

SOCIALISM AND REFORM

By VICTOR L. BERGER.

Up to a certain point the tactics of the Socialists and the social reformers are exactly the same. Both build upon the past historical development and take into consideration the present conditions.

The Socialists absolutely refuse to break off the thread of history at any one place. No Socialist ever dreams of introducing a "year one" and beginning a new era with it, as did the fathers of the great French Revolution—which was indeed entirely in harmony with their "a priori" and doctrinaire methods.

The Socialists leave the making of the calendar to other people.

But the tactics and the aims of the Socialists do indeed differ from those of the social reformers in one essential point. The Socialists never fail to declare that with all the social reformers, good and worthy of support as they may be, conditions cannot be radically and permanently improved.

We Socialists say, we are willing to accept and help on every social reform. But we also say that social reforms are but installments by which we must not allow ourselves to be bribed; that full economic freedom will only be achieved by Socialism itself.

Yet as a stepping stone, as a transition—and even as a necessary stepping stone and as an indispensable transition—social reforms of all kinds are fully and wholly recognized by Socialism.

We recognize their usefulness and necessity even when we do not agree with the motives of the promoters and leaders of social reform. We are willing to accept these reforms, even when we disagree about their speed and the methods to be employed.

On the other hand, while the social reformers and the Socialists therefore have many points of contact, they always will form and must form two entirely different parties. And it is not arbitrary or willful that the Socialists all over the world constitute a distinct, separate party. It is absolutely necessary. And it does not in any way exclude the possibility of making common cause with social reform in legislatures and city councils for this or the other good measure. But to keep our party organically separate and intact is a demand of clearness and truth, which after all have great importance in political life as everywhere else.

THE Socialists do not in the least expect to "make history," as certain ignorant and fanatical impossibilists dream of doing. What we aspire to is much more modest, more matter-of-fact, and therefore more reliable and more substantial.

We want to observe closely the course of things, the development of economic and political conditions. We want to find out, if possible, where this development leads. Then, supported by this knowledge, we want to put ourselves in line with the march of civilization, so that civilization will carry us, instead of crushing us, which it would do, if knowingly or not—we should stand opposed to it.

THINKING workmen and thinking men of any class become Socialists not because we like to be "different" from other people. Not because a man by the name of Karl Marx has "invented" the co-operative common-wealth and painted it as gorgeously as possible—which by the way he did not do. We are Socialists because we have recognized that the economical development of the present system leads toward Socialist production. Not that we wish to urge upon humanity "our" Socialist Republic, but that the Socialist Republic has urged itself upon us as the next stage of civilization and will urge itself some day upon all civilized humanity.

And once granted that the Socialist Republic is the necessary product of our economical development, the question of the possibility of carrying out the demands of Socialism appears very naive and indeed absurd. That which must come by necessity is for that very reason possible without further question.

A FAITHFUL PROPHECY.
The fact that the Kaiser was destined to play the role of the modern Attila and become the scourge of Europe was prophesied nearly thirty years ago in a remarkable article published in the New York Times in April 1888 by Harold Frederic, the famous novelist and correspondent.
At that date, of course, the Kaiser was still Crown Prince of Prussia,

and Mr. Frederic, who was in Berlin on behalf of his newspaper, had many opportunities of coming in contact with him.
"One shudders," Mr. Harold Frederic wrote, "as one pats the mild, contemplative head of the bloodhound solely because of the stories that have been told of the terrible ferocity which lurks under this sleek and eretric. In the same way you look into the face of this young heir

A Few Memories

(From the "Reminiscences" of the late Prof. Goldwin Smith, published 1911.)

Crimean War.—The day before the Crimean War nobody expected or desired it; while it was going everybody was mad about it; when it was over, everybody condemned and deplored it.—P. 139.

Lorcha (Opium) War.—The Lorcha War was kindled by Bowring, the British Resident of Canton, a disciple of Bentham, who had quarrelled with the native authorities and embraced the opportunity of "promoting the greatest happiness of the greatest number" by throwing bombs into the most densely peopled city in the world. It was practically a war in defence of the opium trade. By the House of Commons it was condemned. But when Palmerston appealed to the people, telling them that an insolent barbarian had trampled on the honor of the Empire by hauling down the flag of an opium smuggler, the flame burst out in full fury. Opponents of the war lost their seats in Parliament... So long as there are great armaments on foot, wars of passion will not cease.—P. 289.

