

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses."
—Karl Marx.

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Senator Walsh and the Teapot Dome

By WILLIAM F. DUNNE.

SENATOR THOMAS WALSH, of Montana, is leading the fight against the Teapot Dome steal. In Washington during the last few months Senator Walsh has appeared as the champion of the people against the looters of the natural resources and has made many caustic utterances relative to the domination of the government by oil interests.

It is notable, however, that Senator Walsh, in his crusade against government by oil, has not said anything about the Standard Oil Company or its subsidiary—the Anaconda Mining Company—the gigantic metal, lumber and water power monopoly that owns the state he is supposed to represent and owns him along with its other goods and chattels.

Walsh, Copper Trust Man.

There are a number of contradictions in the Teapot scandal, apparent contradictions rather, that require explanation and none is more puzzling to the uninitiated than the activity of Senator Walsh—the man whom the copper trust elected in 1918 and who has before and since his re-election been the foremost but not the best known champion of reaction under two administrations—Wilson's and Harding's.

Walsh was the legal expert of the Wilson administration. He was the champion of the armed ships' bill—the pet measure of the British Admiralty—the first step taken towards our participation in the European holocaust. He passed upon the constitutionality of the conscription law; he was largely instrumental in overcoming the anti-constitutional difficulties in the earlier drafts of the espionage act and was always able to throw the mantle of legality over the most subversive acts of the Wilson administration.

Sitting with Walsh as the junior senator from Montana is Burton K. Wheeler—an entirely different type. A supporter of Walsh during the early part of Walsh's political career Wheeler obtained Walsh's first senatorial nomination for him. He was appointed United States District Attorney thru the influence of Walsh and was serving in that capacity when this country entered the war.

Recalls Wheeler.

Wheeler refused to prosecute the men and women whom the Anaconda Mining Company picked out for persecution; he interfered in no way with free speech, free press and assemblage during his term of office and, if my recollection is correct, not one single individual was convicted under the espionage law in a federal court in Montana.

More than that Wheeler served notice upon the corporations of Montana that his office could not be used to railroad to jail labor men who had displeased them by their activity on behalf of their class. Montana with Wheeler as U. S. district attorney was a splendid proof of the Communist contention that convictions of radicals result under war conditions only by the servants of the capitalist class abrogating all guarantees of individual freedom on which capitalist democracy is based.

So zealous was Wheeler in upholding the constitution that he was marked for slaughter by the Anaconda Mining Company and in his hour of trial, when every capitalist paper in Montana was demanding his blood—actually, not figuratively—Senator Walsh deserted him. He was called into Washington and forced to resign.

Walsh later came up for re-election and received the undivided support of the Anaconda Mining Company; in Butte (Silver Bow County) he was so bitterly hated by the masses that he came out of the county (a stronghold of the democrats) but 72 votes ahead of Jeanette Rankin who was running on

the national party ticket; the machine democrats afterwards admitted that they stole 2,700 votes from Miss Rankin in order to put Walsh over.

Votes for Esch-Cummins Law.

Is there any need of further argument to decide who owns Senator Walsh of Montana?

That the Teapot Dome scandal is merely the outward manifestation of a conflict that is taking place within the ranks of the capitalists—between oil capitalists particularly—that men like Walsh are playing the game for the big capitalists and care nothing for the interests of the masses despite appearances to the contrary, is further proven by Walsh's endorsement of McAdoo for the presidency after he himself was responsible for linking up McAdoo with oil. McAdoo, the attorney for the Republic Iron and Steel Company, the fixer

per press denouncing the strikers as Pro-Germans and enemies of the nation; he condoned the murder of Frank Little by copper trust thugs and he defended the "rustling card" system of the Anaconda Mining Company—the system whereby a man is required to tell the history of his life simply to get permission to "rustle" for a job—when I attempted to get an expression of sympathy for the miners from him while the strike was on.

Just a few days ago, in a letter to one Fred Marvin, a professional red baiter, Ed. Shields, business agent for the employers association of Billings, defended Walsh against a charge of radicalism. Marvin had asked Shields if Walsh had ever been friendly with William F. Dunne and Shields replied indignantly that "Walsh is like the granite of our hills" and had never had anything to do with

for re-election this year and Wheeler is going to be placed in an embarrassing position. If he supports Walsh he will lose his working class following and if he does not he must sever his connection with the democratic party. The Daugherty investigation is Wheeler's own work but Walsh will try to take credit for it altho he hates and fears it. The Anaconda Mining Company will suffer as a result of the Daugherty investigation that has grown out of the Teapot Dome scandal—the scandal that was supposed to kill off several strong competitors of the Standard Oil Company—the parent of the Anaconda.

Exposing His Own Bed-Mates.

It is the irony of fate that a black reactionary like Walsh should be one of the instruments used to expose the detailed nature of the control of government by capital and capitalists and to bring into the fierce light of day the corrupt practices by which his Anaconda Company backers oppress and intimidate the workers and farmers of the state he lives in and whose rulers he serves.

Such a paradox could only occur in a period like this when the bankruptcy of the farmers and over-production in industry has undermined the foundations of American capitalism.

Capitalism dies because it cannot reconcile its antagonisms and correct its contradictions. No more striking evidence of this fact can be had than that a copper trust senator, seeking to conciliate popular sentiment in order to secure re-election and further aid his owners, cvertures the boiling pot of oil and must now watch its reeking streams flow on and besmirch before the eyes of the people the very interests he was seeking to protect.

In Montana such things as I have cited builds a farmer-labor party; in other states the same thing occurs with the exposure of their local exploiting interests. The streams of discontent and disillusionment unite and American capitalism now faces a revolt of farmers and workers; a revolt that they would like to blame the Communists for but which they know is the result of inability to loot with the old secrecy and efficiency. The former red baiters now are dodging the penitentiary amid the laughter and jeers of the workers and farmers whom they fooled for a little while but whom they fool no longer.

Give us more Walshes and capitalism will be an easy conquest.

IMPEACH COOLIDGE!

Palm Beach is the favorite rendezvous of the oil crooks. Rather dangerous place for a politician before election. We note that Edward N. Hurley and Representative Fred A. Britten of Chicago had their pictures taken there last week. Britten is the lad who is defending the oil crooks in the house of representatives. What's that?

OUT WITH DAUGHERTY!

Miss Eugenie Dennis of Atchison, Kansas, is shown telling officials of the Burns detective agency how to solve crime mysteries. We suggest she get her charmed system working on the chief criminal, the honorable William J. Burns.

BURNS MUST GO!

If Diogenes ever came to Washington with his old fashioned oil lamp looking for an honest man he would very soon lose his illumination.

IMPEACH COOLIDGE!

Surely the Department of Justice is a place that an honest man should keep away from. Even honest sleuths are not wanted there.

Democrats Had Big Ideas About Doheny Before He Was Caught

"CALIFORNIA agrees with the Senator from Montana (Thomas J. Walsh), and California agrees with the Senator from Nevada (Key Pitman) that you must not overlook nor forget that the great West is populated by free-minded and independent American citizens. (Applause)... And CALIFORNIA, THEREFORE, PRESENTS HER GREAT AND DISTINGUISHED SON, BORN IN THE STATE OF WISCONSIN. In poverty he started, a surveyor over the Southwest, a cowboy in Kansas, a prospector over practically every state of the West, a discoverer of the oil fields in southern California, and FROM THENCE HE BUILDS HIMSELF TO THE PINNACLE OF SUCCESS SUCH AS EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN LOVES AND ADMIRES, AND CALIFORNIA'S SON. THE LIFE OF THIS MAN IS A TYPICAL ROMANCE OF AMERICAN IMPROVED OPPORTUNITY, AND WE TAKE PRIDE, THEREFORE, IN PRESENTING TO THIS CONVENTION AS THE MAN OUT OF THE WEST WHO CAN REACH THE HEARTS AND THE SOULS, NOT ONLY OF THE DEMOCRATS OF THE WEST, BUT OF THE GREAT FREE-THINKING PEOPLE OF THE WEST. CALIFORNIA, THE GREAT GOLDEN STATE, PRESENTS EDWARD L. DOHENY FOR VICE-PRESIDENT." (Applause.)

(From the speech delivered by Delegate Lorin A. Handley of California, nominating Edward L. Doheny for Vice-President of the United States.

... "And on this day when the sun sets upon this great state, the state of successful and able men, Massachusetts hopes that you will have nominated Edward L. Doheny, a self-made man who is needed in this hour of reconstruction, and the ticket that you nominate will be successful in November." (Applause.)

(From speech delivered by Delegate Michael L. Sullivan of Massachusetts seconding the nomination of Edward L. Doheny.)

These speeches were delivered on the eighth day, July 6, 1920, of the last national convention of the democratic party at the Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, California.—Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, pp. 437-438.

for big business, the spokesman of the Anaconda Mining Company in the Wilson administration, is the choice of Walsh for president.

Walsh voted for the Esch-Cummins bill—the heart's desire of the open shop railway interests, but poses as a friend of the railway workers. He has helped to hand the Anaconda Mining Company the fabulously valuable phosphate deposits of Montana; he has aided the same company to grab practically all the available water power sites in the state and is now trying to present them with the water power in Yellowstone Park.

Denounces Strikers.

In 1917, after 164 miners had been smothered to death in the Speculator disaster in Butte because the company had violated the state laws relative to ventilation and exits, 12,000 miners and metal tradesmen went on strike. Walsh gave out interview after interview to the cop-

per radicals.

Shields, as a defender of Walsh, speaks for the anti-labor forces in Montana. He was formerly business agent of the Clerks' Union in Butte, and during the 1917 strike had a brother who was a gunman for the Anaconda Mining Company. Shields became too rotten for even the conservative Clerks' Union, was forced out and immediately went to work openly for the bosses he had worked for secretly as a union official.

Walsh is trying to capitalize the respect that the workers and farmers of Montana have for Wheeler because of his stand during the war; when I say respect, I mean exactly that, because Wheeler was supported by thousands of workers and farmers who hated the democratic party and all it stands for but who felt that to desert Wheeler in the face of the Anaconda Mining Company attack was to play into the company's hands. Walsh comes up

Robbing the Oil Slaves

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

THE whole country is an uproar because a group of oil barons aided and abetted by the present administration in Washington were caught red-handed in the act of looting the government oil reserves. Senators, congressmen, publicists and all kinds of capitalist public men not involved in the oil graft are rushing frantically for the limelight to let the dear old "people" know how horrified they are that an administration under our blessed capitalist system could be so corrupt as to sell or barter that precious mineral substance upon which our naval bill collectors will depend in the near future for their motive power.

The Capitalist State.

And the "people" are actually shocked except that small but conscious minority of this country's working class population known as radicals or to be more definite, Communists. The Communists are neither surprised nor shocked. They are rather pleased that a capitalist administration should be so stupid as to give such striking testimony of what the Communists always have claimed, i. e., that this country with its untold wealth is the property of the capitalists who use the workers to turn its raw resources into finished products ready for consumption, which commodities are sold by the capitalists for profit.

Every four years the capitalist groups fight with each other for the possession of the government. Control of the machinery of government enables the controlling capitalist group to have first rights on the pickings and the loot, but when they become over confident and overstep the bounds of discretion, the "outs" jump in, wave the danger signal and help to kick them out and make room for a new set of looters. That is the significance of the present hullabaloo about the oil scandal.

