

# THE Communist

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## AMSTERDAMNATION

### What Radek thinks of the Hague Conference

THE "World Peace Congress," which opened on December 10, in the quiet city of state hypochondriacs, shows at once by its externals what it really is.

In the first place the seats of the delegates are filled by the representatives of the trade union and party bureaucracy of the Amsterdamers, of the Second, and of the expiring 2½ International. Well known figures! Only here and there a few fresh proletarians, on whose faces the will to fight is expressed, but otherwise good old English gentlemen smelling of naphthalene, Prussian sergeants in mufti, private gentlemen, all as true to type as if cut out of a satirical comic paper.

Not a single representative of the colonial proletariat whose exploitation is one of the chief props of the rule of the satiated Dutch, English, and French bourgeoisie.

Dutch social democracy has existed for 30 years; it is a powerful party, but it does not concern itself about the proletariat of Java. The English trade unions, the Labour Party with its 140 seats in Parliament, these bring no Hindus nor Egyptians with them, although in these countries hundreds of thousands of workers take part in spontaneous strikes, and although the movements of these masses cause wars and can decide wars. And the best of it is, that the good people who have met together here to talk of peace have not the slightest idea that this small defect is enough to stamp "their" World Peace Congress as a conventicle of European labour aristocracy, even if they had not been willing beforehand to degrade it to this role.

This they did when they failed to invite the Communist International or the Red Trade Union International to take part, and are only gracious enough—for still impenetrable reasons—to tolerate the presence of representatives of the Russian trade unions.

Whatever opinion may be held as to the Communist International, one fact cannot be denied: that it comprises the sole elements which fought against the war during the war. Messrs. Jouhaux, Henderson, and Grassmann, the old champions against Imperialism, exclude the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht from the "World" and "Peace" congress. Is it necessary to prove that they do this because they do not want to fight against Imperialism?

On the other hand we find bourgeois pacifists sitting side by side with these tried and tested anti-military Ajaxes. We might tell many of these pacifists that we are sorry to see them in such company. For there were many pacifists who went to prison for their convictions during the war, and many others who spoke, if they did not fight against the war, while Messrs. Jouhaux and Renaudel, Henderson and Tom Shaw, Grassmann and Wels, were acting as trumpets of war.

Whatever else these people may represent personally, at least they represent a fraction of the liberal bourgeoisie which is thoroughly sick of war, and only anxious

to carry on their trades in quiet. That is the best that can be said of a part of them.

Another part simply represents the war-weary intellectuals, that is, nothing. And with these elements the Amsterdamers, the men of the Second International, and even such "internationalists" as Friedrich Adler, are forming a bloc to "fight" against war.

The path chosen by the Amsterdamers is not that of a united front of the proletariat against war, but the formation of a bloc with that portion of the liberal bourgeoisie which is suffering from pacific stomach-ache. That the "fight" which is to be put up corresponds fully to the fighters will be seen from the drafts of the resolutions.

### GOOD RESOLUTIONS



BUSINESS AS USUAL

### THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

#### Closing Session

IN closing the proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Zinoviev summarised the work of the Congress.

The march of the Communist International goes on. It is the united and universal organisation of the proletariat. The slogan of a "Workers' Government" has been definitely formulated out of the manifold experiences of our Parties.

We must now rally and concentrate our forces and prepare methodically our organisation for the victory of the working class. At the moment our principal task consists in defending the unity of the Labour organisations.

When Zinoviev concluded and declared the Congress at an end, the delegates rose to their feet and sung with great enthusiasm "The International" and "The Carmagnole."

The Executive for the next year consists of Zinoviev (who was unanimously re-elected President), Souvarine and Frossard (France), Zetkin and Hoerule (Germany), Bucharin and Radek (Russia), Smeral and Neurath (Czecho-Slovakia), Gennari and Gramoni (Italy), Schuller and Schatskine (Youth), MacManus (England), Carr (America), Hoeglund and Schefflo (Scandinavia), Pruerniak (Poland), Kunsinen (Finland), Kolarov (Balkans), Garden (Australia), Stuermer (South America), Andrejev (South Africa), Katayama and Safarov (Far East).

### Greetings to the Red Army and Navy

THE Fourth World Congress of the Communist International gathered together in the capital city of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Russia, sends its greetings and heartfelt thanks to the heroic fighters of the Red Army and the Red Fleet.

Soviet Russia is the sole state on the surface of the globe where the representatives of the revolutionary workers of the whole world can freely discuss and resolve upon the questions of organisation for the struggle of toiling humanity for emancipation from the yoke of capital. Thanks are due solely to the victories of the Red Army, and to its powerful protection, for the possibility of convening the delegates of the workers to their world congress for the fourth time.

You fighters of the Red Army and of the Red Fleet! You must know that the revolutionary workers of all countries feel the joy of your victories with you, and have suffered with you in defeat. The class-conscious workers of all countries appreciate that you do not fight for your Russian cause alone, but for the common cause of the workers of the whole world. At the former congresses we already spoke of you with one voice as the champions of the Communist International, the heroes of the common struggle of collective humanity.

Fighters of the Red Army and the Red Fleet! During the past years of fighting, the revolutionary workers of all countries have unfortunately been too weak to hasten to your aid in the last decisive battle. Hence it has been so difficult for you to carry on the struggle against the united forces of world capital. But the Communists of all countries have not lost a single day, have been working zealously the whole time towards the enlightenment and unity of the masses, and towards their preparation for the overthrow of capital. The present Fourth Congress is also devoting the whole of its work to this most important task of the world proletariat.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International congratulates you heroic fighters of the Red Army and Red Fleet, on your last brilliant victory in the Far East, but must however, warn you that the day of final peace and general disarmament, the age in which wars will be no more, has not by any means arrived, and will not arrive so long as the power is still in the hands of capital in the majority of states, and so long as the capitalists utilise the armies for their own rapacious ends, and send millions of workers and peasants to their death in the interests of capital. So long as this is so, wars will not cease, and all peoples, including the peoples of the Soviet Republics, will be threatened by the horrors of war.

