

the Communist

All Power To The Workers!

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Five Cents



The Deportee: "Where liberty is, there is my country." (Benjamin Franklin)

The Futility of Deportation

NOW that the "Soviet ark" is on its way for shores at present unknown, with its 249 deportees, we would like to ask the prussian junkers and short-sighted officials of the administration what good they expect to achieve by their performance.

Will the deportation of alien workers whose economic and political ideas have been branded "red" by the guardians of American capitalism in the administration, create any degree of respect for that symbol commonly referred to as government?

Next to the injunction issued against the miners a few weeks ago, the deportation of the 249 men and women this week ranks as one of the prize acts of stupidity that has been committed by the cuckoos who are attempting to run the machinery of government.

With sixty to seventy per cent of the workers in the United States of foreign birth or extraction, will the deportation of their kind induce them to have any other attitude but one contempt for American institutions?

Many foreign workers came to the United States after they had been persuaded to come here by agents of American capitalism. Opportunity, justice, plenty, were the

inducements that were dangled before the eyes of European workers by the U. S. Steel corporation, the coal barons, the oil trust, and other big industries.

So European labor came here... at the behest of American capitalism. And now that the workers of European birth rebel against industrial slavery, they are warned of deportation unless they conduct themselves as good citizens, permitting themselves to be exploited by patriotic profiteers. The promises of opportunity, justice, plenty exploded and left in their trail a process of disillusionment.

Economically, this process of disillusionment on the part of European, as well as American, workers in the United States revealed itself in sweatshops (which today, due to the efforts of the foreign workers have been partly relegated to the past), long hours adulterated foods, uncertainty of unemployment, intimidation, violence, Homestead, Ludlow, Calumet, Garyism.

The political side of their disillusionment has been embodied in government by injunction, the Tom Mooney case, the threat of the military to compel the miners to return to work, the "war to save democracy",

the infamous treatment of Soviet Russia, the American support of Kolchak and Denikin, the espionage act, denial of free speech and assemblage, provocation to disorder by the ruling class in the recent steel strike, and the arrest or imprisonment of men and women whose ideas of economic freedom do not suit financiers and imperialists dominating the United States.

This disillusionment, this ever-increasing disgust with the hypocrisies of democracy, is general throughout the United States and has affected American as well as alien workers. The recent mass strike of the miners and the revolt of the Pittsburgh steel slaves composed of Americans and European workers has served to impart to them that they have but one enemy to deal with: the Dictatorship of Capitalism.

And deportation cannot lessen the spirit of rebellion against capitalism. The present government and its successors can send boatloads of deportees each passing day, but that will not prevent American men and women workers, and European men and women workers in the United States, from carrying out their determination to crush the dictatorship of American capitalism.

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The Cases of Ruthenberg and Ferguson.

ON Friday morning last, December 19th. Comrades Ruthenberg and Ferguson were called to the office of one of the attorneys employed by the Communist Party, in cases of arrests of members, and informed that the state officials of Illinois had granted extradition papers to the New York authorities and that they must appear for arraignment in New York City on charges of "criminal anarchy". The cases are based upon an indictment returned some three weeks ago, at which time both comrades were taken into custody in Chicago by detectives and held until bail of \$15,000 each was raised. They were then at liberty until the governor of Illinois had passed upon extradition.

On Saturday morning the "Chicago Tribune" carried a garbled account of their arrest in an Associated Press dispatch, which dealt with the deportation of Berkman and Goldman. After referring to the impending deportations of these anarchist leaders and a number of other alien who were to be deported under charges of anarchy, the cases of the Communist Party officials were mentioned in such a manner as to imply that they were also anarchists of the type of Berkman and Goldman. What the motive for this false allegation may be we shall not attempt to fathom. Any person with a degree of decency above that of the average pen prostitute which the Tribune maintains on its editorial staff knows perfectly well that officials of the Communist Party are not anarchists, as the two philosophies are diametrically opposed. Such misrepresentation is only a part of the general campaign of lying and villification, accompanying the vicious attack of the authorities upon the Communist Party. The Tribune would have its readers believe that Ruthenberg and Ferguson are also to be deported as anarchists, although they are neither anarchists nor aliens.

There have been no deportation charges brought against them for the reason that they are both citizens of the United States. Of course the Tribune, the Associated Press and other servants of imperialism are endeavoring to arouse public sentiment so the other hirelings of imperialism in the Congress of the United States can place laws upon the statute books enabling the authorities to deport all who disagree with the powers that be, including citizens as well as aliens. The Tribune's conception of an ideal society is one in which the slaves never question the authority of the masters.

The fact that some ignorant grand jury returns an indictment at the behest of some half-baked states attorney, based upon a law passed by legislative servants of capitalism, whose greatest thought doesn't amount to as much as a flea's dream, and that the law is called "criminal anarchy" for want of a better name does not signify that the accused are anarchists. Such a performance is only a comment upon the intelligens of

the servants of capitalism who obtain their information of social phenomena from such sources as the Associated Press and the Chicago Tribune.

These indictments are a challenge to the membership of the Communist Party and we must reply by exerting greater efforts in our organization work and also raise a defense fund that will enable us to put up an adequate fight against these absurd charges. This is a part of the organized attempt to destroy the Communist Party and we must reply to the attack in no uncertain terms.

Comrades! Exert every effort possible in order to raise an adequate defense fund and also carry on the work of maintaining a strong organization that can withstand any assault against it.

The One Big Union.

A characteristic trick of anti-revolutionary Socialism is to use the revolutionary slogans and to distort them into nothingness. We have already commented on the enthusiasm for the Third International which still finds voice within the old Socialist Party, though no person could accept the principles of the Third International and remain in the Socialist Party one moment. All that the Socialist Party can possibly do in the United States from now on, taking no account of it as the political vehicle of a few "shyster" politicians like Berger, Hoan, Shiplacoff, Gerber and their like, is to be an opposition party to Communism. Labor reformism will be far better taken care of by the Labor Party and by the Forty-Eighters.