It is true that the republican administration has been guilty of turning over the naval oil reserve lands to oil barons. They have aided in defrauding the country they were supposed to defend. For this they are denounced by their capitalist politicians of other parties. But none of these defenders of the United States ever said a single word during this entire expose about those who are really robbed; the workers who make the profits that enabled Doheny, Sinclair and the rest of the oil barons to purchase the Coolidge administration and thru it grab the Teapot Dome and the California oil fields.

The Robbery of the Workers.

None of those who were and are so outraged about the Teapot Dome steal are concerned about the robbery

of the workers who produce the oil, because they believe in the robber capitalist system. They are only concerned with the code of ethics generally followed by capitalist thieves, in their relations to each other. Only when one group of thieves steals a march on the others do they throw their usual secrecy to the winds and tell the world what is going on. That is the feature of the situation that the Communists relish, and the publicity they give the present oil scandal is distinctly for the purpose of throwing light on the real character of capitalist government and calling the attention of the workers to the necessity for doing away with the system that breeds such corruption.

The Communists are concerned entirely with the robbery of the workers in the oil industry by the Dohenys, Sinclairs, Standard Oil Company and all the other companies that exploit the oil resources of the United States for their own profit. How do the workers who produce the oil barons' millions fare? What are their conditions of employment? What kind of houses do they live in? What is their social life? These are questions that will not receive any consideration in Washington; we take them up here in the columns of the DAILY WORKER.

\$2.65 Per 84 Hours.

We will take the Elk Basin field in northern Wyoming—the Teapot Dome state—as a typical example. Elk Basin is described as "a hole in the ground, gouged out of the naked clay and sandstone. No water, no trees, no grass—not a living growing thing in sight save the straggling sage brush." The Elk Basin oil production is controlled by the Standard Oil Company, masquerading under the aliases of the Ohio Oil and Midwest Oil companies.

When social workers take up the conditions of the oil workers with the saintly John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that gentleman refers them to the above named oil companies. They in turn pass the buck back to John D.

The hours of labor are 84 a week and the pay of an unskilled worker for the 84-hour week is \$2.65 which, we hasten to add, includes board.

The bunk houses in Elk Basin are rather lively. Listen to what an investigator has to say of the sleeping accommodations:

"How are the bugs?" I asked a man lounging outside, who I learned later was a mule skinner freighting thru the basin.

"Try 'em and see," was the disgusted reply. "Last time I was here I killed an army corps of them

in half an hour and took to the barn with my mules the rest of the night. Me for the hay life."

Married men and their families live in one-room shacks without plumbing or running water. Some of these families number from six to eight grown up boys and girls. They are compelled to live together in a single 10x14 tent.

Alkali Drinking Water.

The oil slaves are awakened at six in the morning by the "crum boss." The twelve-hour grind starts at seven and as one old slave put it, "When you finish the week's work, you are good for nothing but John D." He might add that the one week's work merely marks the beginning of another. There is no interval for rest.

The drinking water in the Elk Basin is atrocious. It is alkali water pumped from wells two miles away and condensed for drinking. The condensing is so poor that the water is enough to turn any man's stomach. The lumping of oatmeal and potato combinations into the condensing boiler to stop leaking flues, hardly improves the quality of the water.

Sanctimonious John D.

There is one shower bath in operation in the Ohio company's washhouse. The employees of the Midwest company are, however, not allowed to use it. The shower at the Midwest has been out of order for some years.

"While John D. is sittin' on a soft cushion in church on Easter mornin' praisin' God in his goodness to him, I was out here pulling a well in the worst blizzard seen around here for many years. God is good to the oil barons. They can pay preachers to praise Him—paid from the profits made by their oil slaves."

The slaves of the Ohio Oil Company WORK TWELVE HOURS A DAY 365 DAYS IN THE YEAR. THEY NEVER GET A HOLIDAY

The oil companies cannot afford to give their employes a six-day week and an eight-hour day. The oil companies admit it! But the following except from the Federal Trade Commission's tentative revision of the net earnings on net investment of the Midwest company for the last three years for which figures are given shows 43.2, 50.6, 44.4, respectively, while the Ohio Oil Company due to dividends of 2,900 and 150 per cent, is paying 4,500 per cent on its original investment. Every nickel of this colossal profit was wrung out of the 84-hour week, 365-day year oil slaves. The looting of the oil reserve, the grafting of

ex-Secretary of the Interior Fall, the corruption of the entire republican administration, pales into insignificance beside this colossal robbery of the poor workers who are defrauded of the fruits of their labor right on the job.

"Why don't you organize?" was a question put to an oil worker by a newspaper reporter.

"Organize hell—try it and see," was his reply.

The Slimy Octopus.

Two men tried it in the Elk Basin and lasted two weeks on the job. When the companies post a wage reduction, the insinuation goes with it that anybody who does not like the job can leave.

These are the conditions under which those who produce the swollen fortunes of the oil barons live. According to a United States government report 80 per cent of the oil workers in this country work a seven-day week of 84 hours. With the profits from their labors the oil companies instigate counter-revolutions in Mexico, reach out into distant Mesopotamia, Persia, China and all over the world leaving a trail of civil wars and corruption in their wake. With these profits the oil companies buy up the agencies that manufacture opinion, the press, the pulpit and the colleges. They buy senators, congressmen, state legislatures and the cabinet. That is the essence of the present oil scandal.

It is a matter of great importance to the workers that a set of capitalist burglars were caught in the act of looting the country. It helps to arouse the masses to the necessity for getting rid of all the burglars that run this country and rule it by force in their own interests. The republicans were caught hawking the oil fields. The democrats are mad because they did not have the privilege of doing the looting. The workers who are the real victims, are not considered by the capitalist parties.

Remember June 17th!

It is our duty to stress this feature of the present crisis and call on the workers to rally to the standard of the Farmer-Labor Party which will hold its convention in Minneapolis on June 17th and organize the exploited workers of this country, in all industries as well as the oil industry, on the political field, to eject the capitalist robbers from the government, and prepare for the establishment of a Workers' Republic in the United States, run by the producers for the benefit of those who render useful service to society.

The Investigation Mania In Washington

THE extent to which the capitalists control the United States government is unknown to most of the workers and farmers. There is not a single department of the federal, state, municipal and county governments that is not today completely subject to the orders and manipulations of the bankers and manufacturers.

Graft and corruption are in language in which the politics of the employing class is played. Teapot scandals are not new to American government. We have had Teapot politics played in this country ever since the government was organized. But at no time before has this corruption broken out in such putrid scabs on the body-politic of the country. To get an idea of how Washington is serving the big business interests of the country one need but look at the investigation mania that has seized the Capitol. The number of investigations, larger than ever in our history, gives only an inkling into what is what in the federal government. We cite some of the leading investigations that have been proposed or are in process now:

Teapot Dome Steal.

1. The Teapot Dome and the Elk Hills Naval Oil Reserve deals.
2. The Veterans' Bureau under the direction of Forbes.
3. General Wood's conduct in the Philippines in handing over concessions to the oil, tobacco, railway and

coal capitalists who financed his 1920 presidential primary campaign.

4. The Wheeler investigation of the Department of Justice and Daugherty.

5. The transfer of the Matanuska coal fields in Alaska to Fall as Secretary of the Interior to the Navy Department.

6. The financial orgy indulged in by the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Shipping Board.

7. The Ku Klux Klan and its role in the election of Senator Mayfield in Texas.

8. The propaganda campaign organized in behalf of the Mellon tax scheme.

9. The lease of the naval oil reserve to Buena Vista Hills, California.

10. The land frauds in Texas participated in by the Republican National Committeeman Creager.

11. The Bok Peace Plan as an attempt to influence the government's foreign policy.

12. The negotiation and ratification of the treaty by which the United States government gave Colombia \$25,000,000.

13. The activities of capitalists and corporations in attempting to secure oil concessions in foreign countries.

14. The conspiracy fixing the present price of bread.

15. The investigation of the propaganda against the bonus.

16. The practices of the stock exchange.

17. The administration of Porto Rico.

18. The conduct of the Prohibition Enforcement Bureau.

Russian Propaganda.

19. Soviet "propaganda" and Russian-American relations.

20. The administration of Federal Highway Aid system.

21. The immigration problem.

22. The fraud and corruption in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving.

23. Sundry phases of the railway problem, such as the payment of money to various railway corporations by the United States government for the period of federal control.

24. The medical diploma mills.

25. The propaganda of the big fertilizer interests regarding Muscle Shoals.

26. The administration of the Bureau of Internal Revenue and the charges of waste, favoritism, extravagance and inefficiency.

27. The operation of the Army Air Service, the United States Air Mail Service and the Naval Bureau of Aeronautics.

28. The practice of the banks for lending money for speculative activities, particularly insofar as it involves the Federal Reserve System, insurance companies and several finance institutions in New York.

29. The sale of seal furs by the government, involving United States Senator Spencer of Missouri.

30. The agricultural situation.

31. Conditions among the Indians.

Denby-Doheny-Hawaiian Grab.

32. The Denby-Doheny-Hawaiian construction contract involving the naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

33. Connection of congressmen with the Veterans' Bureau.

- 34 to 39. The resolutions of Senator Norris calling upon six government departments to supply the Senate with information regarding the appearance of ex-cabinet officers, ex-senators, and ex-department heads before various subdivisions of the government within two years after they have left office in behalf of private interests. These resolutions include the Department of the Treasury, the Shipping Board, the State Department, the Department of Justice, the Navy Department, and Department of Interior.

40. The charges made by Brewer, an ex-employee of the Internal Revenue Bureau, involving a \$1,000,000 bond fraud.

OUT WITH DAUGHERTY!

Before Warren G. Harding was elected he had his picture taken with Harry M. Daugherty, Jake L. Hamon and Jess W. Smith. Daugherty is the only survivor. The rest are no more. They never were very much. One was killed by his concubine, one committed suicide directly and the third, it is said, indirectly. Daugherty?

BURNS MUST GO!

Revolutionary Significance of Teapot Dome

By JOHN PEPPER

THE Teapot Dome affair is not an ordinary scandal—it is a political factor of the first magnitude.

The Teapot Dome scandal is not a case of ordinary corruption—it is a revolutionary factor of paramount importance.

Since the world war we have not witnessed anything so big taking place as the Teapot Dome scandal. Since the world war not a single political event has so intensively occupied and so deeply shaken up the American nation as the Teapot Dome scandal. William Randolph Hearst, who is unquestionably one of the greatest experts in judging the psychology of the American masses, wrote with justification: "I am acquainted in a way with the public sentiment in all parts of the country in which I have papers, and I have never known the public to be as much aroused over anything except a war as it is at present aroused over these oil scandals. There never has been such intense feeling and unanimity of feeling."

America's Democratic Illusions.

Not a single people in the world had so great a faith in its government and was so proud of its governmental system as the American people. Democratic illusions of the masses are everywhere the greatest obstacle in the way of the proletarian revolution. But they prove to be insurmountable obstacles to the revolutionizing of the minds of the workers in the United States, the "classical" country of democracy, which went forth in the crusade of the world war, to "make the world safe for democracy".

The cruel searchlight of Teapot Dome has now suddenly lit up the real essence of our democracy. The masses see now that the sacred shrine of American democracy is in reality the safety-vault of big capital.