Be on your guard, heroes of the Red Army and Red Fleet. The danger is not yet past. The Fourth World Congress joyfully congratulates the Soviet Republics on their exertions towards the re-birth of the Red Fleet, which is to be brought into a state of complete readiness to fight in the defence of the revolution. Long live the Red Army and the Red Fleet!

## Why Henderson Lost at Widnes

THE following notes may explain the reasons why Uncle Arthur was defeated. The nearest revolutionary organisation to Widnes is the St. Helen's Branch, C.P. Widnes, with Prescott and a few outlying districts, are in the same Poor Law Union. The Labour agent for Widnes, Mr. Jack Francis, is pretty well known around here as a Socialist renegade and opportunist, and we consider that it is a consequence of his reactionary influence that the workers in Widnes have no time for men of his kidney. Rather than support the weak and spineless attitude adopted by him, on the advice of course of Mr. A. Henderson himself—the workers have been driven through indifference, lack of enthusiasm and ignorance, to allow an enemy of the workers to be returned to Parliament.

During the unemployment crisis of the Autumn, 1921, we in St. Helens found it necessary to organise, as far as possible, all the workers coming under Prescott Union in mass demonstration to enforce the demands formulated by us, even before we got into touch with the National Movement of the Unemployed.

At every turn we could feel the retarding effect of Mr. Jack Francis. He even made it his business to attend one of our demonstrations which was waiting upon the Guardians, and got about amongst the men, like a snake in the grass, advising them to "be very quiet," to "act like law-abiding citizens," not to "resort to violent action," and "above all, do not be led by these Bolsheviks."

Of course, he found that this method was useless, and he was given to understand by that we would find it most difficult to secure turn out dangerous—for him. He desisted, but his "man Friday," Councillor Gargham of Widnes, on another occasion, whilst acting as one of the deputation to the Guardians from the Widnes detachment, advised the St. Helens Bolshies to be more moderate in their demands, pointing out that we would find it most difficult to secure a scale of relief for single men, and impossible and sheer nonsense to ask for anything for single women.

This went on inside the workhouse, after we had gained admission. We were very gentle with him at first, pointing out that single men had to live as well as married men, and asking him if he wanted to enforce a life of prostitution on the single women by denying them the right to live.

He cooled down a little after that, but returned to the attack with the plea that the rate-payers would suffer. It was not until one of our boys threatened to go out to the mass and expose him that he finally gave up the ghost. We were successful in securing our demands, but in spite of Jack Francis and not with his help.

Their sabotage did not even end here, for after having gained a scale of relief, it still had to be administered. Even in St. Helens we had some difficulty in forcing the (Freemason) Guardians' Committee to administer the relief properly. In Widnes, any attempt on our part to organise opposition to the local Guardians' committee, was met by Mr. Jack Francis and the Trades and Labour Council with intimidation exerted on those men who were prepared to act.

The result is that the workers of Widnes have become apathetic and discouraged, whereas in St. Helens, although we Communists have little reason to be satisfied with James Sexton as the workers' representative, we have pointed out that, as he has been appointed to represent the workers with their own consent, we have done our utmost to help to get him returned. We hindered the capitalist nominee at every turn, holding opposition meetings outside his own halls, in spite of the police, and generally roused the workers to take an intelligent interest in their own affairs.

In all of which the Communist Party and the Red Flag has been very prominent. The result is that Jimmy Sexton, as the present representative of the workers of St. Helens, was returned with over a six thousand majority, out of a total poll of about thirty-four thousand.

## Great Reception to Newbold

### ENTHUSIASM AT COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION

FRIDAY, Dec. 15th, 1922, at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, will be a red letter day for the Communist Party. Comrades Paul, Newbold, and Gallacher were the principal speakers, with Comrade Cummings, of Hurst as Chairman.

Long before the meeting began people kept pouring into the great hall, anxious to hear the first Communist M.P.'s.

The organist was giving short preludes of music when the speakers mounted the platform. Immediately this was the signal for the whole audience to stand on its feet and cheer to the echo. Never since the Party came into existence in this country has there ever been such a reception accorded to our speakers as on this occasion.

Our comrade Cummings opened the proceedings in excellent style. His comparison of Capitalism to Humpty Dumpty falling from the wall evoked enthusiastic cheering from the audience. The whole world, he said, was moving to a revolutionary situation and everywhere Communism was striving to point the way to an orderly and peaceful solution of the economic and industrial difficulties of the world. He stated that if the workers in every land would only be prepared to accept the principles of Communism, that the world situation, with all its tragic possibilities of woe, would be carried through without inflicting sorrows upon the masses.

In a letter of apology for absence from Comrade Saklatyala, M.P., who was billed to speak, he read that "Our friends of the Labour Party have only to understand us correctly, only to shake off a few prejudices and we shall soon be a united army of workers."

Comrade Willie Paul was the first speaker. In his reference to Lloyd George he stated that we should not under-estimate that gentleman's capabilities, as he was far from being a negligible personality. He dealt at some length with the position and the shortcomings of the Labour Party and in his closing remarks applied himself to the task of dealing with the fight which would be necessary to give the knock-out to capitalism.

The chairman (Rev. Cummings) then requested as a token of our deep respect for the workers who had died on the world revolutionary front, that the organist play the "Red Funeral March," and for fully four minutes whilst this was played through twice the whole audience stood to attention. What an impressive few moments this was. It was most difficult to control one's emotions.

This ended the first half of the proceedings and during the interval a collection was taken which amounted to £24 8s. 1d., which amount, taking into consideration the fact that almost the whole of the people assembled were hard up and many of them had paid for a ticket, was very creditable.

