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FIVE CENTS

# ARKANSAS LEGISLATORS TO WHITEWASH R. R. OFFICIALS WHO ORGANIZE MOBS

## FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AGENTS OF IMPERIALISM

Stars and Stripes and Kingdom of God Ushered  
in With Sword.

CHICAGO.—Six million eight hundred thousand dollars are to be spent by the Methodist Episcopal church annually on foreign missionary work, if the council of the boards of benevolence of the church has its action ratified. The same amount is budgeted for home missionary work.

The spending of almost seven millions in foreign missionary work calls attention again to the frank utterances regarding missionaries and imperialism made by Tyler Dennett in an article entitled Christian Missions and Imperialism. The article was published by The Christian Century, an undenominational journal of religion.

After showing how missionaries have always been quick to invoke the protection of the home government in their foreign endeavors and had helped revolutionary activities against established governments in Asia and the Pacific, Dennett declared:

"The application of the principle of intervention for the protection of missionary work often eventuates in efforts to bring in the kingdom of God with a sword, and always delivers the missionary into the hands of imperialists."

In the carefully laid plans that brought about the first expansion of American imperialism beyond the American shores of the Pacific to

the Hawaiian islands, economic forces, Dennett admits, "were very strong, quite sufficient to have brought about the annexation if no missionaries had ever gone there, but it cannot be denied that the missionaries were the very willing agents of American imperialism in the Pacific."

"It is very difficult," he says, "for an American missionary to resist the conclusion that if only the stars and stripes could be raised over the land of his labor kingdom of God would thereby be greatly advanced."

"The enthusiasm with which a large missionary constituency in the United States advocated an American mandate over Armenia and the recent demand for American intervention in the near east do not stand alone in history. The full force of this question of the relation between Christian missions and imperialism does not break upon us until we study these most recent expressions in the light of the many which have preceded them."

Minneapolis, Minn.—"Strike on," or "Lockout" must now be printed in bold type or written in red ink on employment slips given out by employment agencies here. This is the result of an ordinance introduced by labor aldermen and passed by the city council yesterday.

## LARKIN RECOGNIZES BUSINESS AGENT OF GARMENT WORKERS AS STOOL-PIGEON

Union Expells Him Although He Claims to Be With Labor Now.

SAN FRANCISCO.—Standing in the hall of the local union No. 8 of the International Ladies Garment Workers, where he had come to plead for the release of his brother, Jim Larkin, since pardoned, Peter Larkin recognized in their business agent one Davis Goldstein. According to Larkin, Goldstein was responsible for the railroadings to jail on a framed charge of 11 I. W. W. members and himself in New South Wales, Australia, in 1916. Larkin immediately publicly denounced Goldstein, who, after a strange defense, was expelled from his office and his union.

## Swedish Craft Unions To Be Amalgamated

Stockholm, Sweden.—All craft unions affiliated with the Swedish Federation of Trade Unions are to be transformed into industrial unions by January, 1925, by virtue of a decision reached at the eighth congress of the federation, recently held here. This move was initiated by the Metal Workers Union, and was strongly supported by the transport workers. Membership in the federation is now 313,208.

A Forger Who Helped to Imprison I. W. W. in Australia.

Davis and Louis Goldstein, brothers, were active in radical circles in Australia during the early years of the war. In 1916 the brothers financed a note forgery, a chemist named Scully providing the inks and other chemicals. All were arrested, and Louis Goldstein was dismissed, Davis Goldstein being held for trial. To save himself from prosecution, Larkin alleges, Davis Goldstein agreed to furnish evidence against the Australian I. W. W., who were annoying the government by anti-war activities. On perjured testimony offered by Goldstein, the 12 men, including Peter Larkin, who was not a member but had been active in anti-war propaganda, were arrested and arraigned for high treason.

Scully was brought in as a witness. Another witness was a police detective named McAllister. But the frameup was too raw for McAllister, and like some of the early witnesses in the Mooney case here, he refused to testify. At 5 o'clock McAllister was in good health. At half past five he was dead; and the death certificate read "pneumonia." His daughter accused the police of poisoning her father to prevent his changing his testimony.

In 1918 Davis Goldstein, feeling

(Continued on page 3.)

## MOB HEADQUARTERS AT HARRISON WITH J. C. MURRAY, DICTATOR OF MOBS IN EVERY TOWN ON THE MISSOURI & NO. ARKANSAS

Innocent Men Confessed to Burning Bridges When Mob Threatens to Hang Them For a Crime Which They Had Not Committed.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—A whitewashing committee has been secured to look into the Harrison affair. It consists of members from both houses of the Arkansas legislature.

The first witnesses were L. A. Wise and "Red" Orr, the two union men who pleaded guilty to burning bridges on the M. & N. A. after they had been told that unless they confessed they would be lynched by the Harrison mob.

Orr and Wise told the legislative committee that they knew nothing about the bridge burnings and that they had so informed Judge Shinn before he passed sentence upon them. They had appealed to the judge to protect them from the mob, but he had said that he could not guarantee their safety.

Confronted with the choice of losing their lives or confessing, Orr and Wise said they decided to confess.

The members of the committee promised to go to the bottom of the Harrison affair, but it is known that powerful influences are at work to induce the members to sanction a whitewash.

When the trouble first started at Harrison Governor McRae was asked by Mayor Clute of Harrison to send troops. He pleaded that he could not do so under the constitution because the legislature was in session.

The legislature promptly passed a resolution authorizing him to get busy. Then he received a telegram from Sheriff Bob Shaddox of Harrison, who is playing in with the mob, urging him not to send troops. The governor complied.

Then the legislature passed a resolution authorizing the appointment of a joint committee of inquiry and giving the committee extraordinary powers to examine wit-

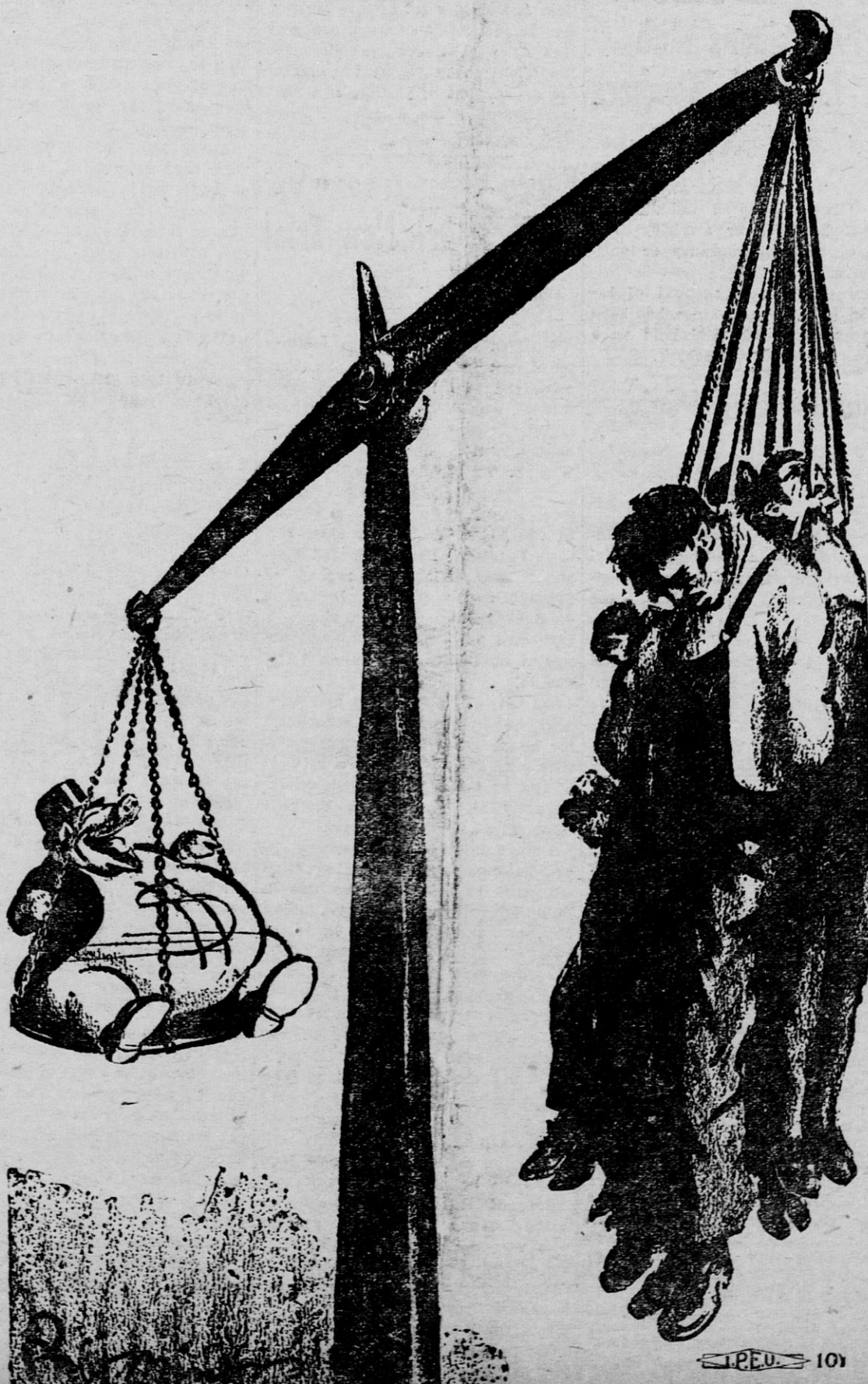
nesses and to use the state militia, if necessary, in order to secure compliance with its orders. At the same time the governor was authorized to declare martial law wherever that might be necessary in order to preserve order.