It was the pride of the mass of American citizens that our country is a republic and its head the president elected by the people. Teapot Dome drilled into the minds of the dismayed and disillusioned masses that we do indeed have an elected president, but that at the same time he has as his masters the various monarchs of finance capital, the kings of oil, the sovereigns of Wall street, the potentates of the steel trust, the whole dynasty of the Invisible Empire of finance capital. The average American citizen sees today with panic and dismay that the whole of American democracy consists of this, that we have, not only one Kaiser like imperialist Germany had, but a whole gallery of kings, czars, kaisers and emperors. The two-party system of our political life was always the most important guarantee of the undisturbed rule of the capitalist class. If the masses became dissatisfied with the Republican Party they turned to the Democratic Party. When the masses were aroused against the Democrats, they flocked to the Republicans. Teapot Dome has now put a sudden end to this nice see-saw game of American political life. Teapot Dome has compromised pitilessly the Republican and Democratic Parties at once. It has shown the great masses the essence of both parties. It has exposed both old capitalist parties as being in equal measure the parties of capitalism.

The Power of the Ballot.

The American masses had the greatest confidence in the magic power of the ballot. Teapot Dome showed that regardless of whether the masses vote Republican or Democrat, politics remain the same politics, dominated by the capitalist trust magnates and banking powers.

Teapot Dome has shown the average citizens that all administrations are equally in the service of big capital. Almost the whole cabinet of Wilson was and is hired as employees of the powerful oil magnate Doheny; and if one member of Wilson's cabinet was not employed by Doheny it was because he was in the service of a competitor, the Standard Oil. The entire Harding administration has showed itself to have been bought by the oil interests. And it is simply an accident that only oil corruption has been uncovered. Another investigation would prove that it was no less connected with the steel interests and with Wall Street. And the Teapot Dome has shown that the Coolidge administration is even worse than the Wilson or Harding administration. Against Wilson and Harding no personal proofs have been found so far;

but President Coolidge is personally involved in the oil stench. The country does not know today what will be the next step of our president tomorrow, a message or a confession. Even the most narrow minded average American citizen sees with astonishment that all professional persecutors of the working class, all Red baiters are at the same time in the pay of finance capital. Palmer, the attorney general of the Wilson administration, the infamous initiator of wholesale deportation of Communists in 1920, is working today on the payroll of McLean, the friend of Harding and Coolidge and the proven liar of the oil investigation. And Attorney General Daugherty, the notorious instigator of the criminal in-

important task to drill that into the minds of the masses, that the Teapot Dome of the oil industry is but a sample of a hundred other Teapot Domes in other industries. The country begins to see that the individual bribing of corrupt individuals in administrations and Congress is only a dramatized symptom of the much more important and deeper system: that the whole administration, the whole congress, whether it is individually bribed or not is the kept servant of big capital. The country is beginning to realize that individual corruption is only the by-product of the system which is the rule of big capital in government.

Capitalists Rule Both Parties.

Teapot Dome has shown that capi-

the front. The giving away of the oil fields of the nation has alarmed the masses who had tolerated without protest the great process of expropriation which made the whole country the possession of a handful of trust magnates.

Of course we Communists knew all that, before the Teapot Dome scandal happened. We have always said over and over again to the masses that that's the way it all is; but the masses themselves did not see all that and did believe it. The revolutionary significance of Teapot Dome is just this: that it has beaten into the minds of the masses this elementary Marxist-Leninist truth on the nature of capitalist government, on the personal identity of cabinet members and

IT HAS COME TO THIS



Farmer: What shall we do with the offal?
Worker: Bury the darn thing.

junction against the railroad strike and the criminal director of the Bridgeman, Michigan, raid against the Communist stands today before the country as a friend of criminals, as accomplice in every corruption, as a criminal himself.

The Governmental "Brass Check."

History works with surprising justice and with considerable irony. It compromised the Democratic Wilson administration and the Republican Harding-Coolidge administration. But that is not enough. It unmasked not only the past and present administrations, but the future administration too. The two most likely candidates for the presidency, McAdoo, the Democrat and Coolidge, the Republican are today the targets of suspicion and mistrust. Teapot Dome proved that McAdoo, to the "progressive" Democrat, asked and obtained money not only from Doheny the oil man, but from big steel interests and from other big capitalist forces. McAdoo sold his "political influence" as a street-walker sells her virtue to every comer indiscriminately, with the only difference that he charged enormously high prices.

The country thought at first that the bribing of Secretary of the Interior Fall, was only a case of individual corruption. But then the individual cases multiplied more and more, and with ever greater rapidity. With bitter indignation the masses see that every administration of the country in the last decade is involved in the corruption, that every outstanding figure of the United States government is part of the financial and political prostitution. The country begins to see that what Teapot Dome exposes is no longer a case of individual corruption of certain kept men, but it is a system, it is a case of a kept government. The country is beginning to see, and it is our most

tal rules both capitalist parties and their administrations, not only in domestic politics, but also in foreign politics. Teapot Dome has shown that American oil capital wants to conquer Mexico at all cost. It has proved that oil capital appointed Secretary of the Interior Fall because he was so "strong" for changing the Mexican constitution which was an obstacle in the way of the greed of American capitalists. Teapot Dome proved that oil capital was behind American intervention of 1916 in Mexico, behind the fight against the recognition of the Obregon government as well as behind the recent De la Huerta counter-revolution. Teapot Dome hammered into the minds of the masses that "American interests" are always capitalist interests.

The cruel Teapot Dome scandal dealt a big blow to our official American patriotism too. The same presidents and cabinet members and admirals of the navy who fill the land with their agitation for militarism and navalism, who always demand more hundreds of millions of dollars for their military purposes have at the same time unscrupulously betrayed the interests of national defense and handed over the oil reserves of the navy to private capitalists. Teapot Dome has revealed the close, delicate connections existing between war, patriotism and corruption. The war grafts, the plundering of the Veterans' Bureau and Teapot Dome together have shown that the capitalists make war and organize big armies and navies when the patriotic interests of profit demand it. But they are willing to cripple the army and navy if that will bring them profit.

The Masses Are Awakening.

Teapot Dome has raised the question of public ownership all along

bankers, on the aggressive character of imperialism and the peculiarly mixed nature of capitalist patriotism and profit-high treason. The Communist talk against government was "un-American". Today the American government itself is the best propagandist and agitator against itself. Teapot Dome conferred citizenship upon distrust in our holy democratic government. Teapot Dome has given an enormous impetus to the ideological process of unification of the masses of workers with the Communist vanguard.

The True Role of the States.

The masses are beginning to recognize the true nature of our government, and that has called forth an elementary force of the masses as against the government. Millions of workers and farmers who, until now have had a naive, almost in-born confidence in American democracy, have lost and are losing their faith. This newly born mistrust is not strong enough as yet and will not be strong enough in the near future to call forth a general disillusionment with democracy and turn the masses to the Soviet system. But it is strong enough to tear away the non-capitalist masses from the capitalist parties and to bring them into new parties. Teapot Dome has given a tremendous impetus to the crystallization of a Farmer-Labor Party as well as a Third Party. On June 17, a class Farmer-Labor Party will be organized and it is unquestionable that after the Republican and Democratic conventions a Third Party in some form or other will be organized. Under the pressure of the masses vacillating "leaders" like LaFollette are forced to act. LaFollette withdrew his candidacy from the Republican primaries. The oil investigation committee and the

(Continued on Page 7)

The Four Years--1920 to 1924--Saw Oil Octop

EDITOR'S NOTE:—In yesterday's DAILY WORKER we published Robert Minor's chronology for the sixty years of oil in the United States. This revealing history is concluded in the installment that appears today. The 60 years' drama of oil, from the time the first oil well was drilled in the United States. This revealing plans were made for raising a \$10,000,000 campaign fund to put William Gibbs McAdoo over as the oil presidential candidate in 1920, is full of high lights. But this is surpassed by the "Four Years of Oil" that have followed since 1920. These four years are covered by Minor's concluding installment today, starting off with a review of American meddling in Mexico. The oily fingers of American oil capitalists were not content to strangle government at home, but they turned their attention abroad, as well, seeking Mexico as one of their victims. This chronology is not only worth reading, but worth preserving as a chapter in the decay of American capitalism. Here it is:

By ROBERT MINOR.
(Concluded from Yesterday)

1920, April 10—The Mexican state of Sonora seceded from the United States of Mexico, and a revolt against Carranza began.

May—Adolfo de la Huerta drives Carranza from power.

President Carranza of Mexico, murdered by followers of Adolfo de la Huerta, who is backed by American oil men.

May 14—Wilson sends official request to the Senate for authority to send U. S. warships and marines to Batum to protect American lives and property at "Batum and along the line of the railroad leading to Baku" (the oil pipe-line and railway used by the British oil companies), and reciting "Christian sympathies" for Armenians.

Russian red armies are making headway toward regaining Russian oil territory in region of Batum and Baku.

Armenian Mandate.

May 24—Wilson requests Congress to give him as President, the power to take a mandate over Armenia, which will require keeping troops in Asia on the frontier between Soviet Russia and the British oil concessions.

May 25—British Ambassador Geddes in speech in New York, denies that the British have oil monopoly.

May 31—Subcommittee of Committee on Foreign Affairs of the U. S. Senate, under chairmanship of Senator Fall, recommends that a treaty be made with Mexico provided that:

"... We send a police force consisting of the naval and military forces of our government into the republic of Mexico to open and maintain open every line of communication between the City of Mexico and every seaport and border port in Mexico," unless the Mexican government will abandon Article 27 of the Mexican constitution as far as it applies to concessions of American citizens of oil lands, mining properties, etc., and unless the Mexican government pays to American capitalists \$505,002,434 as damages for interference with oil properties, mining, railroad, factory, bank and other properties. Fall's committee recommends further that, if Mexico does this, the army and navy shall not be sent, but a treaty and "generous loans" be made to Mexico for the payment of the Mexican public debt (to American bankers, largely) and to rehabilitate the railroads.

The Fall Wail.

The Fall committee further complains that it has received information of Japanese colonies on land where "traces of oil are apparent," and that "Mexico has granted a concession to a Japanese concern known as the Matsumoto Trading Co. of Japan, for the exploitation of all oil land on either side of the Tamesi river," and that "two representatives of this company have been in the region for some time inspecting the territory between Tampico and Tuxpam" (near Doheny's and Sinclair's and the Standard Oil Co.'s works).

The other members of the subcommittee, Senators Brandegee of Connecticut and Smith of Arizona, concurred with Fall.

June 1, 1920—Federal Trade Commission reports that increase in prices of oil, gasoline and petroleum are due more to "varying conditions of supply and demand" than to "any combination in restraint of trade," and that it seems "the part of prudence to encourage those engaged in the oil industry in this country to develop production in such foreign countries, which have oil resources, as are most available for furnishing supplies of oil and that such enterprises should be given all proper diplomatic support in obtaining and operating oil producing property."

Republican Platform Oiled.
June 2, 1920—Tentative draft of republican national platform completed.

Wall Streets O. K.

Night of June 11—All-night conferences between leading financial backers, senators and candidates. Jake Hamon very much in evidence. In the early morning the Old Guard leaders settle that it shall be Harding and Coolidge.

June 12—Machine causes adjournment at 2 p. m.

June 12—(About 3 P. M. during recess)—John T. King, former campaign manager for Wood, let it be known that Boise Penrose had telephoned from Philadelphia giving the word for the nomination of Harding. A conference of leaders is held; Harry Daugherty and Jake Hamon are present. Senator Borah emerged

Daugherty.

At Point Isabel the Harding party is met by Elias L. Torres, who represents the Mexican secretary for foreign affairs.

Nov. 20—President-elect Obregon denies having instructed Torres to invite Harding to visit Mexico.

Harding Administration Begins.
1921, Mar. 4—President Harding supplanting Wilson administration, with which McAdoo has influence, Doheny relieves McAdoo of Washington duties but keeps him on a \$25,000 salary in Southern California.

Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane on leaving President Wilson's cabinet, goes into the employ of Doheny.

THE HOG PEN



Capitalist Sow Devouring Her Own Litter.

ed by addition of plank on Mexico, written by Senator Fall, revised in minor respects by Senators Watson, Lodge and several others.

Columbian Supreme Court declares the law nationalizing Columbian petroleum industry unconstitutional.

The senate foreign relations committee's subcommittee under chairmanship of Senator Fall, makes a report which paves the way for ratification of the Columbian treaty and the payment of \$25,000,000 out of the U. S. Treasury to Columbia, the measure having been amended by Senator Fall with an amendment regarding oil rights written by Senator Fall. Rumors that \$5,000,000 of the Columbian money goes into graft for an American ring.

June 1, 1920—Tremendous flood of propaganda about "terrible conditions in Mexico" begins in American newspapers, as time for national conventions approaches.

June 5, 1920—Sir Phillip Gibbs, English propagandist, cables the New York Times that the Christian Armenians (along the petroleum pipelines in Armenia) are crying for help from England and America.

June 8—Republican national convention opens. Very prominent and popular is Jake Hamon, new oil millionaire from Oklahoma, recently elected national committeeman.

Senator Lodge in keynote speech demands "a firm hand for Mexico." "We must watch and wait no longer."

E. L. Doheny is present, tho a democrat. Gives an interview, saying: "This country is the oil nation."

Wood leads in balloting, Lowden is second, Johnson, third. Most of delegates thinking Harding candidacy is joke. Johnson offered vice-presidential nomination by bosses; refuses.

Jake Hamon tries to arrange with any one of several candidates that he shall name the secretary of the interior in consideration for a block of votes.

from the conference giving the first definite word that "Harding will be put over."

4 p. m. Lowden and Wood leaders and Jake Hamon throw their delegations to Harding.

June 12 (Evening)—Harding nominated.

Coolidge nominated. Atlee Pomerene estimates expenditures in republican primaries:

Wood (approximately)	\$1,500,000
Lowden	414,159
Johnson	197,230
Hoover	168,057
Harding	113,109
Coolidge	68,375

June 14, 1920—Josephus Daniels, secretary of the navy, publishes a letter in which he recommends that the U. S. government shall lease the Osage oil lands of Oklahoma to private oil companies.

Doheny at Democratic Convention.
At the democratic convention, Edward L. Doheny is named on resolutions committee and writes into platform "the oil plank."

Sept.—Obregon elected president of Mexico. (Inaugurated Dec. 1, 1920.)

Isn't It A Bargain?

November 1920—Harding and Coolidge elected.

It is said that the republicans acknowledged receiving \$4,000,000 in campaign contributions and spending \$5,300,000, the deficit of \$1,300,000 being mysteriously made up after the election of Harding and Coolidge—during the time that Sinclair was in process of getting the \$400,000,000 steal of Teapot Dome and Doheny and Standard Oil, the California Oil Reserves. It is certain that Harry Sinclair put up a lot of money to elect Harding and Coolidge. It was long ago published that he gave \$25,000.

Nov. 6—President-elect Harding goes on "vacation" to Point Isabel, Texas, a town of 400 inhabitants, five miles from the Mexican border; with him goes a party including Jake Hamon, E. B. McLean and Harry

Theodore Roosevelt (Jr.), having resigned as a director of Sinclair Oil & Refining Co. and of White Motor Co., becomes assistant secretary of the navy.

Jess Smith begins a brisk business as Daugherty's "bumper," receiving bribe-money, selling federal appointments, arranging pardons for cash and handling secret stock speculations in partnership with Daugherty. Shortly after March 4, Roxie Stinson, Jess Smith's ex-wife, received from Jess the first batch of twenty-five shares of White Motors stock, and twenty-two shares of Pure Oil stock "to put on the market quickly and quietly," and from then on repeatedly she acted as agent for quick and secret disposal of stock which he and Daugherty "didn't pay anything for."

He Knows A Cushy Job!

Jess is offered appointment as comptroller of the treasury by President Harding, but declines and remains with Daugherty. With Daugherty he occupies, rent free, a house owned by E. B. McLean. Later Daugherty and Jess rent an apartment together.

April—Edward B. McLean is appointed secret agent of the department of justice, receiving a secret-service code book.

Daugherty's old friend Felder, acts as his "fixer" of cases and of pardons.

Shortly after March 4, Mr. Sutro, attorney for the Standard Oil Co., called on Daugherty, and Daugherty dropped the case against Standard Oil on the California oil leases.

Teddy—"The Office Boy."

President Harding issues executive order transferring the naval oil reserves from the navy department to the department of the interior, to the control of Albert B. Fall.

Theodore Roosevelt (who resigned a few weeks before as vice-president of the Sinclair Oil Co.) carries the executive order to President Harding to get it signed.

Secretary Fall is about to give Tea-

pot Dome oil reserves to Sinclair; John C. Shaffer, Chicago, Indianapolis, newspapers, gets information pending deal and threatens Fall persuades Sinclair to Shaffer a share of the profits silences his newspapers.

\$80,000 worth of Sinclair sold and the money given to Zevely, who was the one with Fall for the Teapot Dome. Then \$25,000 bonds given to Zevely 000 additional, in check Secretary Fall. Fall paid overdue taxes; bought \$91,500; paid \$33,000 for land; bought \$3,000 worth man live stock and paid a pumping plant, power electric plant.

The Shoe Patch

Rear Admiral Gifford against the leasing of lands.

Commander H. A. Stuart of the Naval Reserve department, and Commander Froth of the U. S. Navy, Secretary Denby against certain leases to large company.

April 5—Commander Commander Shafroth are from Washington by Secretary at the request of Mr.

All officers of the navy test against the oil and ordered by Secretary of the by to service at sea or foreign countries.

Harry Sinclair bought a horse, named him "Zev" Sinclair's lawyer, Zevely, and Harry Daugherty and other members to races; bet money and gave them the winnings.

Darden "Didn't Measure"
Daugherty and Smith "deal" with Colonel Jamden concerning government each of them giving Darden Daugherty and Smith Darden, Smith telling Darden that "Darden didn't up."

June 24—President Harding to Fall saying that unless James G. Darden of the Co., got off of Teapot Dome would be taken to drive him off the property.

July 26—Sec. Fall writes Harding that it had been necessary "to take immediate action to eject the Mutual Oil Co. gested that the Navy send Marines to do it."

"Devil Dogs" Eject Darden
July 29—Theodore Roosevelt Assistant Secretary of the Navy the order to Major General to send the Marines to Teapot to drive Colonel Darden company off the reserve.

The United States Marine First To Fight—drove Colonel and Mutual Oil Co. off Teapot Dome reserve.

August—The British oil (Cowdray) in Mexico quit American Association of oil boycott against the Mexican government and declared their abiding by the laws of Mexico pay their taxes. Doheny, Vandyke, Beatty, and Teapot Dome try to arrange British oil companies of the Mexican law will not in a disadvantageous position.

Oct. 23—Gaston general superintendent of Burns detective agency, employment of the U. S. of justice under William Harry M. Daugherty and, Jess Smith, to whom he reports.

Nov.—Doheny "lent" to A. B. Fall, then secretary of the interior in President Harding "to ease his mind." A later, negotiations for lease of Oil Reserve No. 1 to Darden under way.

Nov.—Persian government asks with Standard Oil Co. 000,000 loan, offering 90,000,000 acres of oil plot. Anglo-Persian Oil by British government, claiming prior rights. Pers surrenders to Anglo-Persian and agrees to 50-50 basis; Persian government rejects.

Robison's "Oily" Pro
1922, About February
Robison visits the home of

Clamp Tightening Its Grip On American Nation

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Promotion...
January 1—Admiral...
of Doheny's

son in New York, where he confers with E. L. Doheny.
Admiral Robison is appointed as chief of the bureau of engineering, in charge of the naval oil reserves, shortly thereafter.
February, 1922—Gaston B. Means carries a hundred one-thousand dollar bills to Jesse Smith, which was paid by the Japanese firm of Mitsui & Co. (Ltd.) which represents the Japanese government as financial agent. Mitsui & Co. were gathering military secrets, especially on aeroplane construction, for the Japanese government.
Immediately thereafter the department dropped a case against the Mitsui Co. for about \$2,500,000, owed to the U. S. government.
Feb. 9—Gaston B. Means is suspended from the department of justice, for the reason, as Daugherty later told him, that he was "too active in connection with investigations concerning oil in Mexico," Daugherty adding that a cabinet member had requested his discharge.
March 1—Treaty with Columbia ratified, granting Panama \$25,000,000; rumors of \$5,000,000 of the money going to an American graft ring.
April 7—Teapot Dome lease executed, giving naval oil reserves to Harry F. Sinclair.
April 12 (Approx.)—Secretary of the Navy Denby signed Teapot Dome lease.
It Took Two Years!
April 14—Wall Street Journal carries notice that Teapot Dome lease has been made.
April 25—Secretary of the Navy Denby, and Secretary Fall of the interior department, make preliminary lease with Doheny for California naval oil reserves.
May—H. Foster Bain, official of department of interior, writes Fall his advice that Daugherty should give a legal opinion covering the Teapot concession even tho he realized the objections to asking such an opinion. "None of us," he wrote, "want Mr. Doheny to get into trouble and I take it we will want to do anything we can to make it easy for him."
May 28—Gaston B. Means is reinstated in the detective service of the department of justice, with back pay for time suspended.
April—Senator La Follette having introduced a resolution for the investigation of the Teapot Dome oil lease, Gaston B. Means says he was instructed by Jess Smith and Underwood to investigate La Follette and "get something on him (LaFollette)" and that he caused La Follette's office to be ransacked.
June 16—Mexican secretary of finance, Adolfo de la Huerta, signs a settlement of Mexican debt in New York with International Committee of Bankers, for an amount totaling \$700,000,000 in gold.
July—Standard Oil Co. makes new offer to Persian government for concession on 90,000,000 acres of oil land, declaring it is now in a position to keep the British out and take all to itself. Meanwhile a representative of Sinclair Consolidated Oil Co. arrives in Persia, declares Standard Oil is pro-British and that Sinclair alone can handle their concessions independently. Sinclair offers Persian government 16 per cent net profits; Standard offers 10 per cent gross profits. Persian government holds out for minimum of 20 per cent.
The Bridgman Raid.
August 22—Daugherty has department of justice secret service operatives lead a raid on the annual political convention of the Communist Party.
About the same time Daugherty has same set of secret service operatives swear out "17,000 affidavits of crime" alleged to have been committed by railroad shop strikers. Famous anti-strike railroad injunction issued.
In the summer of 1922, Gaston B. Means claims, he was employed by President Harding to spy upon Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, receiving his pay thru Jess Smith and Underwood.
Sept., 1922—Oregon declares Article 27 of Mexican constitution not to be applied retroactively as against American oil operators (this paves the way to recognition).
Dec. 11—Supplementary contract with Doheny signed by Secretary of the Navy Denby and by E. F. Finney acting for Secretary Fall. This sup-

plementary contract made possible Doheny's profit estimated by him at \$100,000,000.
March 1923—United States Government accepts as a gift from Edward L. Doheny a plot of ground in Mexico City as a site for the American Embassy.
Edward L. Doheny lends the Obregon government of Mexico \$5,000,000.
May 11—Jess Smith makes his will leaving his estate of \$250,000 to Harry Daugherty, Mal Daugherty, Roxie Stinson, E. B. McLean, Mrs. F. B. McLean and several others.
May 29—(Night before Jess Smith committed suicide)—Edward L. Doheny, Harry Sinclair, Harry Daugherty and _____? held a long conference at the white house.
Why Suicide?
May 30—Jess Smith killed himself with a revolver in his and Harry Daugherty's apartment in Washington.
Jess Smith's will shows he has \$250,000 estate, an increase of \$100,000 above what he had before Hard-

