOT PARALYZED

My goodness; we are about as uncertain as the State Bulletin. While perusing last week's issue of The Worker, we discovered that we had again omitted to write our colyum. This is due to the fact that our mind has been distracted all week waiting to see what the gentle readers were going to do about that $250. The result has not paralyzed our salary arm, so we are able to dash off those conclusions promised some weeks ago.

After a careful analysis of the bale of testimony collected by us on the state of revolution, we came to the unanimous conclusion—we agreeing with ourself—that the cause of apathy among party members is psychological. We reached this decision reluctantly, since President Wilson has already labeled the present industrial depression "psychological," and we did not wish to arouse the suspicion that mayhap we were aping the chief executive. This is not the case, however. We is an original thinker.

TALL WORDS

We use the word "psychological" merely to demonstrate our familiarity with tall words. "Emotional" expresses more clearly what we have in mind. Most Socialists today are "emotional revolutionists," we are convinced.

Afflicted with large grievances and with but little thought, the working class readily take up with any one that promises to kick their oppressors on the shins. So in the thick of our great presidential campaigns when enthusiasm runs amuck and horsesense crawls under the barn, and every disappointed bourgeois in the empire, who has a red card in his pocket and money in the bank, is willing to make it two to one that we will send 27 representatives to congress and elect a governor in Oklahoma, the toilers fall easy prey. Excitement runs high. The laboring classes clog up the main thoroughfares and listen to fiery orators storm the battlements of capitalism. Thick-witted dullards, who have been too busily engaged handing over unearned increment to the boss to know economics from a horned toad, edge in and become converted. Embryo editors everywhere, who can borrow a pair of old shears and get credit from a paper house, set up a weekly to tell the new converts what Socialism ought to be, and how to get it. Agile organizers scurry over the countryside and cajole them into locals, whereupon they become dues paying members—until after election.

We have known such fledgling comrades, who were wont to dawdle luxuriously over a late egg and coffee Sunday mornings, tear themselves loose half an hour earlier in the height of their zeal and help distribute a few Socialist papers.

When the election is over and everyone is duly disappointed with the outcome, ardor crawls into the ice box, and mushroom members stay at home to discourage the rest.

CONCRETE IN OUR HEAD

This is quite an involved argument and is rather deep for us, but we will try to make it clear. We attempted to find a concrete example to illustrate what we mean but were foiled. We found the concrete had become imbedded among the wheels in our head and that they refused to move.

What we wish to make plain is, that, great strides made by the party, or by any other movement for that matter, are made by arousing the emotions of its supporters. These EMOTIONS SOON EXHAUST THEMSELVES, and thus inevitably apathy follows a wave of great enthusiasm. We are indulging in no cheap punnery when we say that this is the only real cause of indifference in the Socialist party. If we could find out what Carl D. Thompson has done with the records of the Information Department, we could prove it statistically.

We wish to add that there are some contributory causes, one of which we hope to deal with in the near future if the coms. promise to raise that two fifty.

In the meantime we remain,

Yours for the

W. C. R.

ANOTHER LITTLE "RED" ADDED TO OUR ARMY

The Socialist stork visited the home of Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Kinnick of Trafton, Wash., Dec. 17th, 1915, and presented them with a nine-pound boy.

Name—Eugene Louis.

We only hope he will be as loyal to his "class" as the one for whom he has been named—"Our Loyal Gene."

CORA DONAHUE,
Secretary.

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THE POLITICS OF THE OLD INTERNATIONAL

by Ernest Untermann

(WRITTEN ESPECIALLY FOR THE NORTHWEST WORKER)

(Continued from Page 1)

leadership. They sufficed, however, in 1866, to hold Napoleon back. Prussia, assisted by Italy, declared war on Austria and on the petty German states friendly to Austria. The Prussians won, but the Italians were beaten. Prussia gained Slesvig-Holstein, Hannover, Nassau, Hessia and Francfort. The German federation was dissolved. Prussia took the lead in Ceneral Europe and founded the North-German federation.

Lassalle did not live to see the war of 1866, but his policy was continued by J. B. von Schweitzer, who became the most brilliant leader of the German Lassalleans. Bebel and Liebknecht opposed this policy, influenced by the ideas of Marx-Engels. History proved that the Lassalleans had estimated the situation more correctly. The cause of German unity gained a good deal through this war, and the German people received universal suffrage in the national elections, together with some economic concessions which benefited especially the small business men, and also permitted greater freedom of movement to the workers.

Of course, from now on the cause of German unity and evolution could no longer be promoted by a revolution from below. The Prussian government now held the reins of fate and steered events. It turned out, however, that this government had to steer events precisely in that direction which Marx-Engels desired in the fifties and sixties, only it took much longer than they had estimated. The next step towards German unity was made in 1871, and the international situation did not bring about an alliance of Germany and Austria against France, Russia and Italy until the war of 1914-15. And then England was also lined up against Germany-Austria, together with some other states that caused a good deal of worry to European Socialists in the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. All of which proves how difficult it is to foresee clearly the form and speed of international developmnt, even though one may understand the general drift.