* * *

It is the realization of this inevitable role of a Socialist Party—with its left wing clipped off—which brings the Socialist Party into an immediate respectable publicity in striking contrast with everything that went before the party split. Practically without membership (15,000 at the highest) the party is politically more important than ever—important to Capitalism against Communism. Let there be no miscalculation; the Socialist Party will get votes—and every one of these votes will be a dagger pointed at the proletarian revolution. When the choice is between social reformism and social revolution the decision is for or against the proletarian revolution.

The Socialist Party now avails itself of the slogan: "One Big Union." There are many who use this slogan without giving it any precise meaning, and this of itself is bad enough, but along comes the Socialist Party editor with this amendment: "What a One Big Union really means—ONE BIG UNION AT THE POLLS FOR THE ABOLITION OF WAGE SLAVERY."

While the party editor was figuring this out, the national secretary of the party was telling an interviewer that the program of the Labor Party was the same as that of the Socialist Party, with the difference that the Socialists like to talk more about the end of wage slavery and the coming of the Co-operative Commonwealth. He was disappointed because there were too many Socialists in the Labor Party Convention! Thought they would get more of the rank and file of the trade unions because of their greater respectability.

Echoes from the strike fields show that the rank and file of labor is thinking Communism, not Socialism; that the slogan of One Big Union is going to be taken as a slogan of strike action, and that there is less appeal than ever in the vapidities of

legislative reformism under capitalistic auspices.

To read the Socialist Party papers, with their apparent sympathy for all revolutionary progress the world over, at the same time that this party functions here in consistent opposition to the revolutionary proletarian movement, is to realize that the role of Socialist treason will yet be played in the United States with a viciousness equal to that of the Socialist traitors of any of the European countries. The consolation is that the working class of this country has already been put to guard against such treason by the experiences of other struggles, and that there is already a separation of the conscious revolutionary elements from the anti-revolutionary organization.

American Soldiers in Siberia

By Mrs. Gertrude Tobinon

WHEN I read in the newspapers that the American soldiers do not object to being taken prisoners by Soviet Russian troops, I was not at all surprised. I spoke to many American soldiers while in Vladivostok in September 1918, and I know their attitude towards the Siberian Bolsheviks and towards the Siberian people in general. When the American soldiers came to far eastern Siberia, they were entirely innocent of the whole situation. They did not know that they were being used as tools by the bureaucrats ultimately to crush the revolution. The American soldiers were under the impression that the Bolsheviks were German spies whom it was their duty to fight and as such they were anxious to fight them. Soon, they discovered that this was not so, that there were no German soldiers among the Red Army and that the Red Army consisted of workers and peasants of Siberia.

The condition of the American soldiers in Siberia was pitiful. A great majority of them became affected with venereal diseases and filled the hospitals at Vladivostok, because with the fall of the Soviet Government, prostitution was re-established as an open trade. During the short period of Soviet rule in Siberia, hundreds of houses of prostitution were closed up and the unfortunate girls were given work in communal work shops which the Soviet Government organized in every city. By this change in economic conditions, prostitution was practically abolished. Then, when the reactionaries came back to Vladivostok, with them speculation, competition and houses of prostitution came back to life.

It was a sad picture indeed that our boys presented in the streets of Vladivostok. Not once did I see them, the flower of our youth, the hopes of our future race, but that they were drunk, looking for shelter. Small wonder, thought I, that such things happen. There they were—these poor boys, forced to lead a lonesome life, in the bitter cold, windy streets of Siberia, far from friends and dear ones, without knowing the language except for the two words, Krasivaya Dievchka (pretty girl)! Without knowing why they are there, and when they will return home—what wonder that these young men dissipate in drunkenness and prostitution?

Once in Siberia, the war takes on a different aspect for them. They begin to doubt the sincerity and truth of their government. Enthusiasm for victory and conquest is lost, and in its place remain only the horrors of war. They become sick of staying in icy Siberia only to protect foreign property and to fight someone else's battle.

Communist Party Control and Soviet Institutions

By Nicholas Hourwich

(Comment on Vladimir Sorin's article under above caption in The Communist, Dec. 13, 1919.)

THE article by Comrade Sorin originally appeared in No. 4 of The Communist, the official organ of the left wing of the Russian Communist Party (the Bolsheviks), issued in Moscow under the joint editorship of N. Bucharin, Karl Radek, V. Obolensky and V. Smirnov. Aside from this group of editors, the staff of regular contributors comprises, among many others, the names of the following prominent comrades: N. Antonov (Trotsky's predecessor as Commissar of the Army and Navy), Bela Kun, Anna Kollontay (Commissar of People's Welfare), A. Lomov (Commissar of People's Economy), etc.

Incidentally, we reproduce its title-page bearing the following inscription:

THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY
(BOLSHEVIKS)

Workers of the World. Unite!
"COMMUNIST"

A Weekly Journal of Economics, Politics
and Sociology.

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE LEFT
COMMUNISTS

This journal is being published in the "Printing Establishment of the Russian Federated Socialist Soviet Republic." The editor-in-chief, N. Bucharin, is a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist Party (at a recent session of which he was wounded by a bomb thrown by a counter revolutionist) and is chairman of the Moscow Soviet of the Workers' and Red Army Delegates.

This data is offered to show that this journal represents the views of comrades standing in the front line of Communist thought and action, whom no one, differing radically as he may from their position on the question of control, will be able to accuse of not thoroly understanding the principles of Communism or of being "disloyal" to the Proletarian Revolution.

After these preliminary remarks we shall enter into a discussion of the essential points of Comrade Sorin's article.

* * *

A detailed analysis of this article we will postpone for a later time; at present, we shall confine ourselves to a few brief commentaries.

As the title of this article indicates, its object is to deal with the interrelationship between the Communist Party and the Soviet Institutions (in Russia and other countries) and the question of Party Control over

Soviet Institutions.

The author of this article points out the abnormal and yet, as he proves, entirely natural phenomenon that the Soviet officials (especially those of the lower or middle ranks in the "governmental hierarchy") are manifesting a certain professional conservatism a "fear of perturbations", an inclination toward compromises and following from this a desire "to get away from Party Control." It should be noticed that all this is said of the Soviet officials living and acting in Russia—in an electrified, revolutionary atmosphere under the immediate influence of the dictatorship of proletariat!