Palm Beach... "Mr. Homer (the lawyer) said he believed that you should have leased wire installed... And also give easy and quick access to the White House... Mr. Sloop and Mr. Whaley leave tonight, 9:40 o'clock, for Palm Beach. Saw party at Wardman Park Hotel (Albert B. Fall)... Major."
Dec. 22—C. Bascom Sloop, secretary to President Coolidge takes flying visit to Palm Beach, spends much time in E. B. McLean's house with McLean and Fall; declares he went only for his health, carried no message and asked no question about oil.
Dec. 23—Harry Sinclair wires from New York to lawyer Zevely: "Reserve in your name Wardman Park Hotel ten rooms with two parlors. Arriving 6:20 P. M.—H. F. Sinclair."
Dec. 24—Major wires McLean: "Talked with Smithers (chief telegrapher at White House) at White House, and gave Fraser your message. Major."
Dec. 25—Albert B. Fall wires to

Palmer is ill in bed at his home. I am going to his residence at 4 o'clock this afternoon. Will advise you of what transpires. Sinclair, in a prepared statement, etc..."
Palmer Represents Oil.
Dec. 27—E. B. McLean wires McAdoo: "... I did not know at that time that Mitchell Palmer was going to represent Fall and Sinclair. Now that Fall has testified as to the loan I wish you would immediately get in touch over long distance telephone with Mitchell Palmer and find out if, in your opinion, I will be properly represented in case they should subpoena me to substantiate Fall's testimony... EDWARD McLEAN."
Major to McLean: "Will deliver messages to McAdoo and Palmer in the morning, according to your instructions. Tell Mrs. McLean her message to Wheatley has been delivered."
Dec. 28—McLean's secretary Duchstein telegraphs to McLean: "Wire here ready Saturday night, 29th, regarding operator. Smithers would like the job. John Brown thinks him satisfactory and advises against a stranger. Brown himself rather not handle it. He is trying to get away from telegraphy, but will if you say so. Please wire me on receipt definitely regarding operator. Will notify Homer when installed."
E. W. Smithers, chief telegrapher of the White House, comes to take charge of Washington end of private leased wire to McLean's house at Palm Beach. E. W. Starling of the White House secret service cooperates in getting messages to and from McLean.
Dec. 28—Major to McLean: "Palmer has appointment with Walsh tomorrow morning. I will wire you as soon as their conference is ended."
Major to McLean (undated): "Palmer told me that he had talked with Walsh this morning, and that while Walsh would not definitely commit himself, he indicated that as far as you are concerned you would not be called. He suggested to Walsh that a letter be filed with the committee explaining your position, which you have made clear in your telegram to me, which Palmer took up with Walsh. Palmer is preparing a letter to the committee. Palmer talked over long distance with McAdoo and the letter will be sent to New York for McAdoo's approval before it is filed with the committee."
Some Inside Dope!
Dec. 29—Major to McLean: "Just left the Secretary at Wardman Park. He and his wife expect to stay with you. He told me that he was not leaving any forwarding address, and in my presence told his confidential representative that he could be reached thru you at Palm Beach. He said that he would probably stay at Palm Beach for a few days and then go to Havana."
"The Secretary said that the entire matter would be dropped after Sinclair was again questioned in a perfunctory manner. He declared that you would not be called. The filing of a letter with the committee he said would make your err perfectly clear, and bring to an end any disposition that the committee might have had of calling you."
Dec. 28—Major to McLean: "Just finished talking with Palmer. ... Palmer talked over long distance with McAdoo. Palmer is going to the Capitol this afternoon; will wire you result of his findings."
Cautious McLean.
Dec. 28—McLean wires to Francis McAdoo, son of Wm. G. McAdoo, candidate for democratic presidential nomination: "Mitchell Palmer is going to give out a statement for me today. I will have it read to you from Washington. If you approve of it tell them to make it public. Be very careful, as Palmer is representing Fall and Sinclair, and I do not want myself used for their benefit. Wire me results. E. B. McLEAN."
Jan. 5, 1924—Bernard Baruch enters the correspondence: "Georgetown, S. C., Jan. 5, 1924, 10:57 a. m.
"Edward B. McLean, Palm Beach, Fla.
"Will be in Washington Monday and Tuesday. Affectionate regards—BERNIE."
McLean wires asking time of arrival and receives Baruch's answer. (Continued on Page 8)

While the Workers Die

ACCORDING to government reports there were in 1921 and 1922, 4,108 accidents amongst the oil workers employed by ten California oil corporations. These workers lost 274,829 working days thru their being injured.

The Profits Roll In

IN the last decade the Standard Oil Trust paid out in dividends \$1,032,596,524. Last year the Standard Oil corporations paid out a total of \$138,423,295 in dividends. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey holds the records for cash dividends.

The Sinclair Consolidated reported gross earnings of \$131,016,745 for the last fiscal year.

The Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Co., controlled by Mr. Doheny, reported net profits from operations totaling \$32,684,559 for the last year.

ing's election. Leaves \$250,000 (approximately) to Harry Daugherty, Mal Daugherty, Roxie Stinson and two others. Mal Daugherty persuades Roxie that the will is not legal because it is not witnessed. Mal Daugherty refuses to give up to Roxie Stinson \$11,400 which had been given to her by Jess Smith. Roxie Stinson threatens that "this will probably lead to many things which I don't want it to lead to."
The Teapot Dome investigation begins. The committee of the senate which does the investigating, has among its members, Senator Smoot, a professional protector of such interests, and the chairman is Senator Lenroot, a most devoted server of Doheny. Senator Walsh, who takes the role of prosecutor, is a close friend of Doheny's family.
Dec. 3—A. B. Fall wires from Three Rivers, New Mex., to Senator Smoot at Washington: "Having copies court record made. Also making other preparation and expect to leave here tomorrow afternoon for Washington, arriving Friday. If reach there Friday morning will be prepared to meet committee Friday afternoon."—A. B. Fall.
Dec. 16—Albert B. Fall writes private letter to Senator Lenroot, chairman of Senate committee, which discloses the fact that Senator Smoot had been sneaking information to Fall, which information had been privately obtained from a witness in New Mexico.
Dec. 18—"Hanson" wires from San Antonio, Tex., to Albert B. Fall, at Washington: "Our friend here sent important code message Department today. See it if possible. Writing.—Hanson."
Dec. 20—Harry Sinclair's representative in Persia closes agreement with Persian government for concession of 90,000,000 acres of oil land.
Is It the Principal's Dictum?
Dec. 22—McLean gets this from Coolidge's quarters: "The White House, Dec. 22, 1923, 1:35 P. M., Washington, D. C. E. B. McLean, Palm Beach, Fla. The Secretary leaves here tonight 9:40. H. E. McKenna."
Dec. 22—Major (McLeans's employee) telegraphs to McLean at

McLean at Palm Beach: "Expect to be here, but in event of departure will wire in time to see secretary at convenient point. I am much better and Mrs. Fall joins me in Christmas greetings. With love for Evelyn and yourself and all yours."
Dec. 25—Major again wires to McLean referring to Zevely as "Palmer's law partner" (Zevely is Sinclair's attorney for whom he named the famous race-horse, "Zev"). Wire says "I have an appointment with the man at Wardman Park Hotel (Fall) immediately following his testimony Thursday..."
Palmer—Steps In.
A. Mitchell Palmer tried to persuade investigators not to call McLean to witness stand.
Senator Lenroot, chairman of the committee and Senator Smoot, member of Senate committee pay a secret visit to Albert B. Fall at his residence to help Fall concoct a defense against the committee.
When afterward exposed, each tells a different story of what was said by Fall.
Dec. 26—George B. Fraser wires McLean: "Continental Trust about \$13,900."
Dec. 26—Major to McLean (Marked "rush"): "Palmer and his associate, named Zevely, told me tonight that under no circumstances for you to send a message to the chairman of the committee. They both said to assure you that your interests would be fully taken care of, and at this time the chances of you being called were very slight. Both declared that after man at Wardman Park Hotel testified that if the committee showed any indication that you were to be summoned that they could take care of it... He (Fall) is sick, and so is Palmer."
Dec. 26—Major to McLean: "... Palmer's law partner says that he, meaning Palmer, would be pleased to look after what you requested."
Dec. 27—Major to McLean (marked "rush"): "Was at the Capitol this morning. Party at Wardman Park Hotel at this time is not going to testify... Up to the time I left the hearing there appeared no hostility on the part of the committee regarding the reading of his report..."

Teapot Dome and Democracy

By MAX BEDACHT

ALVIN COOLIDGE, president of the United States by virtue of a broken strike and by the grace of fate which benevolently removed a little obstacle between Coolidge and the presidency, declared the other day that the confidence of the American people in their government is too well established to be seriously shaken by Teapot Dome and similar political earthquakes.

"Sacred Principles of Democracy."
Our institutions, silent Cal and his accomplices say, are built upon the sacred principle of democracy. Some persons within that democracy may be bad. But "democracy" itself is irreproachable. And when Jumbo, the G. O. P. elephant, together with Longear, the democratic jackass, fall into an oil pool with a great plunge the splash soaked all the human element in "democracy"; but it did not reach the lofty height upon which thrones the pure goddess itself.

That is the theory of democracy. But what has been its practice? Corruption has been the legitimate child of the union of democracy and capitalism. Corruption in the interest of one capitalist group against the other; corruption in the interest of one man; corruption in the interest of the whole capitalist class against the mass of the electorate; corruption high up; petty corruption. And if some one with a reputation of honesty was ever caught corrupted with a comparatively small sum the only thing the public ever questioned was whether "honest" so-and-so was for sale at such a low figure. Honesty, at best, indicated a higher price, which the interests were not willing to pay as long as they could get what they wanted at a lower figure.

The "Forty Thieves."
The "forty thieves" on the board of aldermen in New York, the

"black horse brigade" in the assembly in Albany, or Collins P. Huntington, "convincing" congressmen in Washington, were outstanding manifestations of that corruption. But this form of corruption was a vulgar one. The "goddess of democracy" knew darn well that it could not forever uphold her reputation of virgin purity before the eyes of the people in the face of the birth of one child after the other, begotten in the secret wedlock between her and capitalism. So vulgar forms of corruption were, finally, but, to a degree even effectually, replaced by more subtle and refined methods. This change was affected not so much by conscious and purposeful effort, but it was a result of the perfection of capitalist machinery itself.

In the vulgar period politics was a business by itself. The politician sold his ware, and as much of it as was desired, to those who paid. And capitalists or capitalist groups bought of the ware of the politician as much as was required by the immediate plans. The "people" by their votes would install the politician in business, and the latter would charge his customers what the traffic would bear. But in the age of concentration of capitalism politics has become part of the business of the capitalist groups or corporations. Oil, steel, coal, banking or railroading does no longer buy its legislators, it makes them. That is concentration. That is efficiency.

Oil On Top.