McRae has done nothing except send telegrams to Harrison urging that "sabotage" by the strikers and lawlessness by the mob be prevented.

At the same time he is issuing statements to the press declaring that everything is peaceful in Harrison, although he knows, as everyone else in Arkansas knows, that the mob organized by the M. & N. A. is in complete possession of every town along the road, and that strikers are being flogged, their women abused, and much property destroyed.

(Continued on page 3)

## THE SHAME OF CAPITALISM



## EUROPE'S MESS AFFECTS U. S.; SYSTEM TOTTERS

Forecasts Vary; Allied Capitalists' Discord Superficial; Agree in Hating Russia.

By LELAND OLDS  
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

In 1917, with collapse of the present economic system in Europe imminent, Woodrow Wilson announced that economic neutrality was no longer possible. Two months after his announcement the system had collapsed in Russia and rebuilding had begun along lines determined by wage earners and peasants. Today the new order in Russia has gained sufficient foothold so that it is interfering with the overweening desire of older governments for the control of the world's mineral resources. This fact underlies the apparent inability of the world to make the political and economic arrangements necessary before industrial activity can again take its normal course.

Stock exchange forecasts are today in a state of uncertainty bordering on confusion because the rank and file are not left in on the real plans which will determine future business conditions on a world scale.

The domestic situation seems entirely satisfactory. With the exception of farm purchasing power, all the signs of returning prosperity are present. Railroad purchasing is recognized as a prime stimulus to industrial activity. It is present in increasing force. Joined with it are

the demands of the automobile, the farm implement and the oil tank manufacturers. These are calling for steel to such an extent that certain producers are practically sold out for the first quarter of the year and prices are rising.

Prior to the war such conditions would have been the basis for confidence. But the security market, after taking account of all these premonitions of prosperity, has declined and is waiting for news from Europe.

Recognize Economic System Teeters.

The Times Annalist interprets the speculations of financial New York somewhat as follows, either France may uncover sufficient moveable wealth in Germany to appease her citizens, or Germany may capitulate on terms which it is believed France is eager to offer, or France may complete her "magnificent gesture" and withdraw, practically admitting failure, or there may be war between France and Germany, perhaps with Russian support.

These speculations are vitally interesting to labor. For they point to a slow recognition of the fact that the economic system, which binds Europe, America, and the entire Anglo-Saxon world into an inseparable unity, is teetering in the balance. The rank and file of Wall St.

(Continued on page 3)

## DID BRITISH SINK LUSITANIA? ALL PRECAUTIONS NEGLECTED BY SHIP'S BRITISH OFFICERS

NEW YORK.—That the Lusitania was sunk by the Germans with the approval and assistance of the British government in May, 1915, is the expressed belief of The Freeman, a New York weekly, of which Francis Neilson, former member of the British house of commons, is one of the editors.

"We believe," The Freeman says editorially in its issue of Jan. 17, "that the British government, in its desperate desire to confiscate the sympathy of the American people, deliberately connived at the Lusitania's destruction."

"We base the belief upon the following facts, which have already been brought forward by Mr. Malone: first, that the Lusitania's speed was slowed down to 12 knots an hour when she was in the zone of danger, thus offering a practically stationary target for torpedoes; and, second, that her ports were open, and her lifeboats swung in and covered."

"British ships, especially ships like the Lusitania, are not, as a rule, officered by lunatics or incompetents. The presumption is, therefore, that the Lusitania's officers were acting under orders from the admiralty, and that the admiralty was acting on the principle which we all remember to have heard cited and approved in every hand, that anything which would help win the war, was justifiable. Otherwise, we can see no reason whatever why half a dozen lives should have been lost from the Lusitania. If the ship carried no explosives, if the elementary precautions of closing her ports and swinging out her lifeboats

had been attended to, and if the flock of destroyers in Queenstown harbor had come to her assistance promptly, instead of staying where they were, we think that the toll of casualties would have been relatively very small."

"We are not particularly tenacious of these beliefs; in fact, we should be glad to give them up if competent evidence were offered against them. At present, however, they seem to represent a common-sense view of the incident. It was clearly to the British government's interest that the Lusitania should be sunk, and as spectacularly as possible, for the sake of the moral effect upon the American public; and in this view, her carrying of explosives, if she carried any, and her extraordinary behavior in the zone of danger, stand accounted for."

## Would Rob Cradle to Secure Soldiers

Washington.—Secretary of War Weeks is protesting against the house amendment to the army bill which would forbid the recruiting of soldiers under 21 without the specific consent of their parents. He says that 38% of the men applying for places in the army are less than 21 years old, "and this amendment will make it impossible to keep the army at its authorized strength."



## COSTELLO FEARS O'FLAHERTY

S. CHICAGO POLICE CAPTAIN, ANTI-SOVIET KING, WANTED NO SPEECHES.

Hegewish, Ill., the site of several large steel plants, is part of the city of Chicago, but like all of the steel trust domains has special laws, or rather puts special interpretations onto the laws of this country. It is seldom since the steel strike that labor meetings are attempted in Hegewish and when they are attempted the police are in the habit of interfering. That was the case in a meeting arranged by the Labor Defense Council for Jan. 28. Thos. J. O'Flaherty, one of the victims of the Michigan Red Raids was billed as the speaker.

Thos. H. Costello, captain of So. Chicago district, on his own responsibility ordered the meeting stopped. "No un-American meetings are going to be held in Hegewish," said he in rich Irish brogue.

"Don't you know," he was asked, "that the United States Constitution guarantees the freedom of assembly?"

"It don't say nothing about the Soviets in the constitution," was his reply. It was suggested to him that this was probably due to an oversight on the part of the country's fathers. "That don't make any difference, there'll be no meetings such as this held in Hegewish."

After a telephone conversation with the Chicago Chief of Police it was decided that the safety of the government was not threatened.

Three Irish cops and a hall full of steel slaves attended the meeting.

BULLETIN: Jan. 29, 1923.—O'Flaherty was arrested this morning on a deportation warrant.

## COMMUTATION TO BE ASKED BY GLENN

JUDGE TO ASK RICHARDSON FOR COMMUTATION FOR WORKERS CONVICTED FOR IDEAS.

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—Much to the surprise of those who noticed his evident animus against the defendants during the trial, Judge Malcolm Glenn has announced that he will intercede with Governor Richardson for a commutation of sentence for the ten I. W. W. members just convicted here on their third trial for criminal syndicalism, and sentenced to 14 years in San Quentin on the perjured testimony of professional anti-radical witnesses.