The announcement that Comrade Newbold would then address the meeting was the sign for wonderful and lasting cheering and it was quite a considerable time before he could make himself heard. He dealt with the present unemployed problem and the new scheme for the building of two battle-ships. His comparison between this expenditure and the requirements of Soviet Russia was damning, especially when he stated that the requirements of Russia would find sufficient employment practically for the whole of the unemployed in Manchester by the orders which could be placed with the Manchester engineering firms. He made reference to the unemployed march on London and explained that the Labour Party had done everything in their power along constitutional lines to assist the unemployed in their object of interviewing the Premier and stating their case before the House of Commons; but that although they stated that extra-constitutional action was necessary not a single member of the Labour Group had been prepared to come out on to the streets and lead the unemployed in the "extra-constitutional"

measures to be taken. All this he said was providing fine examples of the futility of Constitutionalism and was proving the contention of the Communist Party in its plea that the system must be abolished by any and every means in our power. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

He then went on to say that he was the first of a band of "Reds" which was going to find its way to the House of Commons and that when there they were going to stay there to do the final trick. He stated that the people had got to be well housed, and the children had got to be well cared for and if there was any system which stood in the way of better conditions then that system would have to be broken down. The workers present must get organised inside the only revolutionary party in the work, The Communist Party.

Willie Gallacher then was called upon to speak upon the domestic question in relationship to the Communist Party, which subject he handled in a masterly manner, and his reference to the Labour Party and particularly the I.L.P. (I. L. P.) had a very great effect upon those I.L.P.ers present. He compared the fighting policy of the Labour Party to the man who used a feather to tickle his enemy, to the Communist policy of a sledge-hammer designed to give the knock-out to capitalism.

He also dealt to some length with the position of the miners and the struggle which they were just about to enter. His call to the Trade Unionists present to rally all their support to the miners in the event of an immediate crisis was very convincing. One can see in these demonstrations, he said, where the true spirit of trade unionism lies; in the trade union official or in the fighting attitude put up by our own comrades.

His call for recruits to the Party was in the main responsible for a considerable number of applications for our constitution forms after the meeting was over, and we in Manchester are anticipating quite a considerable influx of members within the next week or two.

An emergency resolution was moved by ex-Councillor Farrow of Salford, calling upon the Premier to make it his business to interview the unemployed hunger marchers and threatening him with the consequences should he still maintain his stubborn attitude. This resolution was seconded by the Chief Marshal of the Vale of Leven Unemployed hunger marchers, who was a member of the Communist Party, and he stated that he was going to London fully determined that the Premier would see the unemployed.

The meeting closed with the Red Flag and cheers for the Social Revolution, which rang through the great hall, which has been the scenes of many great pioneer movements.

There cannot possibly be any doubt but that this meeting has done more to consolidate the position of the Communist in Manchester than anything else before, and when one reflects that prior to launching a venture of such a magnitude as a Free Trade Hall Demonstration, it is necessary to expend a matter of £80, it is certainly a fine tribute to the local organisation and particularly to the conveners, to find that they have been able to make the demonstration not only pay its way but clear a small balance for local organisational purposes.

Comrade Walton Newbold went to Ashton on Sunday, Dec. 17th and addressed meetings in the Hurst Church and also in the evening at the Co-op Hall and the Labour Institute, where a matter of about £7 or £8 collection was taken up. Large and enthusiastic crowds flooded all three places and Ashton has never before witnessed such enthusiasm as was expressed at the meetings held.

Comrade Rev. R. W. Cummings has undoubtedly contributed his quota to the Communist Party during the past week-end and one cannot but admire his wonderful spirit of Party loyalty.

# Start The New Year Well

*Join the Drive to Aid the Children—Victims of Famine in Soviet Russia*

## Workers International Russian Relief FOOD PARCEL SERVICE

By means of the Workers International Russian Relief,

### FOOD PARCELS

may be sent by everybody to Relatives, Friends, or Colleagues in Soviet Russia.

These Food Parcels are made up on a uniform standard, each parcel containing:—

- 11½ lbs Wheat Flour or Rice Flour
- 2¼ lbs Sugar
- 2¼ lbs Tinned Meat
- 4½ ozs Tea
- 4½ lbs Smoked or Fat Bacon
- 1½ lbs Condensed Milk (two tins)

The Workers International Russian Relief is responsible for the delivery of each Food Parcel. Every donor of a Food Parcel receives within three months a signed receipt from the person to whom the parcel is addressed, OTHERWISE THE CASH PAYMENT FOR THE FOOD PARCEL IS RETURNED.

#### Price of Each Food Parcel 12/-

THE BEST HELP FOR SOVIET RUSSIA TO-DAY IS THE DISPATCH OF FOOD PARCELS THROUGH GROUPS OF WORKERS, TRADE UNION BRANCHES, AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS TO THE WORKERS AND WORKERS' CHILDREN OF THE FACTORIES AND TRADE UNIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

All orders for Food Parcels from Great Britain to be sent to Workers International Russian Relief, British Section, 26, Bedford Row, London, W.C. 2. Cash to accompany order.

**T**HE extent of destitution among the children of Russia would be incredible, were the causes of the appalling situation less well known.

Those who have watched the catastrophic assaults upon Russia during the last five years—the attacks by subsidised brigands, the blockade, the terrible famine—learn without surprise that literally hundreds of thousands of children are orphaned, starving, broken in health, doomed to extermination unless help arrives quickly from the outside.

Estimates indicate that there are 600,000 orphans in Russia and 400,000 in Ukraine.

Everywhere in the famine areas of Russia little children wander like lost souls, the only hope for life being in the generosity of the workers in other lands.

Their fathers have fallen in defending the workers' republic against the Wrangels and Denikins of the world; killed in many instances by British bullets!

Or they have died of hunger rather than eat the crust of bread which might save their children's lives.

