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THE END OF CAPITALISM

"The League of Nations is dead. All chances of a real settlement of European problems is at an end. A desperate effort is being made to get together a patched-up peace within the next ten days which shall at least put an end to unrest and economic paralysis in the world."

Thus writes a capitalist journalist and observer whose opinion carries great weight because of the distinction he has won in his particular field.

In formulating his science of society Karl Marx showed that the inner contradictions of the capitalist system of production were of such a character that these conditions would lead to its eventual dissolution. "Capitalism carries within itself the seeds of its own decay" is a phrase which has often appeared in the writings and speeches of Socialists. But like the rest of the Marxian science it has been ignored or laughed to scorn by those who were profiting from the capitalist system and had an interest in defending it.

The World War was not unexpected by the Socialists. The contradictions of capitalist production made such a war a logical sequence of capitalist production. In each capitalistically developed country of the world the workers were being exploited; in each such country the machinery of production was being perfected and in order to temporarily solve the problem of increased production and a limited power of consumption by the exploited workers, the capitalists were compelled to seek expansion. Each national group of capitalists, driven by the necessity of securing control of new territory in order to develop markets and places to invest their surplus capital, entered the race for survival. In these struggles the interests of the national groups clashed and after several decades of conflict and threats of war their came—the World War.

Seven million men died. Nearly two hundred bil-

lions of wealth was destroyed. Misery and suffering stalked over a whole continent. And what is the result?

While the war was on we were told by President Wilson, whose chief service to capitalism has been that he has covered up the ugly facts with beautiful, idealistic words—that out of the bloodshed and destruction there was to be born a new world of righteousness and peace. The president went to Europe to organize this new world, acclaimed by most of the people of the earth as their savior. For three months he has labored at the colossal task. And now we are told that the peace conference is about to collapse and that the League of Nations that was to save the world, is dead!

What has happened at Paris that is threatening to bring the peace conference to an end without accomplishing its purpose? What is preventing President Wilson from bringing about the idealistic adjustment of the affairs of the world which he proclaimed in his fourteen points?

The people who put the blame for the World War upon some nation or some particular person in a certain nation, such as the Kaiser, will now find some particular nation among the allies or some particular person in one of the nations, such as France and Clemenceau, to blame.

But it was neither a certain nation nor individual who was responsible for the coming of the World War and it is not a certain nation nor individual that is responsible for the failure of the peace conference to work out the idealistic peace proclaimed by President Wilson.

President Wilson framed his fourteen points and idealistic peace in his study in Washington. No doubt the president made a sincere effort to frame a settlement which would bring into existence a nice, orderly capitalist world—from the point of view of the privacy of his study.

The allies gave lip service—and even that with some reservations—to the fourteen points, while the war was

still being fought. But at Paris the fourteen points had to meet the withering, devastating breath of the facts of the capitalist will.

The fact of economic interests of national groups of exploiters were against the fourteen points.

The fourteen points declared against a punitive indemnity, but England and France faced the threat of national bankruptcy without an indemnity. Self-determination for peoples did not stand in the way of Italy providing for its economic future by demanding cities that that principle would give to Jugo-Slavia, nor France from attempting to further its economic future by insisting that it receive the coal mines of the Saar valley. All the little new nations set up in central Europe developed greedy appetites for this or that district belonging to its neighbors, because these districts mean economic advantage to them. Japan wanted a clear title to the islands it had gobbled and repudiated the idea of hiding the fact under the camouflage of becoming a "mandatory."

Clearly, what has happened at Paris is that the same inner forces of capitalism dominating national groups which precipitated the world war are now manifesting themselves in the struggle between those who fought the war as allies. It is the necessities enforced by the iron laws of capitalist production that set each national group against each other in a struggle to create the condition which will enable them to survive and not the unregenerate nature of certain individuals or nations.

As we weigh and consider the words "The League of Nations is dead. All chance of a real settlement of European problems is at an end," and the other pessimistic dispatches which are reaching us from Paris, forecasting the break-up of the Peace Conference and the possible withdrawal of President Wilson, there is only one conclusion that we can reach; that is, that capitalist society has developed to a point which makes it impossible even to temporarily harmonize the conflicting capitalist inter-

ests and that if peace is to be restored to the world it must be done by wiping out the capitalist system of production.