## ACTIVITIES OF THE F. S. R. OF SUPERIOR

SUPERIOR.—In the fall of 1921, when information was received from Russia of the great drought there and the famine, want and misery following it, the organized workers of Superior organized an aid society known as the Friends of Soviet Russia of Superior. This society is a sub-organization of a national organization bearing the same name, with headquarters in New York, and since its organization it has been active in seeking financial aid for the famine sufferers in Soviet Russia. The following is a financial report showing the result of the activities for 15 months. It shows what the organized workers have been able to accomplish by their sacrifices and their persevering efforts.

Total receipts from literature, bazaars, dances, etc. \$4350.59  
Disbursements for expenses such as hall rent, freight, advertising, etc. 578.30

Total remitted to National office of F. S. R., New York City \$3772.29

This statement has been verified by the auditors, J. E. Luoma, E. V. Latvala, Edith Halonen, Peter Savitski and Victor Hauser.

## INDUSTRIALIST CASE DROPPED

After three years of contemplation, the county prosecuting authorities have dropped proceedings against the management of Industrialist, the I. W. W. Finnish daily newspaper here, begun under the state criminal syndicalism law. At the county attorney's request the indictments have been nolle prossed.

These indictments, based upon published editorials, were aimed at Topias Kekkonen, managing editor of the paper in 1919; A. A. Toivonen, business manager; John Salo, president of the publishing company; Frank Biltonen, and Isaac Alborg.

On another indictment the several defendants were convicted some time ago, and the appeals court reversed the conviction except in the cases of Kekkonen and the company. In that trial, the prosecution employed an interpreter manifestly incompetent. He did not know whether an editorial in question said that: "The workers become revolutionary" or that they "must become revolutionary," so both forms were included in the indictment on which conviction was based.

## University Slaves Busy Explaining War Frenzy

(Federated Press)

MADISON, Wis.—Wisconsin university is ashamed of its war record. Professors are busily explaining to anyone who will listen that "they really didn't want" to sign the resolutions condemning La Follette.

The university becomes more abject as the appropriation hearings approach. Free speech has been dusted off and has come out of its wartime seclusion.

Friday night John Haynes Holmes, radical New York clergyman, spoke under Social Science club auspices on Europe—Whither Bound. Students are recalling that even Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of The Nation, was denied use of the university halls as recently as 1921.

Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx, French Socialist editor and Socialist deputy, was the first radical to speak under university auspices. His recent tour brought him to Madison immediately after the pro-war ticket was defeated by 300,000 majority.

## Los Angeles Czars Fill Prisons With I. W. W. Members

LOS ANGELES.—Eight alleged members of the I. W. W. are now on trial here for criminal syndicalism. Over a hundred wobblies are in jail here, either awaiting trial or sentenced on vagrancy or anti-picketing charges.

Howard Johnson, accused of being an I. W. W. organizer, has been arrested at Fresno, and held on a criminal syndicalism charge.

## Congregational Ministers Urge Amnesty

By Defense News Service.  
PORTLAND, Ore.—In a resolution passed by the Congregational Ministerial Brotherhood here, President Harding is reminded that the appeals courts have declared unproven the charges of sabotage and property destruction made against the I. W. W. in the Chicago and Wichita federal trials, and urge the President to free all the 61 remaining war-opinion prisoners.

## BOOKS!

"Kuzbas", a pamphlet about an opportunity for engineers and workers in Russia. \$0.10  
Red Labor International, Resolutions and decisions of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Union. \$0.15  
The Revolutionary Crises of 1918-1921, in Germany, England, Italy and France, by Wm. Z. Foster. Price \$0.25  
War of the Classes, by Jack London. This book has been reduced from \$1.00 in order to cut down the stock. \$0.50  
A. B. C's of Communism, by N. Bucharin. Price \$0.50  
An Introduction to Sociology, by Arthur M. Lewis. \$1.00  
Communist Manifesto, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. \$0.10  
Value, Price & Profit, by Karl Marx. \$0.10  
Communism and Christianity, by Bishop William Brown D.D. \$0.25  
Imperial Washington, by R. F. Pettigrew. \$1.25  
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## Evidence in Mich. Case Leads to Libel Suit Against Prosecution

By PAUL HANNA (Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—Evidence that may involve the American Defense society in libel and other damage suits has been elicited here by Frank P. Walsh, attorney for the so-called Michigan communists.

R. M. Whitney, head of the Washington office of the American Defense society, is one of the several persons who, by direction of Walsh, appeared before a local notary public who is taking depositions by witnesses, by direction of the Michigan court.

Under questioning by Walsh, Mildred Morris, a newspaper reporter, repeated a conversation she had with Whitney in which the Defense society man, she said, told her of his own presence in the Bridgman raid and the valiant part he played.

Whitney denied under oath that he had made such a confession to Miss Morris and later, it is stated, told some friends that "he knew when Miss Morris came to his office that she was a red and talked with the deliberate intention of misleading her."

Miss Morris is indignant at being termed a red, and has consulted lawyers with a view to bringing suit against Whitney for \$100,000.

Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, summoned by Walsh to make a deposition, also gave testimony that may make the Defense society go on trial in the Michigan courts. This particular evidence concerns Elton H. Hooker, chairman of the trustees of the American Defense society.

Mrs. Baker told of having visited Hooker to obtain his aid in having amnesty granted to political prisoners. "Why," Hooker is said to have asked her, "should I help you to have 62 radicals let out of prison when I am pouring money into Michigan to help put 21 communists behind the bars?"

The laws of Michigan specifically forbid the use of money from outside the state for the prosecution of cases in its courts.

Other affidavits possessed by Walsh include one by a Michigan sheriff who quotes agents of the department of justice as saying that Michigan taxpayers need not fear the cost of prosecuting the alleged communists since outside interests would provide plenty of money.

In his testimony given here William J. Burns, chief of investigation for the justice department, conceded that Allen O. Meyers, prominent in the Michigan raids as an agent of the department of justice, is a field investigator of the William J. Burns Detective agency.

## Sacco-Vanzetti Case Up Feb. 3; Ask New Trial

By KARL PRETHOLD (Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

BOSTON.—Argument on motions for a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti, the two Massachusetts labor leaders who were found guilty of murder in connection with a payroll holdup, will be heard before Judge Webster Thayer Saturday, Feb. 3.

On April 15, 1920, in South Braintree, Mass., while taking a payroll to the Slater & Morrill shoe factory, Frederick Parmenter and Alexander Berardelli were robbed of \$15,000 and murdered. It was a daylight holdup and many people witnessed both the holdup and the escape of the bandits in an automobile.

On May 5, 1920, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested and questioned for hours about their radical activities. Next day they were accused of the Braintree payroll holdup. In June, 1921, Sacco and Vanzetti were tried in Dedham, Mass.

Both defendants claim strong alibis. Vanzetti called 11 indiscreet witnesses to prove that he was in Plymouth, 26 miles away, selling fish, at the time of the Braintree holdup. Nine witnesses were called to prove that Sacco was in Boston at the time of the crime, trying to get passports to Italy. One of these witnesses was an employee of the Italian consulate in Boston.

During the trial several important witnesses for the state were discredited. The defense claims that when they argue the motions now before the court asking a new trial they will be able to discredit still more of the state's witnesses. Among many responsible persons who saw the crime and who were not called because they said that Sacco and Vanzetti were not the bandits is Roy E. Gould, whose information is to be placed before the court in a separate motion asking a new trial.

## THE PEASANTS' HOUSE IN MOSCOW

By SYDNEY STRONG

I spent a few hours at the Peasants' House in Moscow, which is a commendable enterprise. It is not a mere hotel, but a house where a peasant from any part of Russia may put up, especially if he comes in any representative capacity.

In the House he not only finds lodgings, but government appointed officials who advise him to the best and quickest method in prosecuting his business, be the business with the government or with a co-operative, to urge some electrical contract or to buy some tractors. In the House is a large entertainment room, well equipped with lanterns and motion picture apparatus; also a large permanent exhibit showing farmers how best to solve some of their problems.

Meets a Pleasant Delegate.

I had the pleasure of being introduced to one of the peasants, Chukanoff by name, coming from a district about 400 miles east of Moscow. He was a fine specimen of manhood, about 60 years old, six feet six inches tall; reminding me instantly of Tolstoy. He wore a black sheep skin coat, high boots and spectacles, an old-fashioned case being on the table. He was a man of nature, in love with the soil. Although he had an invitation to remain in Moscow, he considered himself more needed in his village. You will be interested in the notes I took of his interview:

1st. Reasons for being in Moscow. To remove some of the obstacles in the way of developing his village co-operatives. He has made a report in which he showed that the co-operative works well, could work better, if not for obstacles which could be removed easily with the aid of Moscow and that Lenin promised to see him within a few days to discuss in friendly conversation the whole thing.