To meet this situation, the International Workers' Aid has decided to establish Children's Homes in Russia, equipped to care for and educate the new generation of Russians. Several such Homes are already in existence, supported by the German and Dutch workers. Despite inadequate provisions in many places, these Homes are wonderful oases of happiness for the Russian children in a desert of misery. More such Homes, if started soon, will obviate a great deal of suffering.



The first ten children who have been allocated to the British Section of the Workers International Russian Relief. They are being cared for in No. 3 "Lenin" Home of the W.I.R.R. at Tsaritsyn on the Lower Volga.

Their names reading from left to right are Claudia Latvitchina, Anastasia Kondrasheva, Antonia Larina, Alexandra Ledovsky, Tessa Soetlicheva, Soya Simistcheva, Leonie Charkoffskaja, Tessa Kusmina, Paul Gonkioff, Peter Svesdin.

*Who will be the first to adopt one of these little mites?*

### The Extent of the Work of the W.I.R.R.

The Workers' International Russian Relief decided at its July Conference, held in Berlin, to make themselves responsible for the support of 20,000 of these famine orphans. 12,000 are already being cared for in the children's homes of the organization.

The share of Britain is allocated at 500 children, for each of which an initial establishment charge of 24/- and a sum of 10/- per month for upkeep is required.

#### The Foster Parent System

To better organise this work it has been decided to popularise a system of Foster Parents. By means of this individuals or groups may make themselves responsible for an actual specified child in one of our homes, of which the name, photo and other details will be supplied.

Photographs and full details of fifteen of these little mites are already in our possession, and will be supplied where requested.

Who will have the honour to be the first in Britain to adopt one of the orphan victims of the Russian Famine?

#### An Appeal for Immediate Aid

In addition to the foster parent system there is also a general fund for this work.

Friends and sympathisers are urged to make donations and send gifts of warm clothing, children's boots, bed linen, and educational materials. Even as we write an urgent telegram has been received from

our headquarters in Moscow, urging that a special New Year effort be made for the orphan children of the worker heroes of the Soviet Republic so that we may have our full quota housed and saved from the rigours of a Russian winter without delay.

#### Plans for a British Home

Preparations are on foot for following the example of the woman comrades of Holland and Germany who have adopted and are maintaining special homes named after the heroes and martyrs of the movement, and staffed by direct representatives of the British Women's Committee.

The Appeal of the W.I.R.R. is directed not only to individuals, but also to organisations.

Trade Union branches, Women's Organisations, Children's Groups, and other organisations are asked to adopt as many children as their treasury can stand.

In undertaking this work the Workers' International Russian Relief is conscious that the fruits of the heroic sacrifices of the Russian Revolution will be largely lost unless the new generation is brought up healthy in body and mind.

The best recognition that workers everywhere can give of their admiration for the struggles of their brothers and sisters in Russia is to see that the orphans left by those countless thousands who went down in the famine and in the various battle-fronts are not left uncared for.

All parcels, contributions, and enquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, Workers' International Russian Relief, Children's Homes Section, 26, Bedford Row, London, W.C. 2.

### NOW READY

## "THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL"

(British Edition)

The Magazine of International Communism

### SPECIAL CONGRESS NUMBER

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*Workers International Russian Relief*  
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The Slogan of the Fourth Congress: United Front!

THE Fourth Congress of the Communist International, comprising 62 parties of Europe, America, Asia, and Australia, has confirmed that which the enlarged Executive of the Communist International has already twice resolved: that it is the duty of all Communist parties to devote all their energies towards organising the working class into a solid united front, in order to resist the attack now being made by world capital on every position of the working class.

As early as last spring the Communist International already applied to the Second International, and to the Vienna Working Union, with the request that they participate in a Workers' World Congress for the purpose of organising this common fight for saving the eight hour day, against wage reductions, against the loss of everything which has been gained by the trade unions, against the renewed armaments, and against the danger of new wars.

Six Months of Capitalist Offensive

Another half year has passed since the failure of our proposal to form a united proletarian front for the organisation of the proletarian defensive struggle.

In England the reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie have gained the upper hand. They have put an end to Lloyd George's attempts to conceal the aggressive policy of English capital beneath phrases expressing anxiety for peace and for the reconstruction of Europe.

In France the Government gave the command to shoot at striking workers in Le Hayre, only four years after the wholesale bloodbath. The French Government attacks the eight-hour day openly.

In Germany the Coalition Government of Social Democrats and bourgeoisie has openly and unequivocally declared that the sole means of stabilising the mark is to squeeze more work out of the undernourished proletarian masses. It has openly proclaimed that the last vestige of economic control is to be done away with, that is, that ruthless speculation is to be given a free hand.

In Czecho-Slovakia the capitalists are throwing thousands of workers into the streets daily. Unemployment increases; one lock-out after another is utilised to reduce the workers' wages.

Austria has been crushed into a colony of Entente capital. Austrian finance is to be put on a sound basis at the expense of the Austrian working class by means of starvation wages for the workers and the lower officials of the civil service.

In the United States of America the employers are attempting to destroy the trade unions by depriving the workers of the right to organise. Capital is to possess its mighty trusts, and no one is to drink a glass of milk without tribute to the Trust.

In South Africa, General Smuts, the gem of international liberalism, is playing the Grand Executioner. General Smuts, pacifist of the League of Nations, not only commands workers on strike to be shot down, but he has the leaders of the South African mining struggle, provoked by his government, hanged eight months later.

New Wars Ahead

All these are facts showing how the most elementary interests of the working class are being trampled underfoot. But the capitalist offensive is not alone directed towards intensified exploitation of the proletariat, but the danger of a fresh imperial world slaughter looms ahead with appalling clearness. Up to to-day no single capitalist state has set about carrying out the reduction of naval armaments resolved upon by

the Washington Conference. Not a single old battleship has been scrapped. The building of new warships has not been interrupted.