While the events leading up to the Franco-German war of 1870-71 were brewing, the German Socialists made good use of the newly granted universal suffrage and landed some representatives in the German reichstag. The Eisenacher Socialists elected Bebel, Liebknecht, Schraps and Goetz. The Lassalleans carried Schweitzer, Fritzsche, Hasenclever, Foersterling and Mende.

In the fifties Lassalle still thought that a popular German war against Napoleon the Third would be a misfortune for European Democracy, but an unpopular war forced by the Prussian government against France would break the power of Prussia and help the German revolutionists. At that time, both Marx and Engels were inclined to agree to that part of Lassalle's opinion. But in 1870 there was no longer any possibility of breaking down the Prussian government by a popular revolution. On the other hand, there seemed a good deal more hope of helping a popular revolution in France by breaking down Napoleon the Third. In fact, a defeat of Napoleon promised better results for the working classes of Western and Ceneral Europe than a defeat of Bismarck. Moreover, the outbreak of the war, cleverly engineered by Bismarck, who edited the Prussian king's Emser telegram into a call to the German people, immediately brought the small German states to the support of Prussia. It was a popular war against French imperialism. The leading Lassalleans read the signs correctly and therefore did not imitate Lassalle's opinion of the fifties slavishly. They realized that once more the Prussian government would promote German unity from above, and they were wise enough to grasp the inevitable and make the best of it. When the question of war credits came up in the Reichstag, most of the Socialists voted for the credits. Bebel and Liebknecht protested, but Marx and Engels did not agree with them this time. They had acted courageously, but foolishly.

Please note that Bebel and Liebknecht did not offer to resist enlistment or to die rather than obey the military laws of Prussia. They did not carry their uncompromising attitude quite that far. If they had, Marx and Engels would have minced their words even less. They had plenty of that kind of ultra-radicalism in the old International. The leading type of that sort of revolutionism was Bakounin, and it was incompatible with the qualities required for a political leader of the working class in a capitalist state. The Bakounin type, it is true, also had its own peculiar environment, in which it was naturally adapted. This was the Russian environment. Its stage of development corresponded practically to that of France before the great revolution. In other words, Russia was one hundred years behind the evolution of western Europe. In such a backward environment, the only type of revolutionist who could express a revolt against feudalism without the backing of a capitalist or working class, was the revolutionary intellectual. This type could never become the leader of a great class movement, especially not in a capitalist environment. He could make a martyr of himself and enact a melodrama all his own, but he could never organize and develop a working class movement along historical lines. Bebel and Liebknecht did not imitate this type of individualist revolutionism for the simple reason that "universal military education" was a part of the Socialist program and included a demand for a national militia. They contented themselves with a protest against the war and an appeal to the international solidarity of the workers. This, however, could not have any other force but that of a general propaganda of future ideals. It was not a solution of the immediately pressing problem which had to be met and handled. Such purely negative protests are always useless when a constructive action is required for a protest without a program of practicable action is equal to a platonic sawing of the air. All the other Socialists, even Marx and Engels, realized that in such an emergency the Socialists cannot afford to shirk their national duties for the mere reason that some day in the future the workers will all be internationally united.

In the war of 1870, the German Socialists for the first time had face the question as to what attitude they should assume, when a defensive war turns into a war of conquest. Marx and Engels as well as many Socialists in Germany maintained that peace should be concluded, as soon as Napoleon had been captured and a French republic declared. Nearly all the Socialist representatives took this position. When the Germans continued the war with the intention of annexing Alsace-Lorraine, the Socialists denounced the war vigorously. And when the workers of Paris resisted the attempt of the French capitalists to surrender Paris and were crushed by the masters of the new republic, Marx wrote a glowing tribute to the Parisian workers in his "Civil War in France."

Here we see once more on a still larger scale than during the previous wars, that it is practically impossible for a Socialist minority to serve both its international and its national interests at the same tme. As soon as we try to take a practical part in the problems of capitalist life, our international ideal is continually crossed by our inevitable adaptation to the prevailing capitalist environment. Internationalism can be propagated as a coming ideal, but so long as development forces us to meet national problems first, we cannot achieve anything practical by violent protests and by tragic appeals to international solidarity. Even if the Socialist minorities on both sdes should try to resist enlistment and die at home rather than on the battlefield, they would not serve the cause of Internationalism, nor stop the drift of capitalist war sentiment. And as a mere propaganda proposition, it is evident that we can serve Socialism better by finding an easier road to the minds of our own nation's workers, whom we shall have to convert to Socialism, than by appealing to the Socialist workers in the enemy's country, who are just as helpless as we are. However, resistance to enlistment or to war service has never been a part of the program of European Socialists.

I shall not go into a closer analysis of their attitude here. For the present I am merely enumerating certain facts as they developed and illustrating them as I go along. I want to outline the historical facts first, and then pause and consider them more closely.

The foregoing facts show plainly enough how great the complications of capitalist life are, which a Socialist has to solve, when he attempts to put his social science to the test. We see that the very brightest intellects of scientific Socialism stumbled more than once in their attempt to find their way through the capitalist jungle into a consistent and effective working class politics. By studying carefully these historical records, we can prepare ourselves for a better solution of our own present-day troubles.