Of all the countries of Europe only one country is not involved in the universal struggle waged about the Peace-Conference for new territory to secure trade advantages and new economic resources. That is Russia. With the triumph of the Bolsheviks the Soviet government repudiated all forms of imperialistic aggression. It published the secret treaties; it repudiated the struggle for Constantinople; it nationalized its foreign trade. But more important than all, it abolished all forms of exploitation, thereby ending the one condition of capitalist production that is driving the other nations of Europe to destruction and ruin.

If Russia is still fighting it is not because it asks anything from the other nations, but because these nations are trying to destroy the new social order that is growing there.

Surely no more striking confirmation of Marx's prediction that the time would come when the inner contradictions of capitalist production would bring about its dissolution, could be made than that which is being made by the Peace Conference. Capitalism is doomed. It must go at once or the world is condemned to decades of bloodshed and mass murder.

The new social order that is to succeed it is written in the aspirations of the workers of the world. Only through a new industrial order in which exploitation will be ended through making the means of production and the resources of the earth the common property of the workers can peace, order, happiness and well-being be restored to the people of the earth.

The workers' hour has come; the workers of the world must unite and establish the new order if the world is to be saved from the destruction and ruin with which capitalism threatens it.

Exploiters Committee Tells About British Workers Don't Like New Industrial Democracy and Ending of Autocracy

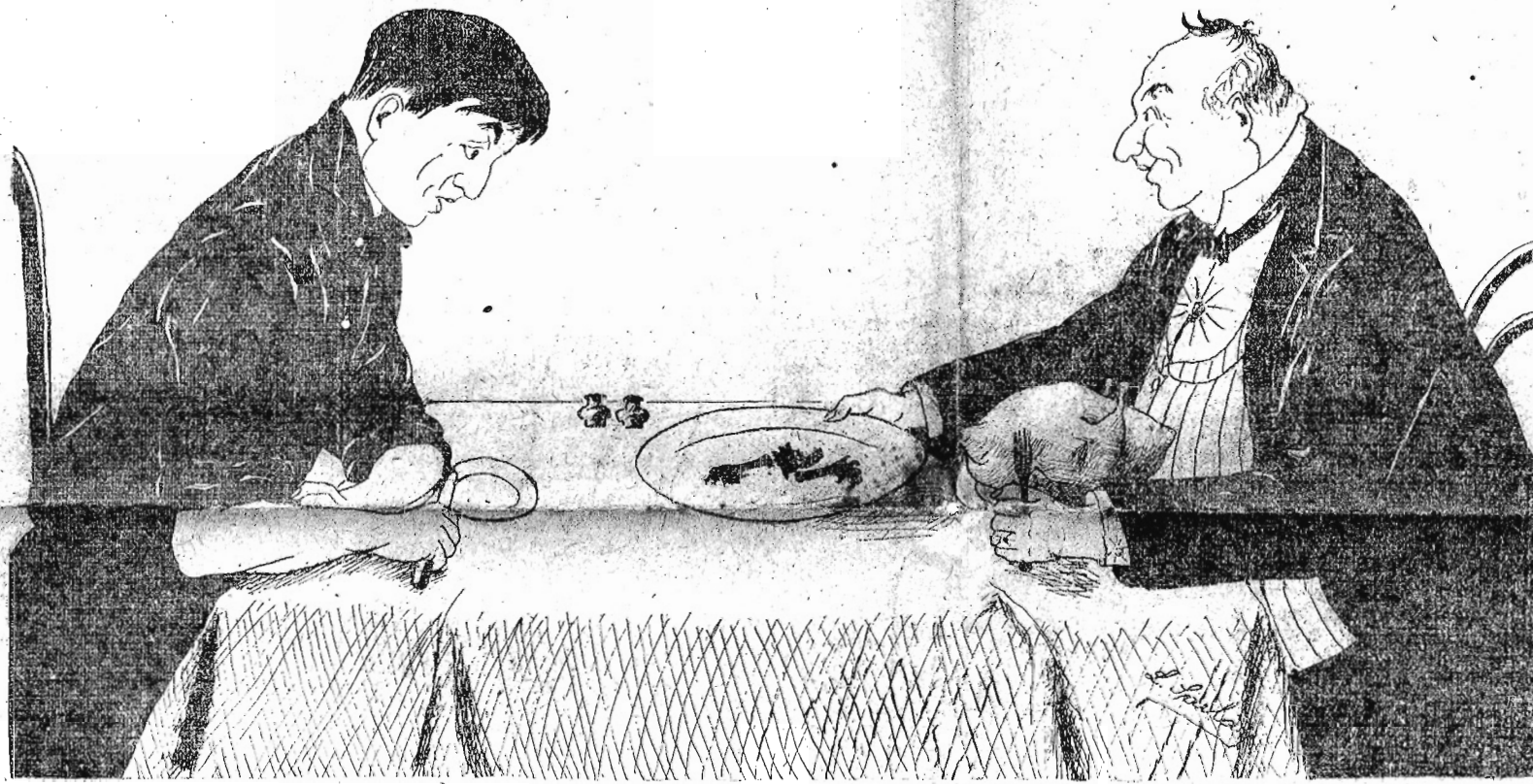
Washington.—Radical socialism is bolshevism. Bolshevism is radical socialism. No matter how the thing is spelled it brooks nothing but evil for the capitalists of high and low degree. In some portions of Europe the thing is a fact. In other portions of Europe the thing is well on the way to become a fact. The thing which the class conscious and unscrupulous labor exploiters here persist in handling the working class with brass knuckles. Continue to wear the brass knuckles, of course, but upholster them a bit so that when the workers come up against the knuckles they will think they are being caressed rather than slugged.