The proposal made by the Russian Soviet Government for disarmament, or at least for the reduction of land armaments, was rejected at Genoa by all capitalist powers. The League of Nations is impotent; it can accomplish nothing in this direction, even if it wanted to. The resolutions of the League have to be unanimous and require the ratification by the governments opposed to disarmament.

Europe is bristling with weapons, now more than before the war. And during the Near Eastern crisis in September of this year the world had the opportunity of seeing what this means. Europe was saved from a new war solely by the renunciation of the Turkish Government of its right to occupy its capital city, and to cross the passage to that capital—the Dardanelles; solely by the renunciation of the Turkish Government of its right of self-determination. The English trade unions and the English Labour Party accused Lloyd George of having stirred up a new war, a

war which would not be confined to the Balkans. And who can be sure that the Conservative Government of England will not defend the rapacious interests of English Imperialism with as much determination as Lloyd George's Government?

With infinite pains, the Soviet Government has prevailed upon Poland, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Finland to meet together for a disarmament conference in Moscow. Roumania is not represented at the congress, because the Roumanian Boyars demanded, as a reward for appearing at the conference, a piece of Russian ground, Bessarabia, and the peasants dwelling upon it. At the moment when the Fourth Congress of the Communist International is adjourning, the Moscow Conference is not yet ended.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International appeals to the workers of the Second International and of the Vienna International, to the millions of workers organised in trade unions throughout the world, to their leaders, and to the Conference at the Hague, with the question: Are you going to stand there inactive and look on while the eight-hour day, the first condition for the rise of the working class, is destroyed?

While the standard of living of the workers of the oldest industrial countries is being reduced to that of a Chinese coolie; while the most elementary rights of the workers, by the aid of which you hoped to attain emancipation from the capitalist yoke along peaceful lines, are being snatched from you; while the dictatorship of capitalism is being established, are you going to remain inactive and look on while victorious capital, unhindered, dictates a fresh war in which you are to bleed in the interest of capitalism?

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International appeals to all its affiliated parties, and to all sympathising trade unions in all countries, state for state, country for country, to place this question before the Labour Parties and to summon them to fight unitedly against the legal or practical abolition of the eight-hour day, against wage reductions, against the deprivation of the working class of its liberty of movement, against fresh armaments, against the danger of new wars, for the minimum living wage of the workers, for disarmament, and for peace among the peoples.

The Call of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International turns to the Second International and to the Vienna Working Union with the plain question whether they are willing, now, after their policy has rendered the position of the working class worse than before, to join hands for the establishment of a United Front of the international proletariat, for the struggle for the primary rights and interests of the working class.

It turns to the Amsterdam International with the question, if it is willing to cease its splitting tactics in the trade unions and its tactics of expelling the Communists out of the trade unions; if it is willing to help lead a united proletarian front into action.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International appeals to the Hague Conference of Trade Unions and Co-operatives, assembled at the same time as the capitalists of the Entente gather in Lausanne, after the bankruptcy of the Versailles peace, to force a new Versailles peace on the Turkish people, and thus to sow the seeds for fresh wars. The Communist International asks the Hague Conference if it is willing to join with us in a forward march of the working class, and to show the bourgeoisie that the international proletariat is no longer willing to be dragged without resistance on to fresh fields of battle.

As we already said at the Berlin Conference, the Communist International does not expect the parties of the Second International and of the Vienna Workers' Union or the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat which was and is our goal. But we ask them if they will fight against the dictatorship of capital, if they are willing at least to utilise the last vestiges of democracy for the purpose of organising a resistance against the victory of the same capital which transformed the world into one grave, and is already digging fresh graves for our proletarian youth.

The Communist International has spoken. It has issued its watchwords for the fight.

For the united front of the proletariat, for the control of production, for the eight hour day, for the minimum living wage of the proletariat, for the armament of the workers and the disarmament of the bourgeoisie, for the workers' governments of the united labour parties as instruments in the struggle for the immediate interests of the working class.

And now it is your turn to speak, Second International, Vienna Working Union, Amsterdam Trade Union International, and Hague Conference!

Moscow, December 4, 1922. The Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

OUR PAPER

We want to get the experiences of comrades in selling the paper, what ways they have tried and how they have succeeded. Successes encourage others and we learn from failures. Tell us about both.

One comrade tells us that they have had big sales at a bus garage in their district.

We have received the following from the leader of Distribution at Richmond:—

"After the General Election was over we set about obtaining as regular readers of the Party Paper all those people who had purchased the 'Communist Daily' from us; in this we were very successful. The next step was to tactfully approach these and enquire

(1) Whether they could give us the names and addresses of anybody who they thought would be likely to take the paper, or (2) Whether they would take an additional copy themselves and endeavour to sell it. By this means we have already increased the sale in Richmond from 12 copies per week to 52."

MAKE IT A NEW YEAR

AN OPEN LETTER

To the Second International, the Vienna Working Union, the Trade Unions of all Countries, and the Hague International Conference of Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies

PREDICTIONS

A grid of 12 political cartoons for each month from Jan to Dec. Each cartoon contains a prediction or commentary on current events. For example, Jan: 'DIS-TRESSING NEWS WILL REACH US FROM CAIRO...'; Feb: 'RUMOURS AND WHISPERS WILL BE HEARD IN REFERENCE TO THE HEALTH OF A VERY MINUTE PERSON.'; Dec: 'OBSERVE FATHER TIME HANDING HIS LAST MESSAGE TO THE STALWART YOUTH...'