How much more will these negative characteristics tend to develop in the foreign soviets, removed as they are from the relatively "neutralizing" environment of the revolution!

The author lays emphasis on the "unprincipled part of the public" and which has now "wormed its way" to the Soviet institutions "and designates as the most reactionary element of this group every variety of technicians and specialists, who undoubtedly do not sympathize with the power of the Soviets. Let us note, in connection with this grouping, that, as was recently reported by a correspondent of so impartial (in this particular instance) a paper as The New York Times, that precisely the technicians and the large variety of technical societies comprise that professional group, in whose environment and under whose protection the counter-revolutionary plotters are concealing themselves.

What sort of an "antidote" does the writer recommend against these undesirable tendencies; what are his deductions?

Agreeing entirely with the spirit of Lenin's article ("On the Question of Slogans" appearing in the first issue of "The Communist International", monthly organ of the Communist Party of America), in which he points out the necessity of purging the Soviets of vacillating and petit-bourgeois parties and in complete agreement with the procedure adhered to by Lenin and Trotsky (the latter describes this in his speech "On the Relation Of the Soviet Government and the Middle Peasantry") and all other Commissars in that every measure to be carried out by the Soviets is previously submitted to the Central-Executive Committee of the

Communist Party.—Comrade Sorin advises not to forget the basic Communist position that "THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS ALWAYS AND EVERYWHERE SUPERIOR TO THE SOVIETS. For only the Communist Party constantly and invariably functions as the champion and the representative of the interests of the world proletariat, of the international working class; while the Soviets are the representatives of the labor democracy in general, and its interests, particularly the interests of the petty-bourgeois peasantry, do not always coincide with the interests of the proletariat",—and also because the Soviets might assume (which Lenin points out in the above-mentioned article) a counter-revolutionary character, as was the case in Russia in the period of the "coalition governments" in 1917 and as it is at present in Germany under the Social-Patriotic triumvirate of Scheidemann-Ebert-Noske.

"The Communist Party, being relatively better safeguarded against disintegration should strengthen its control over the Soviet factions and make the Soviet officials accountable and responsible to the Communist Party"—such is the conclusion of Comrade Sorin, to which we subscribe whole-heartedly.

And these concluding words of the article: "Our Comrades like to reproach us the way we introduce disorganization into the Soviets and so are enemies of the Soviets from the left. How familiar are these accusations to us! And perfectly right is Comrade Sorin when he says these accusations are based on utter incomprehension.

Indeed, here in the environment of our "splendid American isolation" making it as easy to communicate with Russia as to reach the man in the moon and because here we are deprived of such a chance to defend our position as is afforded our comrades of The Moscow Communist, this "incomprehension" of our comrades from the "right" sometimes assumes an intensely tragic aspect. . . . But we don't doubt that the correct and not the perverted presentation of our position sooner or later, will penetrate into Moscow through all the ramifications of our present isolation (due partly to existing political conditions). Then our true conception of Communism, and not what amounts to a worship of sheer Sovietism, will triumph. The truth of Communism (not the fetish of Sovietism) must prevail!

It is this Communist certitude that enables us to contemplate with serenely the "utter incomprehension" and the overt calumnies flung at us by adversaries!

Women in the Third International

AT the first Congress of the Third International the position of men and women was debated, and the conclusion given here was arrived at:—

The International Communist Congress recognises that the solution of all the problems which have been presented, the final victory of the world proletariat, and the complete abolition of the capitalist society, can only be attained by the close collaboration of all workers in the fight—men and women. The enormous increase of female labor in all economic fields is an accom-

plished fact, and not less than half the total wealth of the world is produced by women. On the other hand, there can be no doubt of the important part which awaits working women in the creation of the new communist social order, especially during the transition period, even in the strictly economic field, for what concerns the reform of family customs, the realisation of the reform of family customs, and all the problems that relate to it, the development of their working ability, and formation into citizens of the Soviet Republic, which must be inspired by sentiments of solidarity. All this im-

poses on those parties which adhere to the Third International the necessity of considering a problem of the utmost importance; the concentration of all their strength and energy to draw the working women into the Party, the employment of all means to educate the workers in a spirit corresponding with the new social order, and with the new Communist ethics which they must introduce in their social and family life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can only grow strong and triumph by means of the energy and active co-operation of working women.—L'Ordine Nuovo.

The Menace of American Capitalism

Or the Power Behind Wilson

By J. D. Newbold.

(Second Installment)

DURING the panic of 1907, and again in the crisis in July-August 1914, the firm of J. P. Morgan and Co., this time together with the Secretary of the Treasury, came to the rescue of the credit system of America. Early in 1915, the Allies put all their purchases in the hands of the Morgans, who bought for them at the rate of about \$100,000,000 a month during the first year. In September 1915, a British and French Commission came to borrow \$500,000,000. A meeting was held in Morgan's library, attended by the big men on Wall Street, and the great railway "King," J. J. Hill, urged subscription to the loan so that the Allies "would buy supplies here."

America--A Creditor Nation.

That gathering and those negotiations mark a turning point in history. They mark the definite emergence of New York as the centre of the money power of the world. Before another sixteen months had elapsed the United States plutocracy had succeeded in paying off the pre-war mortgage of \$5,000,000,000. Some think like \$400,000,000 of this consisted of loans made to the Allies.

What has since happened may be judged by the following quotations from unimpeachable American authorities:—

"It was recently publicly stated that prior to the war the United States was a debtor nation to the extent of about \$4,000,000,000 but that the most available figures indicated that at least three-quarters of this indebtedness has been directly liquidated, and that in addition the war began private investors in the United States have loaned to foreign governments between \$1,500,000,000 and \$2,000,000,000, which is still outstanding, while the Treasury Department has made available to the Allied Governments over \$3,000,000,000." (Supplement to Commerce Reports Bureau of Finance and Department of Commerce of the U. S. Dec. 2nd, 1918.)