In the light of this development the surprising thing about the Teapot Dome scandal is not that it reveals the domination of oil in national politics. What surprises is that oil, in this case reverted to the crude and vulgar method of black satchels filled with bribe money, or

a dairy farm filled with cows. This side of the whole scandal, therefore, is not the most interesting one. As a rule "democracy" does not indulge in its illicit pleasures in that crude and antiquated form. She has acquired some sort of virtuosity in posing as a chaste nun reveling in voluptuous orgies in a more refined and "respectable" form. And it is that form of corruption which must and will finally discredit democracy in the eyes of the masses, all self-assuring assertions of silent Cal and his accomplices notwithstanding. It is that form which proves corruption not merely to be an undesirable possibility under democracy but an integral and inseparable part of it.

Influential and all powerful committeemen on the capitalist parties represent oil, steel or banking. Their candidates for public office, from president of the United States to town constable, are christened in oil, steel or banking. The best the "people" can do is to select between oil, steel or banking. After the election the people will be "done" by oil, steel or banking. Before election the candidate represented oil, steel or banking as counsel in court. After election he will represent oil, steel or banking as a legislator or judge; and after an eventual appointment to a cabinet post he represents oil or steel or banking in the national government as a minister of state. Should he fall in his career over an irresistible offer of the vulgar variety of bribe and should be caught at it then he will be prosecuted by some attorney general or special prosecutor who happens to represent oil, steel or banking at this particular time as some sort of public prosecutor. Oil, steel or banking makes the president. And if oil, steel or banking is caught at a steal, the president made by oil, steel or banking causes and supervises

the prosecution of oil, steel or banking by counsel who, in turn, is also directly or indirectly connected with oil, steel or banking. The house of democracy that Jack built. Jack is always capitalism, sometimes steeped in oil, sometimes clad in steel, and sometimes animated by bank capital.

Daugherty—The Adjective.

That is democracy.
Here we have Harry M. Daugherty. His name will, in time, become a commonly used adjective in the English language denoting a combination of corruptness, lying and villainess. For the time being he is Attorney General of the United States, the highest officer of law in the country. He is accused of corruption. And his answer is Don't dare to touch me or I will reveal all the corruption I know of in the other departments of the government.

That is democracy.
The department of government, instructed to detect and prosecute crime in the name of the people, ferrets out corruption in government not to prosecute the criminals, but to buy with its silence immunity for its own crimes.

Yes, that is democracy. And if Teapot Dome and the like scandals would not kill the confidence of the masses in democracy then the cause of the masses would be hopeless.

But it is not hopeless. Teapot Dome tears from the "Goddess of democracy" the veil of sacredness with which public confidence has clothed her. It reveals her in her ugly nakedness as a dictatorship of capitalism, for capitalism, and by capitalism. Teapot Dome also supplies the frame of corruption for that picture of the "Goddess." Disgust will replace respect and confidence. And Silent Cal will prove as unreliable as a prophet as he has proven reliable as a strike-breaker.

Trotsky's Letter to Russian Communist Party Central

Note.—Today the DAILY WORKER begins publication of a letter written by Leon Trotsky, Minister of War in the Soviet government and member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Our readers will see from reading the article on what a flimsy structure the capitalist press liars hang a revolt in the Communist ranks. We will publish Trotsky's letter in three installments. Next will come speeches by Stalin, Rykov and other leaders of the Russian revolution. Members of the Workers Party in particular should read this debate very carefully. Trotsky wrote to the enlarged session of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party as follows:

TROTSKY'S LETTER.

Moscow, December 8, 1923.

DEAR COMRADES!
I had firmly hoped that I should be able to take part in the discussion on the inner situation and the new tasks of the Party, if not today, at least tomorrow. But my illness occurred, this time, at a most inconvenient moment and it has proved to be of a longer duration than the physicians had at first anticipated. I am, therefore, compelled to express my views by the present letter.

The resolution of the Political Bureau on the question of the Party structure is of exceptional significance. It shows that the Party has arrived at an important turning point in his historical development. Such turning points, as has been pointed out quite justly in many meetings, require prudence; but in addition to prudence, firmness and resoluteness are also required. A waiting attitude, an irresolution at such a juncture, would be the worst form of imprudence.

Over-Estimate Role of Apparatus.

Some comrades of a conservative disposition who show themselves inclined to over-estimate the role of the apparatus and to under-estimate the initiative of the Party, criticize the resolution of the Political Bureau. According to their statements, the Communist Central takes upon itself obligations which cannot be carried out, the resolution would only create illusions and negative results.

It is clear, that this kind of view is inspired by a thorough bureaucratic mistrust of the Party. The new policy proclaimed by the resolution of the Central, denotes precisely, that the center of gravity, which during the old policy had been erroneously inclined towards the apparatus, is now, during the new policy, to be inclined towards the activity, the critical initiative and the self-government of the Party, the organized vanguard of the proletariat. The new policy does not all mean that the apparatus of the Party is instructed to decree, to create or to establish the regime of democracy within a certain term. Nay, this regime can be created by the Party itself. The task is briefly the following: The Party must subordinate to itself its own apparatus, without ceasing even for a moment, to be a centralized organization.

Two Phases of Party Structure.

In recent discussion and articles it was pointed out very frequently that the "pure," the "entire," the "ideal" democracy is unattainable, and that for us democracy in general is not an end in itself. This cannot be in any way disputed. But with the same right and with as much reason one can say, that pure or absolute centralism is unattainable and incompatible with the character of a mass party, and the centralism as well as the party apparatus are in no way ends in themselves. Democracy and Centralism are two faces of the Party structure. The task is to equilibrate them in a proper manner, i. e., in that manner which best corresponds with the situation. In the past period, this equilibrium did not exist. The center of gravity had been erroneously inclined towards the apparatus. The initiative of the Party had been reduced to a minimum. This involved methods and habits in the leadership which are diametrically opposed to the spirit of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat. The excessive centralization of the apparatus, at the expense of the initiative of the Party, has created within the Party the feeling of its insufficiency. On the extreme wings it has assumed an extraordinary morbid form, right up to the formation of illegal groupments under the leadership of elements undoubt-

edly hostile to Communism. At the same time, within the Party, the critical attitude towards the mechanical methods adopted for the solution of questions, has increased. The perception, or at least the sentiment, that the Party bureaucracy threatens to lead the Party into an impasse, has become almost general. The resolution on the new policy is the first, official and extremely important form of expression of this turn within the Party. It will be carried out to the extent to which the Party, i. e., its four hundred thousand members, will be ready and able to do.

Our Rights.

In a number of articles, it is obstinately sought to prove, that the fundamental means for reviving the Party, consists in raising the cultural level of its rank and file, whereupon the rest, i. e., the workers' democracy, would grow of itself. It cannot be denied that we must raise the intellectual and cultural level of the Party with a view to the tasks which are confronting it; but precisely for this reason, this purely pedagogical method is insufficient and, consequently, false; and if we insist upon it, we cannot but provoke an aggravation of the crisis. The Party cannot otherwise raise its level as a Party than by completely carrying out its fundamental tasks by means of the collective leadership of the working class—and with the initiative of all Party members—and of the proletarian state. We must deal with this question not with a pedagogic, but with a political method. The application of Party democracy must not be rendered dependent upon the degree of "schooling" of the Party members for Party democracy. Our Party is a Party. We have the right to be very strict towards everybody who wants to enter our Party and to remain in it, but once anybody has become a member, it is by this fact alone that he takes an active part in the entire Party work.

It is precisely by killing initiative that bureaucracy hampers the raising of the general level of the Party. And in this consists its main fault. Since the Party apparatus is unavoidably constituted out of the most experienced and proved

comrades, the worst consequences of the bureaucratism of the apparatus will be its influence on the ideological-political formation of the young generation of the Party. It is precisely owing to this circumstance that the youth—the surest barometer of the Party—reacts against the Party bureaucratism in the most energetic manner.

Old Guard.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the excess of mechanical solutions of Party questions should remain without influence on the old generation which embodies the political experience and the revolutionary traditions of the Party. Nay, the danger is also very great in this sphere. It is not necessary to speak of the immense authority of the older generation of our Party, not only within Russia, but also in the International: It is known and recognized everywhere. But it would be a crude error to estimate this authority as sufficient in itself. It is only by continual mutual influence of the younger and the older generation within the frame of Party democracy, that the old guard can be maintained as a revolutionary factor. Otherwise, the old ones would be easily become ossified and, without realizing it, become the most perfect expression of the bureaucratism of the apparatus.

(To Be Continued Thursday)

OUT WITH DAUGHERTY!

Saint Patrick's day was celebrated in Britain as well as in the United States. Ramsay MacDonald proposed a toast to the Irish Free State. Field Marshall French, the Shiek of Ypres, superintended the distribution of shamrock to the Irish guards. Irish soldiers are given the privilege of wearing shamrock with their uniforms on the 17th of March only. When it falls on Friday, the Italian pope allows all Irish Catholics to eat meat in honor of the saint. Eating meat on Friday is a mortal sin—to the pope. They get the same privilege when an English protestant king dies. Great government; unanimous religion.

BURNS MUST GO!

Coolidge Does His Bit

By JAY LOVESTONE

PRESIDENT Coolidge's whole procedure in the oil scandal betrays a definite plan on his part to do everything he possibly can do to save the Falls, Sinclairs, and Dohenys, without breaking his own political neck.

His choice of oil prosecutors shows this very clearly. Practically every man selected by the President to prosecute the oil thieves in behalf of the government has had his record dipped in oil, directly or indirectly, in some form or other.

First of all, Mr. Gregory was chosen. A few days after this choice was made by the White House, the Senate Committee on Public Lands learned officially that Mr. Gregory was smeared with oil from head to foot. No one, of course, took Coolidge's claims of ignorance about Mr. Gregory's connections with oil corporations seriously.

Corporation Lawyer Strawn.

Then the lie was again given to our Puritanic President's confessions of innocence and purity. Another one of his chosen defenders of the country's wealth against the capitalist looters was a certain Mr. Silas H. Strawn, a corporation lawyer of Chicago. No sooner had his name been announced to the press than Mr. Melvin A. Traylor, President of the First Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, gave the Public Lands Committee information which immediately disqualified Mr. Strawn. Mr. Traylor acted in this fashion in order to save the President and his reactionary outfit the serious embarrassments and great difficulties which would confront them when the truth about Mr. Strawn would become known after he had begun work in the legal proceedings against the Teapot leases.

Mr. Traylor said in part: "That his bank was trustee under a debenture agreement securing an issue of securities of the Sinclair Crude Oil Purchasing Company, which is owned one-half each, by the Standard Oil and Sinclair Companies." He went on to show that this bank was connected with the Sinclair Pipe Lines Co., owned jointly by the Standard and Sinclair Companies and builders of the pipe line to the Teapot Dome; and that the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, "had for many years deposited funds in the First National Bank of Chicago."

Mr. Strawn, the Coolidge appointee, was found to be a director and stockholder of the First National Bank and the First Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago. This was the last nail driven into the coffin bearing Mr. Coolidge's pretense at any attempt to punish the Teapot magnates.

Having lost out in his choice of these two prosecutors, Mr. Coolidge proceeded to secure lawyers who

might stand a better chance of getting the Senate's approval. Our chief Executive then chose the lame duck Ex. Senator Pomerene and the relatively unknown Mr. Owen J. Roberts of Philadelphia. These corporation tools have been accepted by the Senate, despite the opposition of the progressive group and a few stray Senators.

The Case of Mr. Pomerene

An examination of the services rendered by Mr. Pomerene to the big business interests, while he was a Senator and after he was kicked out of the Senate in 1922, reveals the irrefutable fact that it is Mr. Coolidge's intent to make a hollow mockery out of the oil prosecution.