Espoir goes for Old Moore's record



## Will Grey succeed Curzon?

**T**HERE is a persistent rumour in high political circles that Lord Grey will shortly be installed as Foreign Secretary in place of Lord Curzon who intends to retire. What we may expect can be gathered from the quotations given below by the correspondent whose signature is appended:—

"The Editor of the *Nation* described him as 'the man of the hour.' Lord Robert Cecil has nominated him for the Premiership. Mr. Ramsay Muir in the *Manchester Guardian* acclaimed him as 'the author of the Algeiras Conference,' while in the *New Age*, the Editor, Major Moore has a weekly editorial in his praise, comparing his 'stable temperament' with the opportunism of Mr. Lloyd George, assuring its readers that 'everyone' trusts Lord Grey and declaring that he 'secured the safety of the British Commonwealth in 1905 by his creation of the Entente against Germany.'

"Grey has only once been abroad, and then only to Paris, and he speaks not a word of French or any foreign language." This has been urged in his favour, but the reverse was advanced for Lansdowne. "All his diplomacy was done by Hardinge and King Edward with Grey as their mouth-piece in the House of Commons."—H. N. Brailsford.

"Grey is so ignorant of geography that he hardly knows the Persian Gulf from the Red Sea."—Professor E. G. Browne.

"Grey is ignorant and quite incapable of Foreign Affairs."—Lord Weardale.

"Ignorant and second-rate, though personally charming and distinguished."—Mark Napier.

In 1904, nearly two years before Grey took office, Balfour and Lansdowne "secured the safety of the British Commonwealth" at the expense of about fifty million people in 1914-18, rather a heavy price to pay for a peaceless world in 1922. Grey only continued their policy, but he aggravated it by repeated lying in the House of Commons as to the implications of the Entente, by the most indecent subservience to Russia, Japan and Italy in Persia, Korea and Tripoli, and behaved in a shameless way over the atrocities of Denshawai and Tabriz.

"In these affairs," wrote Wilfrid Blunt, "Grey has a formula, 'No official knowledge,' which means that the Consuls had not reported as having themselves witnessed anything. They had received orders to hold their tongues."

In June, 1908 Hardinge and the King met the Tsar at Reval and agreed as to the dismemberment of European Turkey.

In November, 1910 the Potsdam agreement gave Russia a free hand in Persia and from now on Grey became completely obsessed by the fear of her defection. He who shakes hands with the Devil, must have a strong grip, but Grey's strength was entirely facial. It was he who should have been compared to a gas-pipe browned to resemble a gun-barrel, for his resolute jaw was unsupported by any adequate backbone and his melancholy eyes were only a symptom of a tragic lack of intelligence, which made him the dupe of the unscrupulous Russian diplomacy.

"In June, 1913 he indeed made an attempt to regain the friendship of the Mohammedan world, but the unfortunate entente always prevented an understanding with Germany. The occupation of Egypt stood in the way and the unwillingness of Russia that her partner in Persia should agree to any extension of German influence."—Wilfrid Blunt.

In February, 1914, the Anglo-German agreement on Mesopotamia evoked the Protocol of the Imperial Council of the Russian Empire. "To counteract German influence, Russia must seize the Straits, which can only be accomplished by provoking an European War."

On June 28th, the agreement was initialled by Grey, and the same day the Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated.

GEOFFREY BIDDULPH.

## Communism and Co-operation

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

Co-operation is a form of the movement of the broad masses of the proletariat, of 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 realisation 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.

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 rôle.

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 organised distribution of products on a national scale at the moment when it assumes power. But parallel with these tasks, peculiar to the co-operative 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.

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 organisations, nevertheless the position taken up by the old co-operators, preaching the independence of the co-operative movement from the rest of the labour movement, is totally wrong. On the contrary, the closest possible contact should exist between all forms of the labour movement in the struggle for the achievement of the common aim of emancipating labour from all exploitation.

In the same way as the reformists lead the workers on the political field to agreements with the bourgeoisie, and the Amsterdammers, 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 rôle to that of an agency of the bourgeois system.

If the co-operative movement hitherto could not be separated from the rest of the labour 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 labour 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 organisations 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.

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 organisation 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.

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 fulfil the tasks that confront it and causes harm to the labour 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 organising small proprietors, by creating the illusion of the stability of their enterprises and their capability of competing with large capital.

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

All the foregoing, therefore, compels Communists to increase their activity in the co-operative movement. It should be recognised 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 organisation of the new Socialist society.

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# FRATERNAL GREETINGS

## TO THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF INDIA

### To the All India Trade Union Congress

Manifesto of the Fourth Congress  
Communist International

**T**HE Fourth Congress of the Communist International sends you its heartiest greetings.

We are deeply interested in the struggle of the Indian people to free itself from British domination. In this historic struggle you have the sympathy and support of the revolutionary proletarian masses of the Imperialist countries including Great Britain.

#### Predatory Imperialism

We Communists know very well the predatory nature of Western Imperialism which exploits brutally the peoples of the East and which has held them in a backward state of economic development in order that the insatiable greed of imperialist capital can be satisfied.

The infamous methods, by which British Imperialism sucks the life-blood of the Indian people, are well known. They cannot be condemned too strongly: nor will simple condemnation be of any practical value.

British rule was established by force and it is maintained by force; therefore, it can and will be overthrown only by a violent revolution. The people of India are engaged in this great revolutionary struggle. The Communist International is whole-heartedly with them.

A clear knowledge of the forces available to the enemy is very useful in fighting him. It is necessary to investigate the strength of the position of the British Government in India. No foreign rule can last for any length of time unless it can count upon one or the other section of the native population. From the very beginning of its history British Government found in the feudal landowning class a reliable ally. Feudalism and its relics are the bulwark of reaction: they stand on the way of the economic forces that give rise to the national consciousness of a people. By obstructing forcibly the development of higher means of production, British Imperialism figured as the protector of the native feudal reactionary elements, thus winning their loyalty. Of late the native social basis of the British rule has widened embracing other social classes, whose economic interests are antagonistic to imperial domination, but which find it more profitable to follow the tactics of compromise. They are the wealthy upper classes, possessing capital to be invested in the most lucrative manner; prosperous intellectuals engaged either in liberal professions or high Government offices also belong to this class. The immediate interests of these elements are too closely interlinked with the established order to permit them to look favourably on the prospects of a revolutionary change. Therefore, they have developed the theory of evolutionary nationalism, whose programme is constitutional democracy, to be realised by stages, and by peaceful and legal means. Self-government within the Empire is their goal.