"Up to July 1, 1918, we had exported more merchandise than we imported, to the extent of about ten billion dollars, and Mr. Roosevelt estimates that by the end of this year we will be in the position of a creditor nation to the extent of \$9,000,000,000. This will mean a net annual income of about \$450,000,000, as against annual interest payments to foreigners, when we were a debtor nation, of \$175,000,000." (G. B. Mallon, of the Bankers Trust Company, *World's Work*, New York, January, 1919.)

These colossal figures imply that the United States capitalists who by their terrific grip upon the banks, investment trusts and insurance corporations, control the entire credits of the republic, require the governments of the other Allied Powers and of Russia, by some means or other, to pay them annually £90,000,000 in interest. That economic power connotes an immense political influence and anxiety. No wonder that Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the Carnegie Foundation at Washington, issues a solemn warning in the January *World's Work*:—"We may be faced by a Bolshevik Europe, united by a common bond of hatred for our alleged 'Anglo-Saxon capitalism'.... A real peril threatens the established social order. We

Americans still view that peril with the same attitude of remoteness and self-complacency with which we viewed the early stages of the European War.... We are quite incapable of comprehending how vividly that peril impresses itself upon the apprehension of the propertied classes, abroad, and how potently the promises of social revolution appeal to the propertyless classes of impoverished Europe.... First of all the working people of Europe must be promised protection against the possibility of another war, and assured the best possible conditions for the speedy restoration of their material welfare."

Such is the fear in the sympathetic bosoms of "the propertied classes" of the United States. Hence this most informative monthly, controlled by the family of the late American Ambassador to Britain, chronicling that "Representatives bankers have already met, under the auspices of the Council of Foreign Relations, to study the ways and means of financing America's share in the physical reconstruction of Europe," goes on to point out that "the Red Cross, ably manager, fully organized, and richly financed, can carry a message of brotherhood, and a practical, if silent, message of democracy, into regions never before so ready to receive and learn.... Its field is a stricken world." Its organizing head is one of the principal partners of J. P. Morgan and Co., and its headquarters in Petrograd afforded, for a time, a rendezvous for Kerenski and Korniloff in their counter-revolutionary plot against the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. It was the Rockefeller endowed Y. M. C. A. which was sent to pioneer the work of re-organization in Siberia. More than ever will Charity come to stink in the nostrils of a working class proudly demanding Justice.

The Rise of the Rockefellers

We have examined J. P. Morgan and Co., and the part they have played, first in the development of America by British money, and then in the redemption of her properties from alien exploitation, a process accompanied by an even more complete subjection of Europe to United States capitalism. With the drying up of the London monetary reservoir, and the absorption by American productive undertakings of the economic resources of Europe, the function of the money-changers has vastly altered. J. P. Morgan and Co. is a firm going rapidly into relative decline. Another concern, another group, another congeries of powers, which for twenty years it has fought with-co-operated with, and is now succumbing to, takes its place. That is the financial dynasty represented by Frank A. Vanderlip, until lately President of the National City Bank of New York. This concern, now the most powerful banking house in the world, entered into an alliance with the "Standard Oil" interests as long ago as 1892 and, working in alliance with Kuhn, Loeb and Co., began to assist Harriman to achieve his memorable railroad conquest of the Mississippi-Pacific Coast systems, including the Union and Southern Pacific, the Texas Pacific, Colorado and Southern, Illinois Central and other great

lines. Harriman and the allied banks used the Rockefeller millions to achieve their aim. The National City Bank helped "Standard Oil" to secure control of the gas and electrical light and power interests of New York, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, etc., to dominate the public-utility corporations and hydro-electric concessions, both east and west; to "float" the Consolidated and Amalgamated Copper issues and to plunder the public for £20,000,000 on the deal; to consolidate Sugar and Tobacco, and to bring off many another gigantic triumph.

The immense "insiders" profits made by the Rockefellers and their immediate associates during the years between 1890 and 1905, when the United States output of petroleum rose from 43,800,000 to 139,900,000 barrels a year, and copper from 265,100,000 to 871,600,000 lbs. a year, can be imagined. Since then the Navies of the World have swallowed immense quantities of petroleum, and a thousand new demands have been made upon "Standard Oil." All over the world the octopus has flung its tentacles and its profits reach out as new capital into the least known of quarters. Its interests were, up to 1912, almost everywhere hopelessly inter-mingled with those of Morgan, and between them they were believed to control more than ten billion dollars of credit. Associated with the National City Bank were and are the "Big Five" meat packers of Chicago, and the great Continental-Commercial National Bank of that city and the Middle West.

Such was the power of the "Standard Oil" bank and bond issuing house at the outbreak of the Great War. At its head was Frank Vanderlip, who came to its board in 1901 straight from office as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, where he had "gathered experience which he put to very good use in his work as a national banker." (*World's Work*, June, 1916). After the death of J. Pierpont Morgan removed that masterful personality from the world's money market, Frank Vanderlip has rapidly come to the fore, and it is under his leadership that "America" has become "a creditor nation."

Learning to 'Think Internationally'

In 1915, the National City Bank, under his guidance, called into being the American International Corporation, capitalized, like the subsequent British Trade Corporation, at £10,000,000. It had "on its board the most prominent business men in the country." Its purpose was to make "banking an ally of commerce in the construction task of building new markets for our products, new fields of investment for surplus wealth, and a new co-operative function for American finance in developing the undeveloped resources of the 'world.'" The private Bulletin issued to its members by the Federation of British Industries described this Corporation as a "potentially more powerful combination even than the pre-war German Cartels, backed and led by the German banks." It reported Vanderlip as saying—and mark carefully the underlying unity of principle in these words and in the utterance and policy of President Wilson:—

These changes (wrought by the ward) are bringing the United States new re-

(Continued on page 8)

Planning the Next War

By Morris Gordin.

THE ink on the peace treaty has not yet dried and the battlefields have not been cleared of their decaying corpses, but the capitalists are already thirsting for new bloodshed. Viciously they clamor for a new war. Especially is the war spirit in evidence among our American capitalists. They are not satisfied with the European war just concluded. It has given American capital control of the world's finance. But what good is such control, if Europe is not able to pay back the loans given her by America?