This is the report and recommendation made to Secretary Wilson by the committee of labor exploiters sent abroad by the secretary some time ago to find out what is taking place with labor exploitation on the continent and in England, in the committee's final conclusions made public by the Department of Labor.

Stripped of all its verbiage the American labor exploiters report that in Great Britain the labor exploiters and their government are attempting to camouflage the British workers into becoming 100 per cent. efficient wealth producers by telling them that co-operation between the exploited workers and the exploiting capitalists is highly desirable for both; that conciliation in spirit and in fact is also desirable between the parasitic employers and their employees as a method of taking the sharp edges off the struggle over the division of the surplus wealth, the workers demanding all the new wealth they produce and the parasitic employers taking the greater part of it for themselves. Conciliation, the report says, will enable the labor exploiters to "stabilize" their profits and the workers to pay their union dues regularly. Finally, the report finds that collective bargaining will still further camouflage the workers into believing that they are enjoying a form of industrial democracy, while the employers can be relied upon to persuade the workers that it is an unsound policy for them to demand so much of the employers' profits that there is but the little incentive left for the exploiters to continue in the business.

The committee found two classes of workers in Great Britain—"right minded" employees and "wrong minded" employees. The right minded employees have accepted, according to the report, the co-operative and conciliatory policy outlined above as the program for the stormy days of reconstruction. The conclusion, however, does not tally with the recently adopted program of the British Labor Party, with its sixty-old members in the British parliament and practically

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The Worker's Share

The Traitors Beg

From Washington comes the news that President Wilson has been petitioned to grant a respite in the case of Eugene V. Debs and hold up execution of his sentence while the question of a pardon is being considered.

This petition is signed by Charles Edward Russell and Allan L. Benson, renegade Socialists, and Frank P. Walsh.

Of course the petition was not sent to the president by the authority or even the consent of Debs. Eugene V. Debs would rather serve twice ten years in prison than ask for a pardon.

It is more likely that the request was made at the suggestion of the president than at the suggestion of Debs.

But the fact that such a petition has been filed and the probable action thereon will deceive no one.

If the president pardons Debs it will not be because of any petition filed by Charles Edward Russell, Allan L. Benson or any one else.