Boer War.—Another example is that of the Boer War... the only fruit of which was the loss of 250 millions of money and a far worse loss of honor.—P. 219.

...the infamous Boer War, than which there never was a more flagrant breach of humanity or a fouler stain on the character of any nation.—P. 363-4.

Alone or almost alone (in Canada) I wrote against the attacks upon the independence of the South African Republic. Great unpopularity for a time was of course the result. The people went mad, as they always do when an appeal is made by the party of war to the savage passions which still lurk beneath the varnished surface of civilization... There is, however, nothing in my life on which I look back with more satisfaction than I do to the part played by me, however feebly, in defence of justice, humanity, the faith of treaties, national independence, and at the same time the honor of my country, forever sullied by foul and perfidious oppression of the weak.—P. 449.

Jamaica Atrocities.—The ex-slaveholders hatred and fear of the emancipated slave, after long brooding, broke out in 1865 with terrible violence. A local and accidental affray caused by the unpopularity of a district magistrate was seized upon by the whites as a pretext for a reign of terror, Governor Eyre sharing and giving the reins to their panic rage. Altogether, 439 men and women were put to death, and the numbers flogged could not have been less than 600. The hangings went on for nearly five weeks after the outbreak. Men received 100 lashes, women 30. Many of those who were flogged with a six-to-nine-tails were women, on the simple charge of stealing. Wire was twisted round the cords of the whip. There had been enmity, personal as well as political, between Eyre and Gordon, the political leader of the blacks. Eyre arrested Gordon at Kingston, where martial law did not prevail; carried him into a district where martial law had been proclaimed, and a court martial was sitting; packed the court afresh, and when even that packed court hesitated to put the man to death without evidence, himself ordered the execution.—Pp. 357-58.

Italian Imperialism.—Half the morsel of coarse bread and the cup of meagre wine were being taken from the lips of poverty to pay for the share of Italy in the Imperialist and Militarist craze.—P. 392.

of the Hohenzollerns and remember with wondering reservations the malignant tales which have been told of his inner nature by those who knew it best.

"Their dislike for him is based on a general conception of his character. This view is that he is utterly cold, entirely selfish, wantonly cruel, a young man without conscience or compassion, or any softening virtues whatever. He is saturated with all the instincts and ideals which have raised this parvenu Prussia to its present eminence, and his character is the crown and flower of two centuries of might with ruthlessness and spoliation exalted into a creed.

Mother insulted.
"On the other hand, his mother is the best royal product of a totally and fundamentally different civilization. Prince William habitually speaks of his mother to his associates and familiars as 'the Englishwoman,'

SLAVERY IN CALIFORNIA

By R. A. Dague.

Just now we read much about America being the "Land of the free and the home of the brave," and we are told that the people of the United States should be willing to go in debt scores of billions of dollars to pay the expenses of maintaining a great army to "make the world safe for democracy." I am venturing to ask if we are really consistent in our boasts that we are a free people and stand for freedom? I fear we are guilty of hypocrisy in our vain-glorious boasts about Old Glory waving over a nation who love liberty and are opposed to all forms of slavery.

The Los Angeles Record, a Republican paper, of late date, admits that slavery of the most tyrannical kind exists in the state of California. Its statement is as follows:

"Exposure of a labor slave system in the best fields of southern California is made in reports of state investigators who have visited the fields and made appeals for a federal investigation of methods of beet growers in alleged dodging of immigration laws.

"The reports have been sent to U. S. Commissioner of Immigration Caminetti at Washington.

"Armed guards, according to the investigators, watch over the imported peon laborers day and night.

"The men sleep in bunk-houses characterized in the report as 'contaminating to the cattle pens' which surround them.

"Full details of the manner in which it is alleged beet growers planned to break faith with the federal government after they had been granted special privileges were revealed when pamphlets, circulated, it is said, by the sugar companies, in Mexico, were secured.