#### Complete Separation from Great Britain

But economic, social and cultural progress of the Indian people demands complete separation from Great Britain. This separation, however, cannot be realised by peaceful means, nor by negotiation. Imperial connection means nothing less than the control of the destinies of the Indian people by and for the interests of the British ruling class. And the welfare of the Indian people demands a complete end of any such control exercised directly or

indirectly in conjunction with the native upper classes. Changed circumstances and the strengthening of the revolutionary nationalist movement by the ever-growing activity and conscious participation of the expropriated masses, are forcing Imperialism to consolidate its position on a firm stratum of the native society. It is endeavouring to attract to its side more and more sections of the propertied upper classes by making concessions. The policy of imperial liberalism heralded in 1909 by the Morley-Minto reforms and inaugurated in 1919 by the introduction of the Government of India Act will culminate sooner or later in its logical conclusion, which will be Home Rule or Dominion Status for India. The repetition of the fiasco of Irish Free State or Egyptian "Independence" can be expected in India. That section of the people, which relies on any such eventuality for the solution of the national question, is to be looked upon as the henchmen of Imperialism. The movement led by the Indian National Congress must rid itself of all such elements and must be free from any illusion about a "change of heart" on the part of the British. Indian people must be free or will be ruled by British Imperialism. There is no middle course. And the people of India will never liberate itself from Imperialist domination without a revolutionary struggle.

Economic reasons, however, do not permit all the classes of the Indian society to participate in this revolutionary struggle whose victory will belong to the whole nation. But those who will try to appropriate to themselves the lion's share of this victory, are to-day as hostile to the struggle which will bring it about, as the British themselves. So the social basis of the nationalist movement cannot be all-inclusive. Only those sections of the people, whose economic interests cannot be reconciled with imperialist exploitation under any makeshift arrangement, constitute the backbone of the movement for national liberation. These sections embrace the overwhelming majority of the nation, since they include the bankrupt middle-classes, pauperized peasantry and the exploited workers.

#### The Awakening of the Peasantry

We have watched with great enthusiasm the development of your movement during the last two years. It was a period of great revolutionary activities. New social forces of immense potentiality were drawn into the movement. It was inspiring to watch the vast peasant masses throw off their

age-long apathy and begin a revolutionary mass action sweeping the country. The awakening of the peasantry with the rebelliousness of the proletariat has added unprecedented vigour to the nationalist movement which, thus, has become a formidable foe of imperialism. But it must be said that the leadership of the National Congress fell short of that intensely revolutionary situation. The existence within the ranks of elements, which are materially and spiritually bound up with reactionary socio-economic elements, was responsible for this lamentable failure.

Our sympathy and support for the liberation of the Indian people are not confined to empty phrases; therefore, it is not possible always to utter sweet ones. The relation of the Communist International with the struggle of the oppressed peoples is based upon mutual interests and inspired by revolutionary idealism. We must stand shoulder to shoulder with the Indian people in its struggle against Imperialism; therefore we will fail in our revolutionary duty if we do not point out to you the mistake that weakens the movement.

Indian National Congress stands in need of a thorough clarification of its ideological background; its socio-economic outlook should cease to be confused; and it should formulate a programme in accordance with the needs and demands of the great majority of the nation. These conditions must be fulfilled if all the social forces objectively in conflict with imperialist domination are to be united in the revolutionary struggle for national liberation.

In conclusion, we express our hope in the ultimate success of your cause, which means the destruction of British Imperialism by the revolutionary might of the Indian masses.

**DOWN WITH BRITISH  
IMPERIALISM**  
**LONG LIVE THE FREE  
PEOPLE OF INDIA**

With fraternal greetings.

*THE PRESIDUM*

*Fourth World Congress of the Communist  
International*



**THE MODERN "PIED PIPER"**

## Why is Christmas?

**G**EORGE BERNARD SHAW, playwright and novelist, once stated that if one only says a thing in a sufficiently humorous manner it is sure to be misunderstood.

A good example of this occurred recently at a public meeting held by a certain branch of the Communist Party. The misguided lecturer—forgetting that the revolutionary is a serious-minded being with no time to enjoy the funny side of things—delivered an amusing and really humorous lecture with an undercurrent of seriousness which was entirely missed. The discussion, with a facility, only to be found in Communist and trade union branch meetings, slid off the point and finally ended in the realms of absurdity—at least, it was the intention of the questionnaires to bring it to those realms, but, like so many intentions, it miscarried.

It is easy to get up in a crowded room and ask a harassed and youthful lecturer who, by his own showing, has, on extremely short notice, consented to speak, such a question as "Why is Christmas?"; a question so wide of the point and, on its face value, of such utter absurdity that it will be sure to get no answer. The lecturer was no folk lore expert, or the question would never have been asked.

As a matter of interesting fact, it is a question which is not at all difficult to answer, and one which, when answered, throws yet a little more light on the origin of "the opium of the people."

Christmas has become such an established festival that few enquire further into its origin than to discover that it is a Christian festival.

But it was not originally a Christian festival; it was not originally held to celebrate the birth of Christ at all. In point of fact, the date of the birth of Christ is very doubtful. The early Christian Church in Egypt used to celebrate his nativity on January 6th and this gradually spread throughout all the Eastern Church. But, about the beginning of the fourth century, A.D., the Western Church fixed the date of the nativity of Christ as December 25th, and after some time this change was adopted throughout the Christian Church, being introduced at Antioch about the year 375 A.D.