The old International became untenable partly because it was disrupted by its own internal troubles, partly because it was born before a real labor and Socialist movement had developed in Europe. Marx and Engels themselves realized in 1872 that a real Socialist International cannot be built from above, but must come as a final product of Socialist development.

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EDOUARD VAILLANT

In the death of Edouard Vaillant, the Social Democracy of the world loses another of the great pioneers who have guided it from the days of its birth. The roster of the departed within a few years seems for a moment like a roster of the International Congresses. Singer, Bebel, Hardie, Jaures; five years ago, it would have seemed as if Socialism would die without them.

And now the gallont old Communard Vaillant! Today there is left but a corporal's guard of the old time; Hyndman, Guesde, Van Kol, Adler, Kautsky, Bernstein, Bax, and possibly a few more who, of course, were contemporary with Marx.

Vaillant was of the type of which great revolutions are made. He was a stormy petrel in life, and he died in the stormiest period in modern history. Born in the middle class, a physician and a doctor of science, he early gave up his whole life to the service of the working class.

From the time of his student days in Heidelberg to the time of his death, a period of over half a century, Vaillant was in the working class fight every moment. First a member of the Internationale of glorious memory, then a fighter against Napoleon, then a leader of the Commune, then an exile in England; and for the last thirty-two years he was a public official in France as a leading Socialist fighter, the last twenty-three of which being in parliament.

He helped organize the Second International. He was a leader in the fight against Ministerialism in 1900; he was a leader of the Marxist faction in the fights that led to a Unified Socialist party in France; he was cool-headed in thought, fiery in oratory, a hater of capitalism, and for every moment of the half century that he fought for the working class he was in the front rank.—New York Call.

There is only one barber in town that advertises in your paper, and that is the Commerce Barber. The shop is down the steps at the corner of Rockefeller and Hewitt, underneath the Commerce building.

On sale at the office of The Northwest Worker—Murphy's Lightning Razor Hone (Strop hone) Paste. Try a box, 25c.

A WORTH WHILE SUGGESTION

Tacoma, Dec. 15, 1915.

Editor Northwest Worker.

A Plea for Education

It should hardly seem necessary to plead for more education for members of the working class, but we are sorry to say such is the case. We are sadly in need of some standard for teaching our children the indisputable facts of Socialism; that is, facts that are recognized the world over. We have plenty and to spare for the adults, but when we attempt to teach a class of children, some of us are "up against it." We do not want you to teach our children your ideas because we do not know what those ideas are and vice versa. That we are sorely in need of every advantage to be obtained for teaching our children, in order to offset the pernicious teachings of capitalism, we will cite one instance: Several members of our local have boys about seven years attending public school; imagine our surprise and chagrin when we see the little fellows suddenly stand to "attention" and go through a sort of military drill touching an imaginary cap, epaulets, knapsack, gun, aim, fire, bang, etc., accompanying the "bang" with a loud clap of the hands. But it is left for us, the fathers and mothers, to teach them the names of the useful tools of industry. Now, comrades, there has been a motion initiated for the National Committee to elect a competent committee of education to compose a set of text books for our children, but from present indications the motion will die for want of seconds, although we very much doubt if there is a single class-conscious Socialist who would oppose it. Wake up, comrades, and let us embrace those opportunities which we already have.

Passed by Local No. 4, Tacoma.

C. W. DENEL, Sec'y.

Editor's Note:—Local Everett No. 1 has already seconded the motion referred to in this communication. Such a book is an imperative necessity.

MURRAY SHOE CO. TO REDUCE ITS STOCK $3,000

The Murray Shoe Co., at 1715 Hewitt Avenue, will put on a ten days' sale, commencing Wednesday, Dec. 29th, and closing Saturday, January 8th. The store will not be closed at any time during business hours, as we have no changes to make in prices and no old, out-of-date merchandise to dispose of. The prices marked on stock will remain the same as usual, and you know what you paid for your last pair. Here are the conditions of the sale—One Dollar straight off all shoes formerly sold at $4.00 and up. 20 per cent. discount off all shoes under $4.00, and a discount of 10 per cent. on rubber footwear. We want to reduce our stock $3,000 in ten days and the above prices will do it. We are sole agents in Everett for the following well known makes: Nettleton and Richards & Brennan Shoes for men, Sorosis Shoes for women, Holland high grade Shoes for boys and the famous Kewpie Twins Shoes for the children. See big ad in Tuesday evening's paper for further particulars. Thanking our customers for their patronage in the past and wishing everyone a Happy and Prosperous New Year, we are, at your service,

Adv. THE MURRAY SHOE CO.

EFRIAM'S MESSENGER

A. Walman and R. Suneson, of Sweden, will hold a Biblical lecture in the Swedish language in The Forum, 1612 California St., Sunday afternoon, January 2nd, at 2 p.m. The subject will be "The Great World War in the Light of Scripture." Free seats. No collection.

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