"Under a war measure the federal contract labor law had been suspended and the companies were allowed to import Mexicans as laborers without bond under the proviso that they would return to Mexico when their term of service had expired.

"Instead of complying with this provision, the report charges, the beet growers, through pamphlets circulated in Mexico, announced they would pay return transportation only to such men as remained with them three months.

"All who were discharged before they had served three months under the armed guard peonage system could not claim return transportation from the growers.

"Presumably the U. S. government would be forced to bear the expense of returning the men to Mexico or else they would become public charges in Los Angeles.

"Men who have visited the beet fields say conditions are so intolerable it would be impossible for any man to remain three months.

"A telegraphic report has been made by F. L. Palomares, special investigator of the commission of immigration and housing, to George L. Bell, attorney and executive officer of the commission, San Francisco.

"Twenty-two Mexicans imported for Cudahy ranch. Wages, \$2.25, board, 75 cents. Wages unpaid. Camp conditions bad. Sleep on bare boards or broken wire springs, without covers or pillows. No bath. Water from sink runs along side of bunk house," says the telegram, one of the many that have aroused the state authorities to protest to the federal government.

Who can censure foreigners for doubting our sincerity and consistency in claiming to be a nation of freemen when they read how we enslave peons, burn negroes at the stake, suppress newspapers, deny freedom of speech, mob and break up peaceful assemblages of good citizens who meet to discuss questions of national importance, drag workmen away from their homes in violation of law at the dictation of plutocratic mine owners and other capitalists, and frequently imprison, brutally assault, shoot and hang propertyless wage slaves, who go on a strike for a slight increase of

He ostentatiously addresses her in German, although he knows English perfectly, and she has always made a point of having her children speak English in the family circle.

"We all know that it is a mere matter of months before he will be the autocratic master of 2,000,000 armed men. The question is, What will he do?"

wages and better conditions of living?

Oh, liberty! Oh, democracy! What crimes are committed in thy name? What shameless pretenses and hypocrites some of us Americans are?

THE FRUITS OF CENSORSHIP

By Scott Nearing.

This generation realizes with difficulty the meaning of a frontier. In colonial days, the man who was disgusted or discouraged stepped to the edge of civilization. He fed, clothed and outfitted himself—not at public expense, but at nature's expense.

Today, the United States is bounded by the oceans and by Mexico and Canada. There is no frontier—no "free for all." America is living a new life.

With the ending of the nineteenth century the free land in the United States vanished. Long before that time the best of the natural resources—timber, minerals, waterpower and fertile agricultural land—had been labeled "mine" by a relatively small group of powerful industrial and financial interests. The ownership of agricultural land was still widely scattered. The ownership of the most important timber and mineral resources was being rapidly concentrated.

What will be the result of this private ownership of natural resources? The time has come when that question must be faced and analyzed scientifically.

While resources were free for the asking, no man could put a price upon them and demand to be paid because of his land ownership. The moment that free land disappears, land ownership commands a monopoly price. In the centers of trade and industry this monopoly power is enormous. Where it is exercised over very rich resources like coal lands or timber lands, the monopoly power of private ownership is likewise very great. Consequently, immense prices are paid for pieces of land that a short time ago were practically valueless. Thus the hard, unyielding rock soil of Manhattan, all of which was sold by the Indians for a few dollars, is now valued in places at upwards of \$40,000,000 an acre. This immense valuation is the result of the presence of population, of trade and of industry. The owner of the land need have done nothing in the way of improvement.

The land upon which the city of Boston stands was valued at \$366,000,000 in 1890, and at \$72,000,000 in 1910. The interval of twenty years resulted in a doubling of these land values. The farm land of the United States was worth \$13,000,000,000 in 1900 and \$28,000,000,000 in 1910. During the same period the value of farm land in Illinois rose from 1,500,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000; in Iowa from \$1,250,000,000 to \$2,750,000,000; in Kansas from \$1,000,000,000 to \$1,500,000,000. The fact that the land is limited in amount, and is in great demand, is sufficient to place upon it a high monopoly price.

The private ownership of natural resources was a scheme that was devised to stimulate thrift, energy and ambition. It was intended to give an opportunity for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

When the principle of individual ownership was first resorted to the United States was a wilderness. Resources existed for all, and in abundance. Since that time free land has disappeared. The whole economic foundation of life has been revolutionized. There is no more free land and the frontier has disappeared.