School Problems in Russia.

2nd. School questions. They had a school, 250 pupils from his village and surrounding hamlets. There were four grades. The village begins to realize that they were taught in the past only little and not what was good for them, only faith in God and obedience to the ruler. That was good for the rulers and done deliberately everywhere, creating hatred between peoples. We begin to think now we are all children of the Creator of nature and should abolish all implements of destruction, learning together to harness nature and use its riches for our benefit. We are all beginning to treat with a smile the creation of the earth in 6 days and the blowing of the human soul into a piece of clay.

There were 200 families in village, each family had 4 to 5 acres of land; said he envied American efficiency in agriculture—would like to introduce same in Russia—the difficulty was for the small household to keep up a horse. At present two families sometimes unite in keeping up a horse, which works in summer and in winter one of the peasants goes off with the horse to town to work. He spoke of the advantages of village-owned tractor and sowing machinery, at least on basis of proportional holdings, without insisting on a communal ownership.

How Land is Divided.

In past each peasant land was divided up all over into about 75 pieces, variously situated for reasons of various quality, height, etc. But three fields are necessary for the sowings carried on now in his village. He succeeded in the re-division to have only three zones, for the purpose of each peasant possessing a piece of land in the zone nearest the village and those further removed. Thus at present in his village a peasant has only nine pieces of land, three in each zone. There is loss due to dividing lines, which cannot be so well worked and are a source for grasses and accompanying parasites. However, the peasant gets four to five times amount sown, but land properly tilled with selected seed will yield even with some fertilization, 15 to 20 times amount sown.

This village, because of few landlord holdings, (being a question of mere fortune), increased its holdings by 88 acres, of which 33 church property and 50 landlord. This state being a trading state, 80 per cent population literate, while next government, Pensa, 80 per cent illiterate. Mail comes into village three times a week and a hundred people await paper being read by one man.

He came to arrange for electrification. When asked, "What good did the Revolution do the village?" he replied, "One could not speak without difficulty of that." Four years of civil war could not give

## NEXT SUNDAY

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**We Have Helped Feed Russia**  
**Now Let Us Help CLOTHE RUSSIA**



Russia, mighty Russia, ruled by the workers and peasants, is in RAGS. But how is it possible to supply enough clothing for 135,000,000 people? Send them money for CLOTHING FACTORIES.

This solution has been found by the amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. They have started a corporation to finance the clothing industry.

The organized workers' corporation, known as the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, is participating with the Supreme Council of National Economy in the running of 19 FACTORIES IN MOSCOW, 11 FACTORIES IN PETROGRAD, 8 FACTORIES IN KAZAN.

—Cesaire in N. Y. Times.  
Lenin, Premier of the Soviet Republic, has bought two shares in this Industrial Corporation founded by American Organized Labor.

Capital to purchase this equipment is to be supplied by organized labor of America and those sympathizing with the struggles of the First Workers' Republic. Money invested IS NOT A GIFT. The Soviet Government has guaranteed the capital and dividend.

**BUY A SHARE—SELL A SHARE**  
**Unions—Buy a Block of Shares**

The Russian Soviet Government endorses this project. LENIN endorses it and has BOUGHT TWO SHARES OF STOCK. He has pledged his full cooperation. THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA endorses it and urges all organizations and individuals interested in the reconstruction work of Russia to buy a share—sell a share \$10.00.

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**RUSSIAN-AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL CORPORATION**  
(INCORPORATED IN U.S.A.)  
Capital \$1,000,000  
Shares 100,000  
I signify my interest in the purchase of \_\_\_\_\_ shares of the capital stock of Russian-American Industrial Corporation at Ten Dollars (\$10.00) per share, full paid and non-transferable. I understand that my offer is subject to acceptance by the Corporation only at its office, 31 Union Square, New York City.  
By \_\_\_\_\_ Twenty dollars  
on \_\_\_\_\_ shares. (Notes: Description for 100 (g) shares or less, full payment is required hereafter. I agree to pay my balance in two installments—cash or in full before October 1, 1923. The other half must be paid before December 1, 1923.)  
Name: William J. Burns (Rev.)  
Date: 8th November 1922  
(Mark all checks, drafts, or money orders payable to the order of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation.)  
Member of \_\_\_\_\_

**I offer to help in the reconstruction of the Clothing Industry.**  
Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ shares of stock at Ten Dollars each.  
NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
Mail to Russian-American Industrial Corporation, 31 Union Square New York, N. Y.

**FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, 201 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y.**



# CHAUNCEY DEPEW SENT TO SENATE BY RAILROAD BOODLE CROWD FROM NEW YORK

## Hated Pettigrew Because He Showed How the United States Waved Old Glory in the Philippines to Satisfy Greed for Empire.

(Editor's Note: This is the thirteenth article in a series by R. F. Pettigrew who was a senator at Washington for twelve years. His exposure of the activities of those at Washington shows that government is the instrument used by the owning class to further their own economic interests at the expense of the working class. Space prevented using the complete chapter about Chauncey M. Depew.)  
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The Union and Central Pacific Railroads, from Omaha to San Francisco, had been constructed by a company organized by Ames, of Boston, and his associates. They had succeeded in getting Congress to give a land grant consisting of the odd numbered sections of land—for a strip ten miles wide on each side of the main track from Omaha to San Francisco. Besides that the Government had appropriated money enough to more than build and equip the entire road. In return for this money the Government was given a second mortgage on the property.

### HOW RAILROADS CHARGED FREIGHT RATES.

The road never paid any interest to the Government, but allowed it to accumulate. They established freight rates that were confiscatory, as far as the public was concerned. For example, on goods shipped from Omaha to Nevada they charged the rate from Omaha to San Francisco and then added the local rate back, from San Francisco to the point in Nevada. The same was true in Utah, except that in Utah the Mormon Church furnished one of the directors of the road and received favorable rates, so that their entire influence was with the railroad and its system of exploitation.

In 1896, the Government's second mortgage was about to mature, and the people controlling the Central and Union Pacific railroads put them in the hands of a receiver and then appointed a re-organization committee. In the meantime a thorough line had been created by a combination between the Union and Central Pacific from San Francisco to Omaha, the Northwestern Railroad from Omaha to Chicago, and the New York Central Railroad from Chicago to New York. The reorganization committee was appointed for the purpose of swindling the Government out of its entire claim by foreclosing the first mortgage and by separating the Union Pacific from all its branch lines. This reorganization committee included Marvin Hughitt, the President of the Northwestern Railroad and Chauncey Depew, President of the New York Central Railroad. It was, I think, in connection with my efforts to head off this robbery that Chauncey Depew's name first appears in the Congressional Record.

So complete was my exposure of the rascality that the promoters were unable to carry through their scheme. My stand naturally aroused the hostility of the New York Central and the Northwestern Railroad interests. GOVERNMENT PAID RAILROADS TEN TIMES AS MUCH AS EXPRESS COMPANIES PAID.

Nor were these my only offenses against the sacred railroad privileges. I have already related the essential facts concerning my fight on the

railway mail pay, during which I showed that the Government paid the railroads for carrying the mail ten times as much per pound as the express companies paid the railroads for carrying express on the same train, in the same car, under almost exactly identical conditions, and that the New York Central Railroad in particular received from the Government, for carrying the mail between New York and Buffalo, a sum sufficient to pay the interest at six per cent upon the total cost of building and equipping a double-tracked railroad from New York to Buffalo. Finally I moved to reduce the railroad mail pay by 20 per cent, and introduced a bill providing for government ownership of the railroads and the fixing of passenger rates at one cent a mile, which I proved would be possible if all passes and other forms of free transportation were eliminated.

### DEPEW, PRES. N. Y. CENTRAL, SENT TO SENATE TO PROTECT RAILROAD INTERESTS.

It was to guard against such dangerous tendencies that the New York Central Railroad sent Chauncey M. Depew to the Senate in 1898. Depew was not sent to represent the State of New York, or the people of the United States, but to protect and foster the interests of the railroads in general and of the New York Central in particular.