Such is the "tragic" condition. Only a few days ago Lloyd George admitted in Parliament that the real reason why he is compelled to liquidate "the great adventure" of Czaristic democracy represented by Admiral Kolchak and General Denekin arises from the bitter fact that Great Britain is on the brink of bankruptcy. The financial condition of France is utterly hopeless. Her indebtedness amounts to \$40,000,000,000. Interest on the loans for next year will reach the sum of ten billion francs. Yet the budget presented to the Chamber of Deputies makes no mention whatsoever either of the debts or the interest.

This can mean only one thing. France has given up the idea of ever paying her debts. It is entirely beyond France to even attempt a solution of her absolutely insoluble finan-

cial riddle. Italy is even in worse shape than France. She is in the throes of a revolution which might sweep the capitalists out of existence most any day. As a matter of fact the whole of capitalist Europe is on the verge of a total economic and financial collapse.

Should Europe repudiate her debts, would it not be a staggering blow to American capitalism? The bottom would be knocked out of Wall Street.

* * *

More money is given to Europe every day. So long as there is the least hope of saving European capitalism, American capitalists will continue lending money. Otherwise the game will be up at once and European capitalism will be wiped out of existence to make way for the proletarian world state. But how can our American capitalists recuperate the colossal loss which they must suffer, if European capitalism is to perish despite all their help? Moved by their imperialistic instinct for plunder and murder, our capitalists turn their greedy eyes to Mexico. Let Mexico pay for Europe with her wealth and resources. This is the most logical solution.

But to start a war with Mexico would be somewhat too difficult. Many past attempts have failed. The people do not respond to a call to war with Mexico. The average American cannot be made to believe that little Mexico is a menace to the "great and powerful United States." So the trick is pretending terror about Mexico, the entire capitalist press is raving about Japan. The loudmouthed argument about Shantung is not meant to help China, but to arouse more hatred against "the Jap". They are now comparing Japan to Germany as the next menace of "democracy", to "the white man's civilization." "Japan aims to conquer the world." Japan is establishing herself in Mexico in order to have a base of operations against the United States. That's it. We must go to war with Japan to save the white man's civilization. This is what the bloody capitalistic press has started to propagate as the aim of the next war. In reality it is something entirely different. It is to guarantee American capitalism against the bankruptcy of Europe. The real aim of the next war of America will be to save American capitalism. The result will be different. The war will end in the total destruction of American capitalism and usher the American proletarian revolution.

The Struggle for Control

SUPER-RADICAL hotheads may be found in politics as well as in the arena of economic life. The pure-politicians reject the economic struggle as a miniature war beneath the dignity of their highly-developed culture. The pure-economists ignore the political struggle as a quarrel for some insignificant external thing, a utopia. Both are mistaken.

The economic struggle fell into disrepute, because it was identified with mere wage-disputes, whereas in reality the economic field is much larger—affecting the prices of commodities, and much more. The political struggle lost its attraction, because from a struggle for the symbols of political power it was converted into a struggle for some of its forms, and because of the resultant belief that a couple of seats in parliament presents a colossal manifestation of the power of a party.

But politics and economics merge into one, and indeed it was their artificial separation that caused the proletariat to sustain numerous defeats and to be overwhelmed by the reaction. Therefore the General Workers' Union as a revolutionary organization desires to promote the unity of the economic and political struggle.

Against the General Workers' Union are advanced two objections which contradict and nullify one another. Some intentionally overlook the political character of the General Workers' Union by simply denying it. Others attack the Workers' Union because of its political character.

Of course, we do not overlook the fact that the Union is only a weapon in the struggle, but a very important one. The old-time weapon of the Trade Unions has been wrested from and rendered useless for the proletariat through its infection with capitalist poison, so that its regaining any new use for the proletariat is out of question. That the new revolutionary organization does not attach itself unreservedly to

(Reproduced from "Der Kampf" official organ of "The General Workers Union of Germany")

any one of the dominant political parties, but simply expresses its general adhesion to the revolutionary parties, does not prevent it from carrying on a political struggle. It stands on the basis of the class-struggle, on the basis of the struggle against the bourgeoisie; it aims at the destruction of capitalism and is in favor of socialization. Is this not a distinctively political program? Does not "The International Union of the War-Cripples and War-Sufferers" decline affiliation with any particular political party, and yet it would not and could not be accused of being non-political? Of course not, because it denounced political neutrality as an absurdity and characterized abstention from a definite attitude for or against the government as utter folly. Likewise the Union of the Unemployed, of the Fugitives, etc.

The political difference between us and the Syndicalists is clearly shown in our

Centralization and their Decentralization. Capitalist production tends in the direction of ever-increasing centralization, insofar as it is possible within the confines of the private capitalist state. Hence the struggle for the control of industry must also be based on centralization. But the struggle for control is a political struggle.

Every struggle for the industrial control is political and economic alike. The aim of this Union is to point out this identity and to do away with the fear of the recognition of the political character of the strike-weapon. The union must not only widen, but also deepen the strike movement. The demands for wages must be transformed into political demands. The economic struggle for economic aims must develop into an economic struggle for political aims and later develop into a political struggle for political aims. And this last aim must be finally fought out with the last political bulwark,—with the army.

The General Workers' Union will be the pioneer to make the economic battlefield ready for the final political struggle.