If the pardon is granted it will be because the ruling class of this country fears the result of putting Eugene V. Debs in prison.

The last two or three weeks have shown that the rallying cry "Freedom for Debs" is one that will receive the support of thousands of workers. In New York, Chicago, Cleveland and many other places great mass meetings have been held at which the workers voiced their protest against Debs being sent to prison—and probably to death.

The ruling class of this country is watching for signs of an upheaval. The threatened imprisonment of Debs looked as if it might prove to be the center of a great mass movement of the workers, which, once under way, might not stop when it attained its object.

The agents of the ruling class no doubt observed what was happening. Hence the new movement to give Debs his freedom.

In this movement the traitor Socialists give their services to hide the real power that is making the fight for the freedom of Debs.

That power is the mass demand of the workers. If Debs goes free it will be because tens of thousands of workers demanded his freedom and were prepared to organize and go on strike until their object was attained.

If Debs goes free it will be the first victory for mass action—a victory won by the mere threat of mass action.

Refuse Passport To Pan-American Congress

Washington.—The state department today refused to issue a passport to Dan Hogan of Huntington, Ark., to attend the Pan-American Socialist conference, which convenes in Buenos Aires, Argentina, the latter part of April.

Hogan is a member of the Socialist national committee and was recently appointed by the committee to represent the Socialist Party at the Buenos Aires meeting. He is editor of the Huntington Herald, a Socialist and labor paper, and is a veteran writer and lecturer for the Socialist Party. He took an active part in the win-the-war activities in Arkansas, especially in the Liberty loan and war savings stamps campaigns, and his application for a passport was endorsed by many prominent citizens of Huntington. His application has been pending in the state department for several weeks, and Assistant Secretary of State Phillips finally made public today the information that the passport has been refused.

Capitalists Hostile. It is understood that the American capitalists are hostile to any meeting of the Pan-American workers to organize for their own interests, and especially hostile to such meetings at present when the labor unrest seems to have reached a feverish temperature. While declining to give specific reasons for refusing to issue the passport, it is currently stated, in the Division of Passport Control, that the Pan-American capitalists regard Buenos Aires as the hotbed of labor conspiracies against the welfare of the labor exploiters, and that the state department, whose functions is to deflect the international interests of the exploiters, could not be expected to facilitate a Pan-American Socialist and labor conference whose professed object is to develop plans for a concert of action on the part of Pan-American labor against the Pan-American capitalists.

It was felt, moreover, that the labor concert of action agreed to at Buenos Aires would surely extend to

Mexico, where the United States capitalists are already having trouble with the rebellious Mexican workers.

Therefore, the state department decided not to countenance in any way the Socialist conference at Buenos Aires.

Socialists Lose Although Vote Doubles

Milwaukee.—Supported by big business, the Republican and Democratic parties, the so-called Good Government League and numerous other leagues and legions representing capitalism, and after making unprecedented expenditures for advertising, the nonpartisan candidates carried by the combination in an election that established a record for the number of votes cast.

Although the Socialist vote was practically double that of the party's contenders in the last election for the various offices, it fell short of being sufficient to cope with that rallied by the combination in an election that established a record for the number of votes cast.

The biggest vote, 57,804, was piled up in the contest for the Circuit Court bench, vacated by the recent death of Judge W. J. Turner, and by John C. Kleist, Socialist, and Gustave G. Gehz, nonpartisan. With 27,701 votes, Kleist was only 2,402 behind his nonpartisan opponent.

Kleist's vote was 13,383 greater than the one he received two years ago when he was defeated by Circuit Judge L. W. Halsey, by 4,353 votes. Joseph A. Padway, seeking the District Circuit judgeship, came nearer to election than any other Socialist candidate. He polled 2,042 votes less than his nonpartisan opponent, Judge George E. Page, who received 28,076.

Padway was the favorite in the betting during the last few days of the campaign.

Padway registered 26,036 votes while in the last election for district judge, in April, 1915, the Socialist contender, Oscar Rademaker, received only 11,177. Page received 9,944 more votes than six years ago.