### PETTIGREW SAYS WE BEGAN PHILIPPINE WAR.

To this I replied at once and showed by the Record that Mr. Schurman, president of Cornell University, who was the head of the commission that went to the Philippines, sent by the Government to try and pacify the islands, had offered Aguinaldo a Government position with a salary of \$5,000 per year if he would cease hostilities. I showed also that the commission had offered to pay a large bounty to any of the Filipinos who would come in and surrender their guns. Furthermore, I showed that Aguinaldo had never talked anything else but absolute independence and that he had talked with Dewey time and again on the point. Finally I charged the following facts as proved by the official records in regard to our conduct in the Philippine Islands:

I charged the suppression of information, the censorship of the press and tampering with the mails;

I charged that the press was censored, not because there was fear that the enemy would secure important information, but to keep the facts from the American people, and I proved it;

I charged that the President began the war on the Filipinos, and I proved it by Otis' report;

I charged that Aguinaldo, after hostilities had been inaugurated, asked for a truce, with the purpose of endeavoring to settle differences without further bloodshed, and that the administration answered: "War, having commenced, must go on to the grim end;"

I charged that Otis changed the President's proclamation to the Filipinos with the purpose of deceiving those people and concealing our real intention of remaining in the islands;

I charged that the Filipinos were our allies; that we armed them, fought with them, recognized their flag and surrendered Spanish prisoners to them; that despite these facts Dewey finally captured Aguinaldo's ships of war in September or October, 1898; that Otis, on September 8, 1898, threatened to attack the Filipinos, and that we finally did begin the fighting.

### U. S. AGREED TO PAY SULTAN FOR WAVYING OLD GLORY OVER SLAVERY AND POLYGAMY.

I charged that we made a covenant with the Sultan of Sulu, by which the President agreed to sustain slavery and polygamy and pay the Sultan over \$700 a month for running Old Glory up over his slave mart every morning and taking it down every night;

Finally, I pointed out that we could not have a republic and an empire under the same flag—that one or the other must go down; that the attempt to govern any people without their consent was a violation of our theory of Government and of the Declaration of Independence; that all governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed; that satisfying greed of empire by conquest had caused the downfall of every republic and every empire in the past.

To all this the junior Senator from New York announced, with his incomparable after-dinner, spirited and effervescent logic, that these allegations were all answered and disposed of, because Depew said that Aguinaldo's statement in relation to him was a tissue of falsehoods and Schurman declared that he did not offer Aguinaldo gold for peace.

That was our first contest. After that, from time to time, as long as I remained in the Senate, Depew went out of his way to attack me.

### MARK HANNA BOUGHT HIS WAY INTO SENATE.

I read from the majority report of the Committee of the Ohio State Senate, which showed that Mark Hanna purchased the vote of a member of the Ohio legislature for the sum of \$20,000; \$10,000 to be paid down and \$10,000 after he had voted. The testimony disclosed that Mark Hanna had personal knowledge of this purchase and was a party to it and sent the money from Columbus, where the legislature was in session, to Cincinnati to be paid to the purchased member of the Ohio legislature. The testimony also showed that Mark Hanna was negotiating for the purchase of two or three other members of the legislature and through this system of bribery and corruption he succeeded in getting his seat in the Senate of the United States.

I then read the minority report of the Committee on Election in the Senate which went into the subject fully and disclosed the facts. The Republican members of the Committee on Elections in the Senate—and they were in the majority—simply alluded to the testimony laid before them by the Ohio State Senate and refused to investigate, and gave as a reason that the Ohio State Senate had not sent a man down there to prosecute the case. In other words, Mark Hanna was such a factotum in the Republican party in all its councils that it did not disturb the Republicans at all, as so many of them were used to using money to secure their election.

For Depew's part in this whole transaction his name ought to go down in history and he should put a halo on his own statue which he has already erected and presented to his native town in New York. I should suppose it would be appropriate to have a dove come down from Heaven and perch upon his shoulder and say: "I am from the boodle crowd in New York who run the Government of the United States, and this is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased."

## Arkansas Legislators to Whitewash R. R. Officials Who Organize Mobs

(Continued from page 1.)

ST. LOUIS.—A reporter for one of the big St. Louis papers, who was advised to get out of Harrison, Ark., by the leaders of the railroad mob after he had refused to wear a white ribbon indicating that he was "loyal" to the mob, tells the following story to explain why some wooden culverts and bridges along the M. & N. A. have been destroyed by fire:

"I left Harrison on an M. & N. A. train for Eureka Springs. During the entire trip I stood on the rear platform of the last car.

"Evidently there was no fire pan on the engine, because she was dropping a stream of fire all along the right of way.

### TRAINMEN SAVE BRIDGE.

"In crossing a bridge at one point an exceptionally large burning clinker fell out of the fire box on the bridge. A trainman who was standing on the rear platform with me for the purpose of watching for fires immediately set the emergency air. The conductor and trainman went back on the bridge, kicked the clinker into the creek and put the fire out.

"If that trainman had not been on the rear platform the little wooden bridge would have been destroyed and the M. & N. A. officials would probably have given out another story about depredations by strikers."

HARRISON, Ark.—Federal probe of the reign of terror in which a

citizens' mob murdered and flogged strikers of the railroad shop crafts has begun. A committee of the state legislature was also expected to probe the lynching of E. C. Gregor at the flogging of more than a score of strikers.

The "citizens' committee" has assumed dictatorial powers closely questioning all newcomers and pinning badges on those permitted to stay in the town. As word spread that armed forces of sympathizers with the mobbed men were organizing to march across the state line from Missouri, the Arkansas town assumed the appearance of an armed camp. Shotguns and rifles were carried openly on the streets.

The "citizens' court" has for days since the lynching of Gregor continued its policy of terrorization.

J. P. Venable, labor leader, who escaped from the mob, has left Little Rock, the state capital, for an unknown destination, announcing his determination to secure assistance in protecting laborers.

"Homes have been violated and the wives of strikers tortured and cast into the streets," he asserted.

Signs proclaiming the open shop have suddenly appeared in many shop windows, the visible aspect of the forces at work terrorizing the strikers. The "citizens' court," the names of which are withheld, continued to seek out strikers, who were tried behind closed doors and then flogged in many instances. Their claim to have acted under authority of Circuit Judge J. M. Shinn was denied by the judge. The mob has forced the resignation of all city officials thought to have sympathized with the strikers.

Gertrude Branham, daughter of one striker, opposed singlehanded, the mob which sought to take her father. Defiantly, the girl, with a revolver in each hand, warned the committee not to approach. She fired two shots, but was overpowered and John Branham taken before the "court."

A grand jury going through the farce of a regular procedure, under the whip of the committee, swore in 30 special deputies to bring in witnesses.

The mob action followed the alleged confessions of two strikers to charges of burning bridges. "Wop" Stevens, also indicted, failed to appear and a reward of \$2000 dead or alive, was posted for his capture.

### Europe's Mess Affects U. S.; System Totters.

(Continued from page 1)

are dimly sensing the fact that a collapse of this economic system in Europe will affect the United States. These men haven't the least idea how to go about patching up the

tremendous machine the existence of which has only just become real to them. But they have vague faith that the financial giants of the world's great banking houses must be working toward a solution.

### Poincare Must Go.

This faith is expressed by the Economic World somewhat as follows: Despite a situation that appears to be confusion worse confounded, the rank and file in Wall St. adhere to the opinion that the reparation matter is in the way of settlement. The elder statesmen of Wall St. have the program mapped out to their entire satisfaction. They point out that first came the fall of Lloyd George, who was a thorn in the side of the French. Next is to follow the overthrow of Poincare, who is a thorn in everybody's side. And then the thing is to be patched up largely through the intervention of American bankers, who, while avoiding entangling alliances and the like, are to determine the amount that Germany can pay, indicate the ways and means of providing the funds, and then supervise the administration of German revenues and fiscal system."

### Allies in Harmony; Headed Toward Russia.

Among so many random forecasts another may be suggested. This would see in Anglo-French unanimity at Lausanne and the superficial disagreement in regard to taking possession of the Ruhr munition plants the development of a single policy. Russia stiffens German resistance to the unjust terms of the Versailles peace. Russia stiffens Turkish resistance to the economic hunger of allied financiers. Russia brought the Genoa conference to nothing.