As a member of the Senate, he was opposed to striking out from the Esch-Cummins Law the provision making strikes unlawful. Mr. Pomerene voted against extending the Federal control of railroads for two years. He accepted the conference report of the Esch-Cummins Act containing objectionable anti-labor clauses and other obnoxious provisions.

When Mr. Pomerene was defeated in the election for Senator from Ohio, he was immediately rewarded by the railroad corporations, he so loyally served in the capital. Today Mr. Pomerene is one of the biggest railroad attorneys in the country. His firm is one of the strongest corporations in Ohio. According to his own statements before the Interstate Commerce Commission, his firm is the representative of fifteen of the biggest railroads in the country. One of these is the Pennsylvania Railroad which is an uncompromising enemy of organized labor.

Mr. Pomerene is also on the pay roll of the National Transportation Institute, which is a propaganda organization in favor of the united railway capitalists. Mr. Pomerene has admitted that he has been, for some time, on the platform of this organization and has been paid as high as \$1,000 for a few speeches delivered by him in behalf of the railroad interests. Mr. Pomerene's connections with the railroads go back to the years before he was in the Senate. He tried several cases for the Pennsylvania system before he was sent to Washington.

Mr. Pomerene is an enemy of the farmers, as well as of the workers. At one time he appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission and denounced the farmers of the Northwest for protesting against their hardships. Mr. Pomerene, in a fit of rage against the complaints of the farmers, yelled at several of their spokesmen, who appeared before the Commission: "You sinners up in the Northwest!"

At this moment Mr. Pomerene in addition to being the government

"prosecutor" in the oil steal, is also attorney for a railway company in Cleveland that is trying to secure money from the municipal government to the extent of about half a million dollars.

Roberts Just As Bad

In his appointment of the other so-called prosecutor, Mr. Coolidge pursued precisely the same policy—the policy of putting the case against despoilers of the country's resources in the hands of individuals who could be counted on doing everything in the behalf of the guilty and nothing for the country.

One of the advantages attached to Mr. Roberts' nomination by Coolidge is his being a comparative nonentity. Mr. Roberts record of service to the corporate interests is not well-known amongst the masses and therefore the Senate safely approved him as a prosecutor without raising a storm of protest.

But Mr. Roberts has very positively shown himself to be an agent of the big railway and oil interests. On February 16th, 1923, this Philadelphia lawyer addressed the Trust Company Division of the American Bankers' Association and denounced the LaFollette investigation of the oil industry. We reproduce in part Mr. Roberts' speech before this body of financial wizards, as reported by the New York Times of February 16th, 1923, to establish the character of this newly anointed savior of our oil reserves:

"Defends High Pay Oil Officials—Lawyer Says Senate Inquiry Is Propaganda For Nationalization of Industry—Cites Value of Service—Consumers The Beneficiaries Thru Increased Production, Speaker Asserts at Trust Company's Dinner."

The investigation of the Senate sub-committee into the oil industry which disclosed that A. C. Bedford, chairman, and Walter C. Teagle, president of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, received salaries of \$125,000 a year each and that six other officials received \$100,000 was attacked as "propaganda" for the nationalization of industry by Owen J. Roberts, Philadelphia lawyer, last night at the twelfth annual dinner of the trust companies of the United States at the Waldorf-Astoria. The dinner was given by the trust company division of the American Bankers' Association.

Robert's Interests.

"The members of the trust company organization cheered when the lawyer said that the Standard Oil officials earned every dollar of the big salaries paid them because it was their business to increase production, which meant price reduction to the consumer."

"He attacked the government for the condition in which the railroads were left at the end of government

operation, and assailed government generally for absorbing too much control over everything."

"Everywhere you turn judicial and semi-judicial administrative commissioners investigating bodies, inspectors of every known variety are found. The result is that the business man in America today feels that he is doing business with a minion of government looking over his shoulder with an upraised arm and a threatening scowl."

Obviously Mr. Roberts will concern himself much more with the safety of the salaries and the interests of the oil presidents than with the restoration of the stolen Teapot Dome area. As an opponent of government "interference" in business, as a disciple of the doctrine that the government ought to aid and abet the capitalist leaders in their exploitation of the natural resources of the country for their own private profits, Mr. Roberts can be counted on doing his level best to save Fall, Daugherty, Doheny and Sinclair from the penitentiary. Of course, as a lawyer for huge Pennsylvania corporations, Mr. Roberts will hide behind the most abstruse technicalities of the law and thus attempt to give an appearance of acting within the provisions of the constitution.

Coolidge Guards Oil Thieves

Every step that Mr. Coolidge has taken in the present oil investigation has been a step in the direction of securing maximum protection to every individual that is in any way at all connected with the Teapot leases. Mr. Coolidge presided over the Senate when LaFollette introduced his first resolution for an investigation of the Sinclair deals. Mr. Coolidge participated in Cabinet sessions while Fall, Denby and Daugherty were perpetrating this great steal. Mr. Coolidge was in communication with McLean during the investigation.

After the Teapot explosion, Mr. Coolidge picked arch reactionaries, experienced corporation lawyers who had been serving the biggest capitalist interests for years as the champions of the government in what we are asked to believe is to be a genuine effort to restore the stolen wealth to the country.

Mr. Coolidge is acting in his true role as the chief executive of a government whose dominant objective is the perpetuation of the conditions making for Teapot leases, making for the loss of all our natural resources. Mr. Coolidge, the friend of McLean, Mr. Coolidge, the president whose private detectives, ushers and telegraphers have been at the disposal of those most guilty in the entire affair, is today the man in whom the capitalist class has put its faith and hope of leading them out of the troublesome mess in which they find themselves at this moment.

The Revolutionary Significance of Teapot Dome

(Continued from Page 3)

Daugherty investigation committee are becoming ever more, as the capitalist dress dubs them, the "Cheka" and the "Revolutionary Tribunal" of the Third Party movement.

Importance of Teapot Dome.

Of course, it would be a great exaggeration of the political significance of the Teapot Dome scandal to claim that all this was caused by the Teapot Dome scandal. The Teapot Dome scandal plays a big role in sharpening all conflicts of the various political groups and classes. But we should not forget that only the unheard of sharpening of the class struggle in the last years has made the Teapot Dome scandal so significant. Teapot Dome has not produced the dissatisfaction of the worker and farmer masses, but on the contrary, it is the deep dissatisfaction of the masses which makes them so receptive to the lessons of the Teapot Dome.

In the 1920 November elections the Republican Party, the party of Wall Street and the steel trust was victorious by a seven million majority. The non-capitalist classes who at that time were dissatisfied with the Democratic Party on account of the war, still had complete confidence in the Republican Party at that time. In the 1922 November elections this Republican majority disappears. The Republicans were woefully beaten, but it was not the Democrats who were the victors. A

new force appears and constitutes the "balance of power"—the "progressive-radical" bloc in Congress, composed of insurgent Republicans, Democrats and Farmer-Laborites. It is not Teapot Dome but much deeper factors of economic and political life which have caused the sharpening of the class struggle. The growing power of the monopoly of the trusts, the world war, the unheard of centralization of federal government, the deep-going economic crisis of 1921-22, the intervention of the government in the mass struggle of the million workers in the summer

of 1922, the bankruptcy of millions of farmers, the victory of the British Labor Party, the hopeless European economic situation—all these factors have brought about the disintegration of the two-party system, splitting away of the non-capitalist masses from the political leadership of big capital and the beginning of class-consciousness in the industrial workers and exploited farmers.

Class Conflicts Sharpened.

Teapot Dome has not called forth the class struggle, but has simply sharpened it because it made it more conscious because it has elevated it

from confinement to local and regional issues, because it helped to make it nation-wide, because it focused it against the government.

We should not exaggerate the significance of Teapot Dome; but we must see clearly its tremendous revolutionary significance.

Teapot Dome has strengthened to a hitherto unheard of degree the disillusionment of our masses with our governmental system.

Teapot Dome has enlightened millions on the capitalist essence of our democracy.

Teapot Dome has drawn into political life millions of workers and farmers who until now have kept at a distance.

Teapot Dome gave a tremendous impetus to the Farmer-Labor Party movement as well as to the Third Party movement.

Communist Mass Party.

Teapot Dome has for the first time made it possible for the slogan of the Workers Party of a workers' and farmers' government to become a real demand not only of the vanguard of the revolution, but of the great laboring masses of factories and farms.

And finally, in view of the big structural changes of our society, and the present economic depression and approaching economic crisis, Teapot Dome justifies Zinoviev's well-founded revolutionary optimism about the prospects for a Communist mass party in the United States in the near future.

Senator Reed--an Oil Attorney

UNITED STATES Senator James A. Reed of Missouri who has been delivering speeches from coast to coast against the connections several of his colleagues have had with oil interests, has himself served in the capacity of attorney for an oil corporation.

Mr. Reed has been especially vehement in his denunciation of McAdoo as an opponent in the Democratic presidential contest because of the latter's relations to Doheny.

This fierce castigator of the "oil crowd" served as counsel for the Universal Oil Co. in the summer of 1923. The case involved a law suit brought against the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana. The suit was in the Federal Court at Kansas City and later transferred to Santa Maria, California.

We wonder whether Senator Reed would like to have the workers choose between putting Doheny's counsel or the Universal Oil Co. counsel in the White House.

The workers know that the spokesman for Doheny, Sinclair, Universal and Standard Oil interests are their enemies. Mr. Reed can't bluff them any longer.

Minor's Startling Story of Oil

(Continued from Page 5)

Jan. 7—General John F. Ryan charges that Charles R. Forbes, head of the Veterans' Bureau and friend of Harding, is the leading actor of the \$250,000,000 steal from disabled war veterans.

Jan. 7—Bernard Baruch arrives in Washington.

U. S. Sends Mexico Protest.

Jan. 8—Embargo on arms to Mexico becomes effective.

About this time United States government sends protest to Mexico against the blockade by rebel forces of Tampico where Doheny, Sinclair and Rockefeller have oil refineries.

That E. B. McLean, about to be called from Florida to testify as to source of Fall's \$100,000, intends to perjure himself by testifying that he lent Fall the money, is proven by the following telegram to his lawyer, Francis Homer:

"Wire me your opinions as to whether investigating committee can force me to tell from what source I accumulated sums of \$100,000. Think over certain prominent people at that time and you will realize why large cash fund was kept on hand. Mrs. McLean joins me in best wishes for your health. E. B. McLEAN."

Enter Lenroot.

Jan. 9—Fall wires his friend Senator Lenroot, chairman of the senate committee:

"Am I to understand from recent telegrams you sent McLean that you have given to Walsh authority to subpoena me as a witness? Wire answer. ALBERT B. FALL."

And friend Lenroot excuses himself with the reply:

"There was no such intention. Walsh stated he might wish to examine McLean's secretary or other employees which might be there, and that was only purpose of his authority to subpoena. I. L. LENROOT, U. S. S."

Jan. 11—Fall sends the following wire:

"Gus. T. Jones, Department of Justice Agent, San Antonio, Tex.

"Get in touch with Buckley immediately. Ask him if he can come here at once as my attorney and adviser. This is very important. Must see him before he sails. Answer. A. B. FALL."

This Gus T. Jones is the man especially recommended by William J. Burns as the ideal detective to investigate Fall.

Jan. 11—Fall wires E. L. Doheny, jr., at Los Angeles:

"Walsh authorized to take testimony on sub-committee. Will examine McLean and probably myself. Facts will be developed possibly names not disclosed. A. B. FALL."

Jan. 12—Bernard Baruch, the New York magnate, has evidently done something for somebody since his visit to Washington on January 7 and 8, for he receives the following:

"Palm Beach, Fla., Jan. 12, 1924, 11:20 A. M.