The Red Army

WE are indebted to the People's Russian Information Bureau, London for the following:

A recent report of the Political Education Department of the Soviet General Staff describes in detail the great educational work which is being done in the Red Army. This work is in the charge of the local sections of the Department, which are attached to all military district commissariats, and to all units of the Army throughout the country, including the front. On May last the 133 army units counted in their midst 64 centres of the Communist party engaged in Socialist propaganda, 97 educational committees, 50 clubs, 27 elementary schools, as many reading rooms, and 63 lending librari-

es. Throughout the country attached to the Red Army in May last were 1614 libraries and reading rooms, 674 schools, 211 theatres, and 221 cinemas. In Moscow alone the Red Army Clubs, in the first three months of the present year, were able to arrange 108 theatrical performances, 191 concerts, and 552 lectures. At every large junction station which the Red soldiers have to pass on their way to the front, literature is distributed, meetings are held, lectures are delivered, etc. Propaganda circles are attached to every unit, which carry the revolutionary agitation right into the camp of the enemy, with the result that whole regiments of the "Whites" not infrequently go

(Continued on page 8)

The Trial of the Czar's Assassins

(The following translation of a Russian document from the Moscow Communist newspaper "Pravda" (the document having reached this country via Warsaw) throws an interesting light on the charge frequently repeated in the American bourgeois press to the effect that the Bolsheviki killed in cold blood the ex-Czar of Russia and his family. This document shows that not only were the Bolsheviki not guilty of anything of the sort, but that the murder was committed by a political opponent of the Bolsheviki to discredit the Soviet Government. The man, Yakhontov, who was responsible for the order, evidently got himself elected to a high Soviet position in order to be able to accomplish this treachery; but he was finally discovered and punished for the cold-blooded assassination. The party to which Yakhontov belonged, the Left Social-Revolutionaries, is generally considered as the most treacherous opposition to the Bolsheviki, and this party was, before the establishment of the Soviet regime as well as since then, a terrorist party, which by its deeds of violence against individuals has always been discrediting all constructive revolutionary movements. It is interesting to note that when members of this same party killed in a similar manner Count von Mirbach, the Allies praised them to the skies.)

THE Revolutionary Tribunal presided over by Comrade Matveyev, after a two-day examination, finished the case of the murder of ex-Czar Nicholas Romanoff,

(From the Moscow paper "Pravda".)

of his wife Alexandra nee Princess of Hesse, of their daughters Olga, Maria, and Anastasia, and of divers persons with them.

As the results indicated, 11 persons in all were killed. The number of defendants was 28; three of them, Gruzinov, Yakhontov, and Malyutin being members of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, two of them, Maria Apraxina and Yelizaveta Mironova, being women, while the rest were officers of the guard.

After a long examination of the witnesses and defendants the complete picture of the murder was revealed. The ex-Czar and the rest were shot and were not, according to plan, subjected to any ridicule. Yakhontov, the chief defendant, ex-member of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, admitted that the murder of the ex-Czar's family was organized by him for the purpose of discrediting the Soviet regime in the interest of the Left Social-Revolutionaries to whom he belonged. According to Yakhontov's evidence, the murder of Nicholas Romanoff was attempted when he was at Tobolsk, but the watchful guards prevented the plan from being carried out. At Yekaterinburg, when confusion reigned among the Soviet authorities due to the approach of the Czecho-Slo-

vaks to the city, he, as chairman of the extraordinary commission, gave out an order to shoot the imperial family and those around them. Yakhontov declared that he was present at the execution and, in any case, took the responsibility on himself, but was not guilty of the robberies that followed the murder. In his evidence Lohontov specially emphasized as the last words uttered by Nicholas Romanoff: "For my death, my people will curse the Bolsheviki."

The other defendants, including Gruzinov and Malyutin, declared that they did not know of Yakhontov's treason, and that they executed his commands.

After the speeches of the prosecutor and the defense, the tribunal found guilty of the murder of the ex-Czar's family et al. only Yakhontov, and sentenced him to be shot. Gruzinov, Malyutin, Apraxina, Mironova, and 9 Red Guards were found guilty of robbing the victims and were also sentenced to be shot. The rest were acquitted. The following day the sentences were carried out. The decision of the Tribunal is the best proof that the Soviet Government has taken all measures to detect and punish those who were guilty of this senseless murder. The clever plan of the Social-Revolutionaries failed.

No Third Road is Open

By J. Steklow

THE second of March 1919 will go down in the annals of history as a momentous date. On this day the First Congress of the Third Communist International was called to order.

Some time ago, in the days of the revolution of 1905, the Russian Socialists dreamed of the congress of the International to be held in free Russia. Presently their dream came true, but not in the form in which they conceived it. In Russia have now assembled not the representatives of the International of chloroformers, but the delegates of the advanced section of the proletariat. They gathered in Red Moscow in the capital of the Russian Socialist Republic towards which the hearts of all class-conscious workers and sincere adherents of the Social Revolution are turning. The delegate of the Austrian Communists picturesquely related how he with another comrade struggled for 18 days to make their way to the congress amid the most unprecedentedly difficult conditions, now on foot, now in a peasants wagon, now on a tender, now hanging on the steps of a train. But they paid no attention to all these hardships, because in the distance they perceived the vision of Red Moscow, the heart of the Soviet Republic, which proclaimed to all mankind the beginning of its emancipation. This is the symbol of the world-proletariat which, smashing aside all obstacles, aspires to unite with Soviet Russia, in order to extend to her a helpful hand and to draw from her some of the spirit of Socialist Creativeness and Revolutionary Heroism.

The temporary triumph of the imperial-world-bourgeoisie prevented the initiative of the First Congress of the Communist International from giving to it the desired scope and sway. This congress had to be prepared and convened secretly. In the age of bourgeois "freedom" and "democracy" the representatives of the revolutionary

proletariat who have not sold the interests of their class to the triumphant bourgeoisie must work everywhere, excepting Soviet Russia, almost in the "underground". The Moscow Communist Congress is not like the Berne flock of social-compromisers and social-traitors who exchange lovely smiles with Clemenceau and Lloyd George.

And yet we feel, regardless of the incomplete and not numerous representation, that right here in this hall which is draped with red cloth and adorned with red flags, portraits of prominent Socialist leaders and placards with inscriptions in all languages: "Long Live the Third International!"—the spirit of the World-Revolution is breathing and the warm heart of the world-proletariat is beating. Here is being forged the thought and will of the working class, here are being outlined the roads of its emancipation, from here will ring out the clarion call to organization, to the struggle and victory.