Each change in economic conditions gives rise to new needs and new relations. Social forms are modified because the basis for life is altered. Two generations ago the country's adjustment to life included a safety valve in the form of a frontier. The frontier meant cheap grazing land, free agricultural land, free timber and free minerals. Today, each first-class piece of land in the United States has its price.

Sooner or later the American public must decide whether a system of private property in

It is to prevent labor from receiving a fair hearing that the corporation-controlled press garbles and distorts news concerning labor disputes, always making it appear that those who have the courage to stand up for the rights of the working class are "undesirable citizens," "traitors" and, during this unpleasantness with Wilhelm, they are sometimes charged with being German agents.

natural resources can work advantageously after free land disappears. Up to the point where land ownership carried with it no monopoly power, many legitimate justifications could be urged in its favor. Now that private property in land almost inevitably carries with it the power to lay a monopoly tax upon industry of the community, the situation takes on a very different aspect.

SHIP CARPENTERS DEFINE POSITION

(Continued from Page One)

of the United States is at war with a foreign nation, and

WHEREAS, we are in great need of the many ships now in course of construction on the Columbia River, and

WHEREAS, the owners of the various ship yards in the Columbia River Basin are delaying the construction of these ships through selfishness and greed, and

WHEREAS, the management of at least one of these yards has made the public statement that he would willingly turn over his yard to anyone who would take said yard and complete the Government contracts now on hand and relieve him of all responsibility, and

WHEREAS, We, the Union Ship Workers of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers deem ourselves competent to carry on the construction of these ships to successful completion if the Government of the United States will guarantee to supply us with the necessary material to carry on the construction of same as we proceed, THEREFORE,

BE IT RESOLVED, That We, the Union Ship Workers of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers respectfully petition the Government of the United States to commandeer the ship yards on these rivers and allow us the opportunity to demonstrate our loyalty and patriotism by completing these ships in the least possible time.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we assure the United States Government of our ability to carry this enterprise to a successful termination, and that we will guarantee the Government a great saving both in time and money in the construction of these ships by the elimination of unskilled, high-salaried, inexperienced management.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we, the Union Ship Workers of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers offer our services to the Government of the United States free of all profits and cost except the necessary wages of the men and cost of material, and under such conditions as are mutually agreed upon, and on our part guarantee to place competent ship builders in the management of these several yards to superintend and direct the construction of these ships.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of these Resolutions be presented to the Inspector of Labor and Immigration, at Astoria, Oregon, with the request that he forward same to the Department of Labor, in Washington, D. C., also that a copy be sent to our Executive Committee with instructions that it be presented to the Metal Trades Council of Portland, who are requested to act on same and forward immediately to the Department of Labor at Washington, D. C.

Adopted by Local 1500, Ship Carpenters, Ship Joiners, Caulkers, Boat-Builders, and Mill Workers of Astoria, Oregon, September 26, 1917.

UNION MEN REPLY TO CHARGES AND EXPLAIN THEIR POSITION

In reply to the numerous misrepresentations of their position made by the employers' press, and as a further explanation of the causes and purposes of the present strike, the union ship carpenters of the Columbia River district have sent the following communication to the Secretary of War, at Washington, D. C.:
Astoria, Oregon, Oct. 9, 1917.
Secretary of War,
War Dept. of United States of America, Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Q. 1. On or about the 26th day of August, 1917, all the Unions on the Columbia and Willamette Rivers in general convention, in the Columbia River Maritime District Council, ordered sent to all the shipbuilders located on these rivers, a letter asking for a general raise of wages and union conditions to take effect by the 15th of September, 1917. This was not a new demand on our part, but was simply a continuation of a like demand made in Portland by the metal trades doing ship work in the Northwest steel and the Willamette

Iron Works, about the 1st of January, 1917. This letter was sent to each of the fifteen shipyards on these rivers, and in each case was ignored, no single answer ever reached the district Council. The reasons we asked these conditions of the employer was because of the fact of the advanced cost of living. House rent, fuel, clothing and groceries, and the fact that many men on these rivers were getting as little as \$2.50 per day for their work in the shipyards, and mechanics were getting a graded scale of from \$3.00 to \$6.00 on ships. Our efforts at this time was not to embarrass the Government of the United States, but to cause the employer to raise the wages of the under paid men to a position where they could keep, feed, and clothe their children and give them the proper schooling necessary to cause them to become good American citizens.