Former Opponents Support Bolshevik Government

Manifestos Urging People to Rally to Support of Present Russian Government

There has just been received in the United States a new document from Russia, the importance of which everyone will recognize. It is the official position of the Menshevik Social Democratic Party of Russia, relative to the counter-revolutionary movement there and in the neighboring states, the present condition in Russia, the necessity of speedy recognition of the Lenin government, the sufferings of Russia due to the entente blockade, the inevitable outbreak of renewed and intensified terrorism which will follow further allied military intervention, and an appeal to their governments to reach an agreement with Soviet Russia.

The official document is made public to the world through the Paris Humanite, the semi-official publicity agency of the Soviet Republic. The text of the manifesto as published in Humanitas follows:

The Menshevik Social Democratic Party, in spite of the degradations by which it has hitherto seemed to renounce its policy of opposition to the regime of the Soviet government still confronts the latter with an attitude of hopeful neutrality. This, however, does not prevent the central committee of the party from issuing the following manifesto against the policy of the allies in Russia:

"In spite of the fact that the Lenin government (word missing) consents to take part in the Princes Island conference and offers to the allied governments a peace based upon the payment of loans, the renunciation of revolutionary propaganda and the satisfaction of the economic interests of the allies by means of concessions and even territorial concessions, the allied governments still continue to hold over the head of revolutionary Russia the Damocles sword of military intervention, still continue to nourish the hopes of the Russian counter-revolutionists, and still continue to strangle the country with famine.

"Confronted with the refusal of the counter-revolutionary governments of Kolchak, of Krasnov, and the Socialist Tschaikovski, traitor to the revolution of (word missing), Russia demands, if the entente does not wish to play absolutely the role of a declared enemy of the Russian revolution, that it establish diplomatic and economic relations with the Soviet government and accept the proposition to settle peacefully litigious questions.

"Nevertheless, the preparations for a military campaign against Russia continue. French and English military missions are seen everywhere. The (word missing) organize counter-revolutionary Russian forces, encouraged by their presence all sorts of inhuman measures of repression, shootings, hangings and tortures.

"At the same time, with the direct approbation of the Clemenceau government, the Polish Republic, with Paderewski at its head, monopolized

from the day of its birth by Polish clericals and nationalists, is preparing to furnish considerable military forces to strangle revolutionary Russia. After having concluded an armistice with the Czechs and the Ukrainians, after having obtained, thanks to the presence of the allies in Germany, the authority to pass its troops through territories occupied by the Germans, reactionary Poland is preparing to realize its plans to annex Lithuanian, White Russian and Ukrainian territories as a reward for the role it played as 'gendarme' for the counter-revolutionary bourgeois of Europe.

"The arrival of Varsovie and Nouens and the principal leaders of the counter-revolutionary policy of the allies in Russia shows sufficiently what the role it played as 'gendarme' for the Polish nationalists. By means of a similar rally the reactionary government of Finland expects to obtain the conquest of Petrograd and all the territory bordering upon the Gulf of Finland.

"We add to all these appetites the Roumanians, who for a long time have been consumed with the desire

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Urge All Workers To Support Soviet Government

The joint proclamation of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia and the executive committee of the members of the constituent assembly, declaring their opposition to the Soviet government at an end and pledging their loyal support to the Bolshevik authorities has been received in the United States through the Russian Information Bureau at Paris, France.

The proclamation denounces the allied governments for having overthrown popular government in Siberia and set up dictatorships, and declares that the time has come for working class Russia, regardless of party affiliations, to join with the forces of the Soviet government and drive the last remnants of czarism, imperialism and capitalism from all Russia—from Petrograd and Vladivostok and from Archangel to the Black sea.

The proclamation follows:

"To the Siberian Cossacks, to the Czech-Slovak troops:

"Soldiers—mobilized and volunteers—you entered the army to defend the sovereignty of the people and to save democratic Russia from German imperialism, which reduced it to slavery by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. In the name of the pan-Russian constituent assembly, in the name of free Russia, independent and united, you have fought against Soviet authority.

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Integrity of Territory is More Important to Capitalism Than Integrity of Democracy