The Moscow Congress signifies the first step toward the organization of the new fighting International. Up till now the international proletariat was lacking not so much in theoretical grounding, as in international practical action. The First Communist Congress offers both. It brings to a synthesis the theoretical interpretation of the contemporary epoch and the sum-total of the practical experience of the Russian, German and other revolutions. Communism as the direct aim of the working-class movement in the present stage of development of the capitalist world, the Soviets and the Soviet power as the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat—these are the slogans proclaimed by the congress of the workers of all countries.

What an encouraging impression is produced by the Moscow Communist Congress in comparison with the traitorism of the

Berne conference of compromisers endeavoring to galvanize the corpse of the Second International. Though not daring openly to condemn revolutionary communism or bolshevism, the Berne conference actually repudiated it, and thereby separated itself from the liberating movement of the world-proletariat. They despatch to us a commission of examiners and controllers who will come to Russia, if not in the role of judges, at least, in the role of cold and far from impartial witnesses. On the other hand, the revolutionary proletariat sent to Moscow its best representatives in order to conclude a fraternal union with Soviet Russia and to lay, together with her, the foundation of an international alliance of the workers on the basis of an active and united struggle for the complete emancipation of the proletariat.

Now with the formation of the Communist International standing in deadly opposition to the International of the compromisers and social-traitors, all the vacillating Socialist elements which have not irrevocably given the consciences to the imperialist bourgeoisie are facing squarely the choice: either with the advanced proletariat for the social-revolution, or against the proletariat and in alliance with the bourgeoisie for social-reaction. No third road is open.

The social-revolution is hammering at the doors of the old world. With the formation of the Third International the proletariat is pressing to the very gates of the Communist kingdom. It will be able to open them despite the many obstacles strewn across its path by the viciousness of the ruling classes and by the treason of former leaders.

(From the "Investia," the official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet Of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates).

The Party Organization

C. E. Ruthenberg, Executive Secretary, 1219 Blue Island Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

A Quick, Decisive Response Needed.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY is an organization of Fifty Thousand Workers.

Can these Fifty Thousand Workers raise a fund of Fifty Thousand Dollars during the next few weeks? That is the question that is now before the organization.

Within three months from the time of organization of the party we are subject to the ruthless attack of the ruling class. Many of our comrades are under arrest. Scores are being held for deportation.

The persecution of the ruling class has been, particularly directed against the officials of the National Organization. Practically every one of the comrades in charge of the work of the national office is under some sort of charge. Most of them are waiting for bail to be arranged.

* * *

THIS ATTACK is evidently intended to destroy the organization at its very inception. The party propaganda during the last few months has shown the powers that be that they have to deal with a body of men and women who understand the existing industrial situation and who were developing a propaganda against capitalism that was bound to bear fruit in a strong working class movement for the abolition of the existing industrial system.

The party propaganda did not deal with theories and vague generalities. It dealt with concrete situations, with the problems which the workers were facing in their struggle for more life. In place of the vague generalities of former Socialist propaganda the party dealt with the realities of life itself and out of these sought to develop an understanding of Communist fundamentals.

SHALL THIS WORK GO ON? SHALL IT BE INTENSIFIED AND BECOME MORE AGGRESSIVE?

The effort to deport and imprison the active party workers is an effort to stop it. By striking at the party officials at the very beginning of their work the ruling class believes it can destroy the effectiveness of our propaganda. It hopes to remove those who are in charge of the propaganda and organization work and those who are in charge of the propaganda and organization work and thus disrupt our forces.

* * *

COMRADES, it is a real danger that threatens us. We have not had time to develop our full strength. In an older organization a dozen workers would be ready and prepared to step in the places of those who become the victims of the ruling class. Even now we will not go down if the attack is successful in removing those in positions of responsibility. Others will take their places; but for a time we will suffer.

It is our duty to put off the removal of those comrades who are responsible for the party work as long as possible. The longer we retain their services the stronger we will be.

That is the importance of responding to the appeal for the Defense Fund—of raising Fifty Thousand Dollars immediately for the fight against the imprisonment and deportation of our party workers. **THE PRESENT SITUATION CALLS FOR A FIGHT FOR DEFENSE TO THE LIMIT OF OUR ABILITY.**

Comrades! We have said a Communist Party is not a party of half-hearted, halting, impotent membership. In the Defense Funds have been raised by long campaigns of appeal and wheedling.

MUST WE DO THAT? OR WILL YOU RESPOND QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY?

Every Communist organization, every Communist Party member should become a unit in the organization for the distribution of party literature and increase the knowledge of the party principles by placing books and pamphlets in the hands of the workers. To publish and distribute this literature is one of the great functions of our organization, for as knowledge and understanding increases among our members and the masses, our power grows.

These Are Ready

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The Menace of American Capitalism.

(Continued from page 4)

sponsibilities and extraordinary opportunities. . . . We must as a nation think internationally. Bulletin. F. B. I., 9/1017.

The Bulletin commented on this speech as follows:—

"This new slogan for the United States industries was thus started eighteen months before the big Republic actually entered the European War. It has now been widely popularized, as well as intensified by that tremendous fact."

This American International Corporation has grown to be an incomparable influence in American and World politics. The next step in its onward march was for the National City Bank to acquire, by consent of the Federal authorities, the stock of the International Banking Corporation. This concern was formed in 1901 and was "the pioneer American bank to organize and operate a system of foreign branches. For seventeen years it has been specializing in the finance of American trade with Asia, particularly China and the Philippines." (Board of Trade Journal, Jan. 16th, 1919). "Its formation was the outcome of the widespread interest in Oriental trade, which was aroused by the United States obtaining control of the Philippines." Its "Shanghai office was opened for business on May 15th, 1902. The Peking, Hankow and Tientsin offices were opened a few years later, the first for the purpose of assisting the American group which had just become interested in the Chinese reorganization, or Six Power Loan. The Corporation has subsequently acted as the financial agent of the American group in China."

Its office in Bishopsgate, London, is "at present the designated depository of the War, Navy and State Departments of the United States Government." It is represented most influentially on the board of the Russian Corporation Ltd.