On or about September 10th, 1917, the Columbia River District Council of shipwrights, ship joiners, caulkers, boat builders and mill men in convention at the City of Astoria, accepted what is known as the metal trades agreement previously adopted by the metal trades council of Portland, Oregon; and sent one of these agreements to each of the fifteen shipyards on these rivers, together with a demand that we hear from them by Saturday, September the 15th, at 10 o'clock A. M. This communication was treated like the other and absolutely ignored by the employers.

On September the 13th, 1917, the manager of the McEachern Shipyard called in two Union men, namely: D. N. Tyler and Jas. H. McMurtry, to his office, and after some talk, it was mutually agreed that this local Union No. 1500 would not strike on September the 15th, unless all of the Unions on the river did likewise. In violation of this agreement the Wilson Bros. Shipyard locked out its men on the evening of the 13th, and the McEachern Yard did likewise on the evening of the 14th, and the management of these yards issued statements to the effect that the men would be allowed to go to work Monday morning, September 17th, as individuals, but not as Union men. On the evening of the 14th this Union received a wire from our representative at Washington to keep the men at work if possible; on the night of the 14th this Union held a mass meeting and at the same time a similar meeting was held in Portland where a strike was ordered by the unanimous vote in sympathy with boys locked out in Astoria.

Q. 2. As to conditions under which the Unions are willing to go back to work?

We demand the right to organization and ask a wage commensurate to the cost of living; and as to the attitude of this Union to the Government of the United States, will refer you to the resolution adopted by unanimous vote of this Union Sept. 26th, a copy of which is here appended, and a copy having been sent to the Department of Labor at Washington, D. C.

Q. 3. Attitude of this Union to Government during war?

All of the members of this Union are citizens of the United States or have declared their intention to become such as per Sec. 42, Art. K., General Constitution here appended, and are loyal to this Government as attested by before mentioned resolution. Also our men almost all have relatives in the Army at the present time; of these, the names we can get at short notice, are:

- Adam Schortgen, four sons in army volunteers
 - Fred Rider, one son in army volunteers
 - R. C. Stevens, one brother in army volunteers
 - Tyler, three nephews in army volunteers
 - Thos. McGinnes, one brother in army volunteers
- of these McGinnes and Schortgen, now with the engineers at Vancouver, are members of this Union. There are also many Spanish War Veterans in this Union and many who have offered their services in this crisis who have been rejected.

Also this Union was first in the City of Astoria, to make a donation to the Red Cross.

Q. 4. What is meant by Union Shop?

We mean by Union Shop the right to organization; to maintain our Union and to deal with our employers collectively through a common head, rather than to deal with them individually, as past experience has taught us that in dealing with the employer individually the employer is ever ready to say: "If your job does not suit you, I can get a man for your place at any time." All we ask is recognition of the Union and that the employer will deal with us as such. A biased press has given this the name of "closed Shop" and has tried to make it appear that we desire running our employer's business.

Q. 5. Is strike sentiment unanimous?

Of the four hundred members of this Union only two carpenters of this Union have gone back to work at shipyards during more than a three weeks out, and not one more has signified a willingness to do so to our knowledge until we get recognition of Union Shop.

Q. 6. Objection to soldiers in Astoria?

We as a Union, and as citizens, have no objections to soldiers guarding shipyards or mills, but as citizens we do object to the acts of the soldiers in Astoria as follows:

- 1st: To armed guards being placed on street corners of the City of Astoria to intimidate peaceful citizens acting within their constitutional rights.
- 2nd: To armed guards being used to escort strike breakers from the depot to shipyards.
- 3rd: To officers of the Army of the United States threatening men who try peacefully to inform these imported men that a strike exists at this place.
- 4th: To soldiers drawing their guns on citizens of this place on public highways for no other cause than that that these citizens tried