"Mr. Bernard Baruch, Bankers Trust Company Bldg., 57th and Madison Ave., New York City.

"Many thanks. Hope to see you soon. E. B. McLEAN."

Coolidge Steps Into Arena.

Jan. 12—President Calvin Coolidge wires from the White House:

"Washington, D. C., Jan. 12, 1924, 9 P. M.

"Edward B. McLean, Palm Beach, Fla.

"Prescott is away. Advise Slomp with whom I shall confer. Acknowledge. CALVIN COOLIDGE."

Jan. 16, 1924—Report reaches Washington that rebels are in control of the Doheny oil wells at Cuervo Azul.

Jan. 16, 1924—The American cruiser Tacoma, en route to Tampico, is wrecked on the rocks of Blanquilla reef, two miles outside of the breakwater at Vera Cruz.

Secretary Denby orders the U. S. cruiser Richmond detached from the American naval forces at Panama and rushed toward Tampico, where rebel army approaches oil region, where Doheny's, Sinclair's and Rockefeller's refineries are located. The Richmond carries a powerful radio for communication with Washington.

The Persian Deal.

Jan. 17—Announcement that Sinclair Oil Corporation is looking over the oil lands of Persia, recent re-

ports having been made that Sinclair had gotten concessions from the Persian government. Also a big financial deal in Persia being put over by the American International Corporation, in which are Standard Oil men.

Edward L. Doheny arrives in New Orleans on his way East. Asked whether he came to New Orleans, to confer about the Teapot Dome bribery scandal, Doheny replied:

"I came to New Orleans to see that the Destrahan refinery was operated at full blast. Our Tampico refinery has been closed, but it must be opened. Our holdings in the Mexican fields are permanent, and the Mexican revolution is temporary like a fire or flood, and the damage, if any, cannot be estimated until it has passed. I consider the situation grave. If further reports from Mexico justify it, the Mexican Petroleum Company will ask the State Department to take steps for the protection of its interests."

"We've Just Begun to Fight!"

Jan. 18—Secretary Hughes held a conference during the day with representatives of Edward L. Doheny, Harry F. Sinclair, and the Standard Oil company on the subject of sending war ships to Tampico. Secretary Hughes expressed the wish that there should be no public discussion of his conference with the oil men.

Jan. 18—President Coolidge, Secretary of State Hughes and officials of the navy department have a long discussion on the subject of the De LaHuerta advance into the Tampico oil region.

Jan. 19—Secretary of State Hughes and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt (Former employe of Harry Sinclair) conferred with representatives of the Association of Petroleum Producers in Mexico, headed by Guy Stevens about the safety of Doheny's, Sinclair's and Standard Oil properties in Mexico.

Jan. 19—Seven more warships sent to Mexico. Flagship Omaha Admiral Kittelle in command, with destroyers Corry, Hull, Macdough, Farenholt, Sumner and Shirk, steamed at full speed from the canal zone, headed for Mexican seaports to protect oil properties and employes of American oil operators at Tampico and Vera Cruz. The vessels carry 1,100 bluejackets and some marines. Admiral Koontz, commander-in-chief of the American fleet, will be in charge. A total of 211 naval craft are mobilized at the canal zone for "naval maneuvers."

Doheny Endorses McAdoo.

Jan. 19—Democratic State Central committee of California, of which Edward L. Doheny is a member, endorses William G. McAdoo for president.

Jan. 21—Prices of gasoline and crude oil go up.

Jan. 21—Archie Roosevelt, until a few days ago vice-president of the Union Petroleum company, subsidiary of Sinclair Oil corporation, swears Sinclair's confidential secretary told him that Sinclair had paid \$68,000 to the foreman of Fall's ranch.

Sinclair's confidential secretary swears he didn't say "sixty-eight thousand dollars," but "six or eight cows."

Jan. 21—Albert B. Fall denies that he received any money from Harry F. Sinclair, "that Harry F. Sinclair has never loaned or given me a penny in any way."

Jan. 22—President Coolidge orders Harry M. Daugherty to have an observer at the hearings "to watch for any evidence of wrong-doing."

Where Was Daugherty?

Memorandum of instructions to the son-in-law of Fall, outlining how he should testify, is found; being a rambling story about his father having told him that he would soon have some money for a payment on his ranches, and that later Fall went to Chicago and got the money there.

Jan. 22—McLean receives a telegram:

"Washington, D. C., Jan. 22, 1924.

"Subpoena for Fall today, returnable Friday. JOHN."

Jan. 23—Secretary of State Hughes issues public statement declaring that the sale of munitions and guns to Mexico has become a duty of the United States, and gives as his reason the fact that the Obregon government has arranged (with

Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and company) for the payment of its foreign debt (which is owed largely to American bankers); with the further reason that the De LaHuerta army has taken possession of certain portions of Mexican territory (the region where the oil works of Harry F. Sinclair, Edward L. Doheny and the Standard Oil Co. are located).

Jan. 23—Senator Caraway asks Senate to hurry up and pass his resolution cancelling the Teapot Dome lease. Senator Lenroot asks for delay.

Doheny Gives Lie to Fall.

Jan. 24—Doheny swears he sent the \$100,000 to Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall in November, 1921, but that it was not a bribe, tho it might have influenced Mr. Fall. Doheny swears that Fall gave him a note for the money. Swears that the oil lease was approved by Secretary of the Navy Denby.

Jan. 25—McLean receives a telegram from Washington:

"Zev testified that he had loaned Fall \$25,000 for European trip. Willis has attended to matter. JOHN."

Jan. 28—Washington rumors are that William G. McAdoo and Franklin K. Lane of the Wilson administration are about to be dragged into the oil scandal, both having accepted money from Doheny immediately after leaving Wilson cabinet. Lane, as Wilson's secretary of the interior, granted oil-land leases to Doheny; then retired from cabinet to enter Doheny's employ at \$50,000 a year.

Jan. 29—Ex-President Woodrow Wilson is stricken with a mortal illness.

Feb. 2—A. B. Fall refuses to testify on the ground that he might incriminate himself.

Feb. 3—Ex-President Woodrow Wilson dies.

Corporation Lawyers Selected.

Jan. 29—Thomas W. Gregory, oil company attorney, and Silas H. Strawn, attorney and director of big corporations, chosen by President Coolidge to prosecute the oil steal cases. Both of them promptly accept.

Jan. 29—Senator Lenroot tries to persuade other members of investigating committee that Admiral Robison is a sincere man and that the transfer of the oil reserves to Fall's jurisdiction was proper.

The "Principal."

Jan. 29—McLean receives a telegram. (Editor's interpretation in parenthesis):

Washington, Jan. 29, 1924.

"E. B. McLean, Palm Beach:

Saw Principal (Calvin Coolidge). Delivered message (to President Coolidge). He (Coolidge) says greatly appreciates and sends regards to you and Mrs. McLean. There will be no rocking of boat and no resignations. He (Coolidge) expects reaction from unwarranted political attacks.

Bennett." (McLean's employe).

Feb. 3—Mary, employe of Burns' office in the department of justice, wires her husband W. O. Duckstein, who is McLean's secretary, at Palm Beach:

"Burns states lawyer friendly to department that an inquiry was on foot to ascertain whether McLean was a regularly appointed dollar-a-year man, and asked me to find out. Department lawyer came to Burns and inquired . . . Burns states impossible to say when he can get away. Being kept here on Dome hearing. Department liable to be called upon at any time for investigations and to prepare injunctions . . . Mary."

Feb. 5, 1924—Sidney Thompson sends Gaston B. Means to Palm Beach, where Means meets McLean and his private secretary, Duckstein. (Sidney Thompson is Daugherty's go-between and "money carrier" after Jess Smith's death, according to Means.)

McAdoo Notifies Lenroot.

February 7—McAdoo sends letter to Lenroot saying he has left the employ of Doheny and given up the salary.

Feb. 8—Congressman Longworth, taunted on republican oil graft, shows that democratic party has long been taking heavy subsidies from Doheny, Bernard Baruch and Cleveland H. Dodge.

Feb. 11—Coolidge refuses senate's

request for resignation of Denby, declaring senate has no such right.

Feb. 11—McLean receives a telegram from Washington:

"X (Attorney General Daugherty) telephoned me last night, said tell you not to worry. Count." (Ira E. Bennett).

Feb. 12—Revealed that Strawn, appointed by Coolidge as oil prosecutor, is an oil attorney.

Feb. 12—President Calvin Coolidge sends the following telegram:

"118 Jn X23 Govt fm The White House, Washington, DC., 101&AM Feb 12, 1924

To Edward B B McLean, Palm Beach, Fla.

Thank you for your message. You have always been most considerate. Mrs. Coolidge joins me in kindest regards to you and Mrs. McLean.

Calvin Coolidge.

1029am."

Feb. 14—Bennett wires McLean. "Will have conference with H. D. (Harry Daugherty) before 1 o'clock. B."

After conference Bennett, signing himself as "Count," wires McLean the same day:

Saw X (Attorney General Daugherty) for an hour. His direct message to you is, "I am at 'Y's' (Coolidge's) elbow and standing at the guns. All that is possible to do will be done by us, so you should worry. Delay selection prosecutor. Give Z my love. I don't want Z. to be disturbed so long as I am on the job. You know what to depend upon. The fight is on me and I am ready for them and feeling fine."

Harding Paper Scandal.

Feb. 15—Frank H. Vanderlip, former president of National City (Standard Oil) bank in public speech declares there is rumor afloat that Harding sold his newspaper, the Marion Star, for \$550,000 and that the price was padded to double the real value of the property.

Coolidge appoints Atlee Pomerene as one oil prosecutor. Senate confirms Pomerene. Owen J. Roberts, other new appointee, denies that he is Standard Oil attorney.

Feb. 18—McAdoo declares he had a right to take Doheny's money and is determined to run for presidency on platform of "Back to Honesty."

Feb. 18—Denby resigns as secretary of navy.

Feb. 23—Coolidge approves Harry M. Daugherty as delegate-at-large to republican convention.

Feb. 24—McAdoo admits he was to get \$1,000,000 from Doheny if successful in using his influence to get Mexican government to surrender to Doheny's oil company.

March 9—Charges are made that department of justice agents were active as provocators of violent outbreaks on the Mexican frontier in 1920.

March 12, 1924—Roxie Stinson appears before senate committee and tells story of long career of graft led by Jess Smith and Daugherty.

March 13—Gaston Means reveals the most amazing story of government corruption ever heard. Tells of receiving \$100,000 of bribe money from the Mitsui Co., representatives of the Japanese government, in the Standard Aircraft case.

Fomenting Mexican Revolution.

March 15—Revealed that in 1921 William Hanson, friend of Albert B. Fall, after making arrangements with officials "higher up" in the U. S. government, went to Mexican border and became active in fomenting armed insurrection activities in Mexico. Hansen is now chief of the U. S. immigration inspection service at Mexican border, and takes a hand in Mexican disturbances.

March 15—It is learned that Senator Burton K. Wheeler, "radical" democratic member taking the lead in senate oil investigation committee and apparently pushing the case against the oil grafters, is attorney for the Gordon Campbell Kevin Oil syndicate, the largest oil development syndicate in Montana. It is believed that Senator Wheeler's law firm receives \$10,000 per year from the oil company.

It is recalled that Ed Shields, secretary of the employers' association at Billings, Mont., replying to questions as to whether Senator Wheeler had any "red" associations, replied:

"No. He is like the granite of our hills."