The parent, American International Corporation, includes several great firms of public works, harbor and hydro-electric contractors, such as the Siems-Carey Construction Company, which, in 1916, sought and obtained Chinese consent to build 2,600 miles of railway and to engineer a Grand Canal Waterway only to be balked by Japan on both occasions. All these firms desire, with the Federation of British Industries, to win access to Siberia, "the most gigantic prize offered to the civilized world since the discovery of the Americas." They know how the contractors entered Mexico to build railways and remained to possess the material basis of its political super-structure. They do not believe in military violence, but in commercial penetration and financial permeation.

The National City Bank has developed a strong connection with South America, where Wilson's son-in-law, William Gibbs McAdoo, concluded a series of commercial agreements in 1915 with these debtor republics, left derelict by the drying up of European investment markets, and made it possible for them to dispose of their crops by dollar instead of sterling exchange. This bank now runs a special magazine, "The Americas," devoted to the Monroe Doctrine and the cult of Pan-Americanism. At the end of 1917, \$400,000,000 of South American commerce had come to be transacted in dollar exchange, where London ruled before 1914.

All this means that "Standard Oil" has crept into the monetary domination of South America, the Far East, and is a powerful force even in India, and what were European preserves of British and French capitalism.

Wilson's "Sea Shuttles"

Banking and exchange were the first considerations, and after that, the provision of a native mercantile marine. This the ubiquitous American International Corporation set out to obtain. It began by taking over the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and then acquired the New York Shipbuilding Company. In April, 1917, the Vice-President of the Corporation stated in "International Marine Engineering":—

"We are generously equipped, ready, to begin our struggle for our place upon the ocean. . . . We have arrived at a crisis in our commercial history. . . . If we grasp it our trade will be immensely extended."

Meanwhile, McAdoo had set up the United States Shipping Board and, in this very month, established the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation, a Federal concern in which the U. S. Government held a majority of the shares, and which, with a capital of \$51,250,000, set out to purchase and build ships to charter or to lease U. S. citizens to operate in the foreign trade. This new Corporation not only took over all the interned German and Austrian ships lying in U. S. harbors, but by the autumn of 1917 the Shipping Board had "requisitioned every ton of shipping under construction in American yards. The larger part of these vessels were being constructed for English companies. . . . This drastic action placed in the hands of the Shipping Board 403 vessels or 2,500,000 tons. ("Worlds Work", Dec. 1917). About this time, the American International Corporation secured from J. P. Morgan and Co., control of the International Mercantile Marine Co., and others of the fleets of the White Star, Leyland, American, and other lines, and a community of interest with the shipbuilding firm of Harland & Wolff, Ltd. Since that time, the Belfast firm has been making vast extensions on the Clyde, at Liverpool and elsewhere. It was this "deal" that caused the Federation of British Industries to send out a frantic "S. O. S." It is the \$90,000,000 of ships belonging to these lines which the U. S. Government would not permit to be sold to a British syndicate, whose alternate kicks and squeals have been causing the writer much amusement during recent months. The Hamburg-American Nord-deutscher Lloyd and American "pool" steamships, before the war, did a prodigious trade to the East, to Central and South America and to Europe, are now under the control of the American International Corporation, the protection of the U. S. Emergency Fleet Corporation and the spreading folds of the Star Spangled Banner.

To beat the German submarines, the Emergency Fleet Corporation embarked on a colossal shipbuilding effort. It made the American International Corporation its agent, and this body founded the American International Shipbuilding Corporation to look to its shipbuilding business. A "world's record" yard was laid out at Hog Island on the Delaware, to construct fifty ships simultaneously, and to build into them 7,500 tons of steel a day. The Bethlehem Steel Corporation had been making enormous profits

and had, just outside Penn's city of Philadelphia, a cynical memorial to Christian brotherhood busy on \$250,000,000 of munition orders in the biggest ordnance factory on earth. Charles M. Schwab, its president, having under his control the Union Iron Works at San Francisco, the Fore River Yard in New England, and other establishments set out to help the Government transform the United States into "one huge factory for the production of ships." He, first of all, bought up several big steel works, put down immense new rolling mills for ship-plates, and proceeded to lay out new Bethlehem yards in California and in New England. Then, says "Syren and Shipping" (Jan. 1, 1919), he was "persuaded, on the personal appeal of President Wilson," to become Director-General of Shipbuilding. By October of last year, the U. S. Congress had voted \$3,449,000,000 for shipbuilding purposes. Great inland bridge-building plants were employed turning out standard framework which was sent down to the coast to be assembled into ships. By the autumn of 1918, the Official U. S. Bulletin could claim that they had "more yards, more ways, and more workers than any other nation," in fact, that there were now 200 shipyards with 1,020 building berths. "The deliveries to the Shipping Board in August broke all world's records in the production of ocean-going tonnage, and established the United States as the leading shipbuilding nation of the world." The aim of the U. S. in regard to the shipping was officially put forward by the head of the Shipping Board when he said:—

"Our railroads must no longer stop at the ocean. We are building a merchant fleet of 25,000,000 tons. Vast American passenger and cargo liners will run regularly to every port in Latin America, the Orient, Africa, and Australia. . . . Once more we shall have a real U. S. merchant fleet under way, backed by far-reaching policies for efficient operation."

No wonder "The Compendium" remarked in September last:—

"On the high seas, the war is already won. But America is only beginning. By the time her programme has been carried out she will be leading the world as a ship-producing and ship-owning state. . . . in the new league of nations. . . . Britain will cease to be the predominant maritime party."

These ships are to carry American exports to the uttermost ends of the earth and to bring back the imports in which the world's people will pay their tribute to the National City Bank of New York and all it represents.

(The third installment of this informative story will appear in "The Communist" next week.)

The Red Army

(Continued from page 5)

over to the Soviet lines. Courses of instruction for the illiterate are held almost every day, and one Red Army has a movable university attached to it at which lectures are delivered by members of the War Council, of the Political Education Department, etc. Nothing is left undone to permeate the Red soldiers with the Socialist and Revolutionary spirit and to impart to them a clear understanding of the "war aims" of Soviet Russia. Of course, the Red Army gets all the papers which are published in Russia, but has several papers of its own, which enjoy great popularity, as the contributors are for the most part the soldiers themselves.