Lord Curzon appears to have found a formula in regard to oil which is acceptable to Standard Oil. There is an accord among the allies. Meanwhile the military moves, against Germany in the Ruhr, along the western border of Thrace, in the Straits, along the Polish border, all seem to converge on Russia in the spring. The latest issue of the Army and Navy Journal contains an elaborate study of the present Russian army. A similar study has been published in England. All these facts have a bearing on the economic situation in America.

### Larkin Recognizes Business Agent of Garment Workers as Stool-Pigeon.

(Continued from page 1)

himself safe from the forgery charge, swore before a magistrate that the evidence he had given against the I. W. W. members was

false, and drew up a statement proclaiming the innocence of the victims, all of whom had been convicted. The prosecutor, hearing of Davis Goldstein's recantation, became nervous lest Scully follow his example, and endeavored to get him out of the country. He is said to have paid Scully \$1750 and his fare to America. Longshoremen in San Francisco demonstrated against his landing here, but he was sneaked ashore.

At the same time that Scully was being shipped to America, Percy Brookfield, member for New South Wales, brought before the assembly Goldstein's statement, and demanded that the government bring Scully back to testify. Brookfield succeeded in his endeavor, and Scully landed in Australia on a Thursday, to appear before the court on the following Monday. On Friday night the two Goldsteins were rounded up by detectives and told that if Davis Goldstein did not deny his affidavit he and his brother would still be sent up on the forgery charge. In spite of this the judge declared that five of the detectives should be censured and that the Goldsteins and Scully were perjurers. The judge stated, however, that he had no power to release the men. On the agitation following this decision

the Labor party was returned to power in New South Wales and the Nationalists thrown out.

### Came to Los Angeles and Became Business Agent.

In the meantime the police had got the indiscreet Davis Goldstein out of the country and into America. Louis Goldstein is now a respected business man in Los Angeles, and Davis was local agent of the International Garment Workers until Peter Larkin spotted him. Scully died under suspicious circumstances about three months after a second trial, which took place in 1920.

As a result of the second inquiry, Judge Ewing declared two more detectives to be perjurers and once more branded Louis Goldstein and Scully—Davis Goldstein being safely out of range in the United States.

### I. W. W. Served Sentence Although Not Guilty.

Four years after the 12 men had gone to prison, Judge Ewing declared six of them not guilty. Five of the others had, he declared, already served three years and nine months too long, as the charge should have been only one of technical sedition arising out of opposition to the war. One man was left in jail to save the faces of the au-

thorities. Peter Larkin was among those released.

Davis Goldstein when faced by Larkin before his union, admitted his guilt, but made the unique defense that in Australia he was a member of the chamber of commerce and hence of the capitalist class, and that he had been faithful to the class to which he then belonged; while in America he was a worker and would be faithful to his new allegiance. In spite of this ingenious plea, the union voted to expel him on the spot.

"I am not through," said Larkin in a recent interview. "There is another man I am after, who admitted on his sworn testimony that he had been in the pay of the New South Wales police, inside the labor unions for 18 months. I saw this man in Boston, but he eluded me."

### U. M. W. OFFICIALS FREED IN KANSAS.

Alexander Howat, former president of the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers of America, was released from jail on January 20, by the order of Judge Woolley of the County Court, along with five other district officials. These men were serving a year's sentence for defying the Kansas Industrial Court.

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# TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

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Subscription: 1 year \$2.00. — 6 months \$1.00.

TRUTH openly declares for the overthrow of the present capitalist system. It does not believe in patching it up. If you think this decaying system can be patched up you will not like TRUTH.

TRUTH stands four square for the industrial form of organization on the economic field. It realizes that the workers must adopt such methods as will give them power to demand their rights, and demand them in an effective way. The workers must also be trained to take full charge of industry when the capitalist system has ceased to function.

TRUTH stands four square for Communism. It realizes that there can be no middle-of-the-road arrangement in the economic world. All the earth must belong to all the workers. All the people of the earth must be workers and not some shirkers. No loafing by any class and no advantage taken by any class over the weak and helpless.

TRUTH is in line with the Third International and supports Soviet Russia and the world revolution. It is convinced that Communism cannot thrive in any one country as long as capitalism attacks it on all sides; that Communism must be international and thus develop into its full fruition.

TRUTH declares that the working class must capture the capitalist state and establish their own state until the class antagonisms have been destroyed and until there remains no further need for the state. During this period of transition there must be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is folly to think that the capitalist class will give up possession of the wrongfully owned industries without a struggle. In this struggle there must be a well disciplined working class and a clear visioned and firm leadership. The task is no Sunday-school play and no lazy man's job. It will mean sacrifice and hardship and much study and much training. The workers must prepare for this.

It is to reach the workers with this message that TRUTH exists. It is the child of the loyal workers in Duluth who recognize the imperative need of the change from capitalism to the Workers' Republic. Come with us!



## HERETICS AMONG US

The Communists who can take the Red International Labor Union as the last word God spoke, must be happy. They have the spirit of orthodox Baptists who take their creed for salvation as the last and only word. They need look for no truth elsewhere, they have a ring around it all. This must make them happy. But there are other Communists whose course is not so easy because they think there is no last word on the tactics of economic salvation or on any other kind of salvation. These unfortunate beings are forced to look and listen and reconsider continually. Those who think the last word has been spoken can scoff comfortably and label all other seekers for economic salvation traitors. It is as easy and as common as having heretics is popular in Baptist's circles.

The God-has-spoken kind of Communist will dismiss the speech made in Moscow by the American representative of Independent Unions (Kucher) with a scoff. Others will analyze it carefully and not scoff. Kucher speaks for a group of revolutionary workers who are in the Red International Labor Union but who say in effect: "We were kicked out of the A. F. L. We have an organization now that is alive and we are not going to liquidate and get back into the A. F. L. Let the Trade Union Educational League work in the A. F. L. It is doing excellent work and its members think they can wake the A. F. L. from the dead. Let them do it. We think it can't be done and we are going to concentrate on the masses who are unorganized. There is work enough for all of us; our final aims are one."

Now isn't it terrible to have such heretics among us? The orthodox Communists who are cock sure that salvation comes only by immersion in liquidation of Independents will shout "Yellow and Traitor." But we belong to the disreputable questioning heretics and we say, "Why may not Kucher's path also lead to salvation? With the assistance of the Socialist Labor Party we can even drag out from the Marx bible real God-given scripture to prove it."

Isn't it about time the organized workers quit being asinine as orthodox church groups that fight each other while all aim at heaven? What are any of our economic groups doing, honest man to honest man, all bluffing aside? Aren't all resolving on paper, bragging about a membership largely on paper and absent from actual organization work? Are any groups so strong that they do not need the assistance of other revolutionary groups?

Do we need another capitalist war to shoot us full of gas and lead to teach us to work with all other groups who wish to emancipate themselves from capitalism?

The main part of Kucher's speech taken from the International press correspondence, is given elsewhere on this page.

## DEBT COLLECTING COMES HIGH

It is not easy to know exactly how things are going on the Ruhr. Of course the news is censored and distorted. Twenty Germans are reported slain by the French soldiers, chafing at the marvelous self-restraint of the German workers who have resisted passively so far.

And what has been accomplished by the French invasion thus far? More school houses have been converted into barracks for soldiers and the school children turned into the streets. In four days from January 14 to January 18 the cost of living in Germany has been doubled. This means that clothes and food will be absent from the workers' families. Before the French troops came the poverty of the Germans was so great that only about half of the school children had any underclothes to cover their bodies. In the future they can creep under newspapers to cover their nakedness.

But the soldiers eat and have all kinds of comforts. It is not cheap to collect debts with an army even counting the cost in coin without taking into consideration the loss through increased human suffering and revived hatreds. Since the armistice, 1918, \$1,500,000,000 has gone to support the allied army of occupation. Two generals of the entente receive as much pay as the German chancellor and all the ministers of the state of Germany together. And in comparison to the workers they live like millionaires in splendor. Signor Nitte, former premier of Italy, says the Rhine commissions which was originally supposed to have four members has a membership of 1300, including 75 delegates claiming the accommodations and allowances of brigadier generals. Palaces, expensive furnishings, good food, the best liquors and broths are at the command of the commissions and armies. This was before the coming of the French troops. No details are necessary to understand what it must be today. The German workers pay for the living expenses of the collectors while their own misery increases. The coal shipments from Germany to France have greatly decreased, so collections haven't been great even with the army present. German capitalist patriots are taking advantage of the distress and helping themselves economically just as our patriots did during the war. Hatreds, hunger, despair increases. Only the Communists seem to be hopeful. They hope the German workers will look to the Russian workers and oust all masters. They hope the Germans will decide that they would rather starve and suffer working out their own economic freedom than to be driven and starved by capitalist masters. If the capable German workers united with the Russians there wouldn't be starving long. They would soon be a comfortable and powerful people. It would put some hope into the hearts of workers everywhere and would start the old world off towards civilization. May it

## PECULIAR 'DUTIES OF HUMANITY'

The British are not near enough to the war flames yet, with the French in the Ruhr. Lord Curzon must bring them a little nearer by trying to force the Turk to yield to England's wishes. He denounced the Turks for refusing to give England possession of the war cemetery at Gallipoli, where British troops who fell in the disastrous Dardanelles expeditions were buried.

The British foreign minister declared he had hoped Ismet Pasha would "take this opportunity to carry out elementary duties of humanity and honor."

The Turks, angry, prepared to break up the conference which for weeks has made no headway toward the settlement of the Mosul problem.

"Elementary duties of humanity and honor." Great Britain practices them so faithfully. We suppose it was *elementary duties of humanity and honor* that caused the British forces a month ago to drop sixteen tons of bombs from airplanes upon the unsuspecting inhabitants of Wazir, a neutral free state on the border of India near Afghanistan. And when the British sentenced 172 Indians to death whom they suspected of being anti-British political they were undoubtedly also practicing *elementary duties of humanity and honor*. They seem to understand filling graveyards.

Dispatches say that the Turks have concentrated 30,000 men on the east bank of the Maritza river; that England already has one hundred airplanes at Constantinople and is sending more ready for action. The allies demanded that Turkey should pay them 15,000,000 Turkish pounds of gold, but the Turks refused. It evidently does not appeal to them as an elementary duty to humanity.

## McKAY ON NEGRO EMANCIPATION

That the emancipation of the negro which is a part of the emancipation of the working class is not an easy task was emphasized by Claude McKay in his recent speech at the Fourth World Communist Congress. He pointed out that the bourgeoisie of the world would use the negro race in their fight against world revolution.

Their program is to stir up racial hatreds to keep negro and white workers from organizing together, to use the negro soldiers to fight for them in their game of exploitation and imperialism, and to mobilize the whole black race to fight organized labor.

Racial hatreds are too common to need to call attention to the attacks upon negroes by white mobs in Chicago, St. Louis and Washington. However, the negroes gave some evidence then of knowing how to fight for themselves. McKay says in America the Socialists and Communists have fought shy of the negro problem and have left the battle against discrimination to the bourgeois reformers. He says the Communists are themselves not emancipated from racial prejudice so they cannot successfully reach the negro with propaganda for emancipation.

Negroes to fight for capitalism is also commonplace; he mentions the Civil war, the Spanish American war and the late World war in which 400,000 negroes were mobilized. England has been staving off revolution by keeping negro armies in her colonies to perfect her organized exploitation and France has an army of over 300,000 negroes today to aid in her program of imperialism.

That the capitalists plan to mobilize the whole black race against organized labor appears from noting conditions in the South where nine tenths of the negro population live. McKay says the black and white workers cannot meet together for organization work because in Virginia and most other Southern states it is forbidden by law. And it is almost impossible to get literature into the hands of the blacks for even liberal bourgeois papers of a reformist nature are not permitted to enter the South. He says:

I hope that as a symbol that the negroes of the world will not be used by the international bourgeoisie in the final conflicts against the World Revolution, that as a challenge to the international bourgeoisie, who have really got an understanding on the negro question, we shall soon see a few negro soldiers in the finest, bravest, and cleanest fighting forces in the world—the Red Army and Navy of Russia—fighting not only for their own emancipation, but also for the emancipation of the working class of the whole world.

McKay's words about American Communists are not pleasant but if it's the truth we might as well face it and revolutionize ourselves a little.

## WHAT KUCHER SAID.

"I would like to have it understood that I am not here as an opposition force from America, but as a representative of a distinct movement—the Independent Unions and on behalf of the United Labor Council of America. I am here rather to protest the opposition against the opposition of the propaganda group who have come here claiming to speak for all American labor."

"The Independent Unions, which are industrial unions, in structure and activity, are being accused of being the cause of the weak trade-union movement in America because the militants are within them. You are informed 'dual unionism' is the root evil;—even if that were so, the unions now known as Independents are not the cause of this, in so far as they are in no way 'dualist'."

"In their origin they are partly the results of countless expulsions for many years, of militant individuals and minority groups who, unable to get back to the Federation Unions, were forced to combine and form themselves into organization. . . . I wish to state that as far as the Independents are concerned, we applied for admission to the Red Trade Union International when it was formed. The bulk of the fighters, the bulk of the militant workers have been naturally drawn to the revolutionary unions. The question of affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions was carried unanimously, showing the sentiment of the workers in these unions."

"Another point that should be emphasized is this. It has been mentioned by a previous American speaker that the independent unions should disband—liquidate,—and go into the American Federation of Labor. The slogan they use is 'Go to the masses.' But we do not find the masses in the American Federation of Labor. The previous speaker on the American question stated that there were 36,000,000 eligible workers. Yet at no time have there been more than 4,500,000 workers in the American Federation of Labor, and today you will hardly find much above 2,000,000 workers, if that. The masses will not join the Federation. They are opposed to the Federation. Any hope of inducing the masses to join the Federation of Labor is bound to meet with failure. The A. F. of L. has so discredited itself that the masses will not respond. If the slogan be 'Go to the masses' let us go to the masses, do not let us look for them in the decayed structure of the American Federation of Labor. The chief plea is to go into the Federation in order to reform it. You cannot reform any such structure as the Federation. Again, to understand the American movement clearly, is to know that any thought of reforming the Federation is futile."

"We are in accord with the program as laid down by the R. I. L. U. and protest against certain elements in America distorting the intent of the program to serve their own ends."

"Those who do not understand the American movement say the Independent Unions are an artificial creation for the purpose of establishing 'ideal' unions. This is not so. The independent union development in America is a national

development, and in so far as it is a natural trend we must recognize it as a factor, and being a factor we must make allowance for it in all our activities."

"We find here in the report of Comrade Zinoviev's opening remarks that he mentions the Communist membership in America above 8,000 and we find in the reports of the Trade Union Educational League delegate who spoke previously, that they claim to have active forces inside the trade unions numbering 422,000. Comrade Zinoviev pointed out the inconsistency of that—that it was not natural that the party could be so weak and yet have such powerful influence in the industrial field."

"We in the independent unions recognize that in so far as there are certain valuable elements in the American Federation of Labor, and insofar as there is a structure which can be utilized at least for one purpose, activity should be carried on within that Federation for the purpose of not merely reforming it—for that is next to impossible—but in order to expose the methods used by reactionary officialdom; in order to further carry on the agitation for the general amalgamation of industry,—not because we hope to achieve that—but as propaganda means, and for that reason we are in favor of the trade Union Educational League carrying on its work of confining its main activity to within the Federation itself. The Independent Unions must be given sole responsibility for the activity amongst the Independent unions and amongst the unorganized workers."

"The trouble has been that a good many of those calling themselves spokesmen and leaders had very little actual understanding or experience in the movement in America. It has been mainly a theoretical discussion as to what should be done, not a question of what are the facts. It is only a question of 'what are the facts'—and acting accordingly. They have been building up a theory and trying to piece the facts to fit the theory."

## THREE REFUSE RELEASE AND EXILE

The three members of the I. W. W. in Leavenworth penitentiary, who were recently offered commutation of sentence and exile by President Harding, and refused to accept the offer, are Burt Lorton, who is serving 10 years; Peter Green, ten years; and Harry Lloyd, who has served two years and eight months of a five-year sentence. Lorton and Lloyd are natives of England, and Green is Czechoslovakian.

Efforts of the Harding administration to get the alien political out of the country struck a snag in the cases of these three. Refusal by these prisoners to accept deportation places the White House in an embarrassing position, for it brings into sharp relief the publicly uttered promise by President Harding on July 19, 1922, that he would review the cases of all political prisoners within 60 days and would liberate all who were confined solely for opinions. Sixty-one are still imprisoned for their ideas about the war.

—Defense News.

## COMMUNISTS; WHERE?

Always remember that expressions of comradeship are like Acts of Faith, things too sacred to be put into practise.

Don't forget that membership in the Party gives you the right to look down on the non-party worker. Conceit is a wonderful regenerating force.

When a comrade is doing rank-and-file work, be sure to show him how well you can criticize. Don't for Jimmy's sake show him how badly you could do his work.

Your Party card gives you the right to be cantankerous to the world, and your comrades. Communists parties are formed, not for the emancipation of the workers, but for you to air your little grievance.

Be as anti-national as you please. You can then speak with authority on Internationalism, providing that you keep the small-town atmosphere.

Be as hostile as possible to all other progressive movements. By sabotaging their work, you prove your own purity.

Don't study the latest scientific and industrial developments. After the Revolution, we can pray to Manitous or Allah for our technicians.

You needn't bother about selling the paper or trying to advertise it. The paper doesn't matter.

The editor of your paper is an omniscient being, therefore don't send him news of the local fights. But be sure to kick, because it is a one-man paper.

If you should happen to write be sure to be verbose, and write so that your stuff shall not be understood. Editors are expert code readers.

As an Official.

Remember that you are now above the rank and file. Don't lose your dignity with their activities.

Dream of yourself as the coming Lenin. It's a heluva lot easier than doing his work.

Be as liberal as you can with party funds. The Lord provides.

Canvass votes, intrigue, and make yourself a "personality." It gives you the right to criticize your masters. But don't let the yellow Labor crowd know that you are copying their methods.

Paste those hints in your hat. Follow the directions and some day the workers of Ireland will enjoy a Workers' Republic—but not in this world.

The above is from the *Workers' Republic*, official organ of the Communist Party of Ireland. We love the editor's nerve. We think it is a hopeful sign. Do any American Communists need the hints?

## WAKE UP! YE TOILERS

B. N. Z.

Oh! faithful workers of despot lands abounding—  
What has bewitched you?

What so enfolded that the way does not seem clear,  
For the harvesting of all the needs as they appear?

Oh! trusty servant by the masters shorn—  
What has bewitched you?

Before your very sight the crucified ones are dying  
And the ghastly ones with hunger pangs are crying.

Oh! chained slaves who by greediness are bartered—  
What has bewitched you?

E'en though the sainted sponsors of Mammon's lust  
Forge on! in our soul's call we trust.

Wake up! Wake up! ye toilers fastened to a leash—  
Ye are not bewitched.

Mighty men of valor are captains of their host,  
Labor is the only power we worshippers will toast.

January 21st, 1923.

## CO-OPERATIVES IMPORTANT IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The most important task confronting Communists working in the co-operative movement is employing the Marxist analysis of social relations, to criticize and expose the policy of the old co-operative movement, which strives to subject co-operation to the capitalists, and thus to draw the laboring masses organized in the Co-operatives into the struggle against the capitalist offensive which is being waged against the whole of the working class.

### In Transition Period Co-operatives Help the Proletariat.

Co-operation is a form of the movement of the broad masses of the proletariat, all clerks and office workers, artisans and small peasant proprietors, who combine for raising their standard of living under the capitalist system, by dispensing with the services of the trader and middleman. In the transition period the co-operative societies serve as a weapon in the hands of the proletariat in its fight to secure the realization of Socialism.

The co-operative societies pursue aims which vary with the class composition of their membership. These aims are: (a) the protection of the interests of the members as consumers, and (b) the protection of the interests of the members as producers.

### Two Kinds of Co-operatives.

As a consequence of this the co-operative movement in all countries is divided into two branches: consumers' co-operatives and producers' co-operatives, the latter being in close connection with credit co-operatives.

Sometimes these two branches are in a state of rivalry, as in Germany and Hungary, and others manage to work conjointly as in Russia and Italy.

In the period of the transition of power to the proletariat, the best form of co-operation is that of integral and mixed societies of all forms in which the consumers' societies, comprising as they do the overwhelming majority of urban and purely proletarian elements, should, from the point of view of the interests of the working class, be the object of special attention and play the predominant role.

### Masses Learn Economic Management.

Consumers' societies combining millions of proletarians creating a broad network of trading enterprises and establishing their own production, are important in themselves as means of improving the material condition of the masses, of developing a communal spirit among the masses, of teaching them the methods of economic management perfected by capitalism, and finally, may be employed by the proletariat for the organized distribution of products on a national scale at the moment when it assumes power. But parallel with these tasks, peculiar to the cooperative movement as such, the co-operative societies also have to pursue the interests of the working class as a whole. These are the economic, and consequently the political emancipation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism.

### Consumers' Co-operatives Must Aim At End of Exploitation.

Although consumers' co-operation, in view of its heterogeneous composition, reflects the lack of development of the class-consciousness of the proletariat, in many countries of Western Europe and America, to a greater extent even than the political and trade union organizations, nevertheless the position taken up by the old co-operators, preaching the independence of the co-operative movement from the rest of the labor movement is totally wrong. On the contrary, the closest possible contact should exist between all forms of labor movement in the struggle for the achievement of the common aim of emancipating labor from all exploitation.

In the same way as the reformists lead the workers on the political field to agreements with the bourgeoisie, and the Amsterdamers, by means of their trade unions, strive to imbue the masses of the workers with a pure economic spirit and the abandonment of the struggle against the capitalists, the old co-operators on the one hand are, while verbally supporting the principle of neutrality, actually subjecting the co-operative movement to the influence of the bourgeois and reformist parties; on the other hand, in preaching that the aim of co-operation is self-help only, they destroy the Socialist character of co-operation and reduce its role to that of an agency of the bourgeois system.

### Must Be a Part of Rest of Labor Movement.

If not the co-operative movement hitherto could not be separated from the rest of the labor movement, this is particularly true for the present moment, which is marked by the acuteness of class antagonism and the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the proletarian masses, and when every economic struggle of the proletariat is immediately transformed into a political struggle.

Under these conditions the proletarian movement in the co-operative societies must form a part of the general labor movement in its struggle against the capitalist system.

Producers' and credit co-operatives which combine almost exclusively small proprietors in the environment of the capitalist system will share the fate of the latter as a class. These organizations have no economic future, for they are incapable of fighting against capitalism and they will either collapse or be transformed into joint stock companies—the typical form of capitalist enterprises.

### Development of Technical Enterprise and Collective Psychology.

Only with the passing of power to the proletariat can these co-operatives, with the support of the State, complete their development and find an outlet for their useful functions, such as the organization of individual, isolated enterprises into large enterprises in which scientific technical methods could be employed, tending towards Socialist methods of economic management and the development of a collective psychology. Furthermore, they can serve as links between isolated peasant and artisan enterprises and the central economic organs of the Proletarian State.

### Co-operatives Must Guard Against Illusion of Stability.

As a consequence of the fact that the leading organs of the co-operative movement in almost all countries are in the hands of purely bourgeois and reformist elements, the co-operative movement does not fulfill the tasks that confront it and causes harm to the labor movement by obscuring the class-consciousness of the proletariat as it did during the war, by weakening the revolutionary zeal of the workers in their struggle against capitalism, and in the case of the co-operative societies organizing small proprietors, by creating the illusion of the stability of their enterprises and their capability of competing with large capital.

### Communists Belong in the Co-operatives.

Finally, the consumers' societies in all European countries almost without exception are sources from which the reformist parties draw their support.

All the foregoing, therefore, compels Communists to increase their activity in the co-operative movement. It should be recognized as absolutely essential for all Communists to enter the co-operative movement, to take an active part in it, and strive to convert it into an important instrument of the proletariat, both in its struggle against Capitalism, and the organization of the new Socialist society.

—The British Communist.