What were the reasons that led to this change in date; this confession of ignorance on so important a point. They were the sort of reasons one might expect to be given by an official religion; a religion of the ruling class.

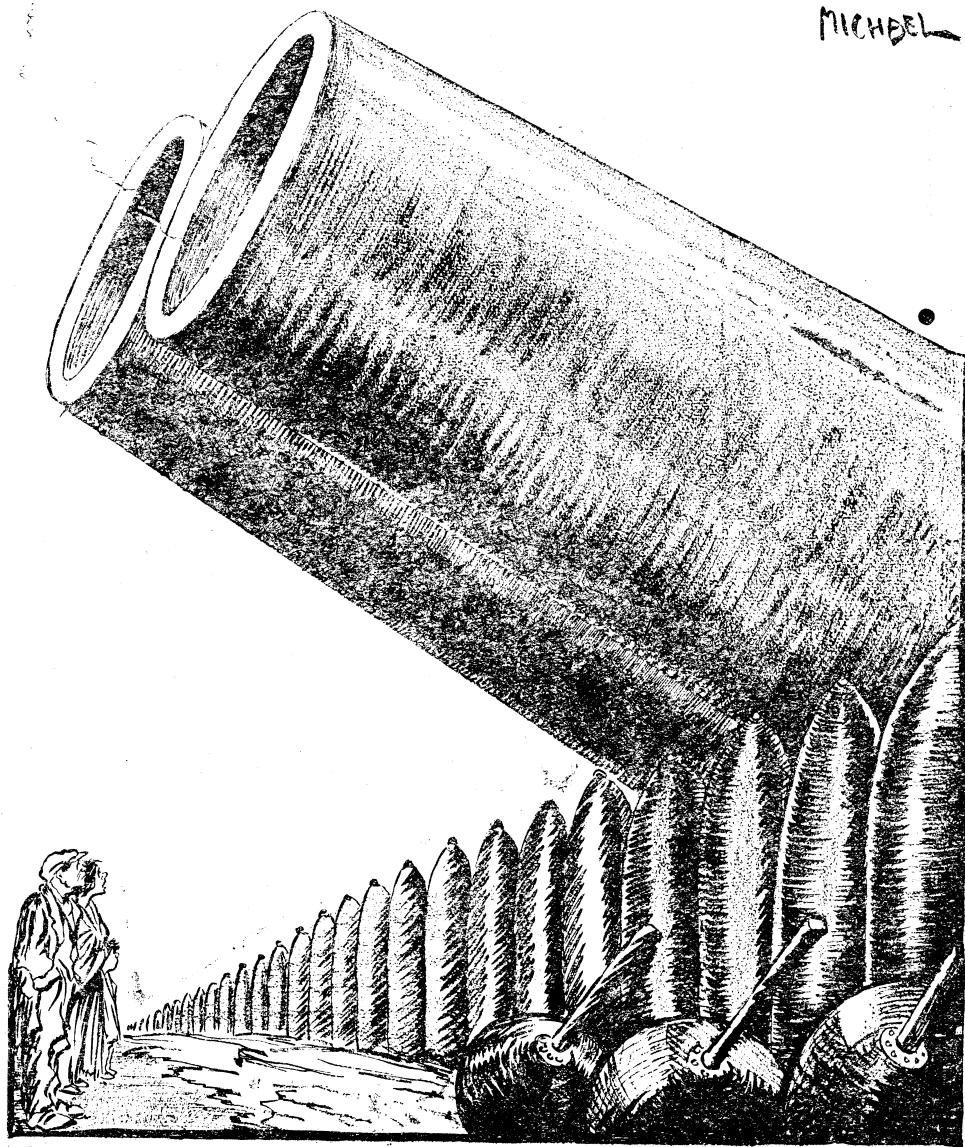
Mithra, a Persian deity, was identified with the sun. His worship, combining a solemn ritual with moral purity and hope of immortality, was wide-spread over the Roman Empire, and was a serious rival to Christianity. Indeed, at one time it threatened to overthrow its modern rival. Now, in Mithraic religion, the nativity of the sun was celebrated at the winter solstice, which, according to the Julian Calendar was the 25th of December. This time was one of great rejoicing and it was the custom of the Christians to take part therein.

When the doctors of the Christian Church discovered that their followers were in the habit of celebrating this heathen festival, they resolved that in the future the "true Nativity" should be celebrated the same day, thus allowing all true Christians to rejoice without fear of sin. Augustine tacitly admitted this when he exhorted the Christians not to celebrate this festival on account of the sun, but on account of Him who made the sun.

Not only does Christmas coincide with the nativity of the sun, but the Christian Easter Festival coincides with that of Adonis and Attis; the festival of St. George in April with that of Parilia; the festival of St. John the Baptist with the Midsummer festival of water; the Assumption of the Virgin in August with the Feast of Diana; and the festival of All Souls in November with the festival of the Dead.

When all this has been taken into consideration, the question "Why is Christmas?" becomes—to the Marxian—a simple thing to answer.

## "Compliments of the Season"



## Bonar Law's cure for Unemployment, or "More Work for the Undertaker"

### Standard Oil Profits and their Basis

**T**HE part played by the big Oil Trusts and combines in determining international relations is notorious. Their machinations affect the lot of the workers in every country, and all workers should note upon what kind of basis their vast fortunes are being built up.

Take the case of the Rockefeller millions—based upon "Standard Oil." Income Tax is at present being paid in New York State upon incomes of over fifty million dollars by both John D. Rockefeller and his son.

The "Standard Oil Company" controls oil-fields in every quarter of the globe, and it has recently declared a dividend of 400 per cent., while 300 and 200 per cent. dividends are being paid by its subsidiary companies also. Its publications are full of "up-lift" and make great play with a scheme for "industrial representation" for its workers—by means of company-controlled "unions."

In one of the oil-fields mainly controlled by it, known as the "Elk Basin" field, a seven day week and a twelve-hour day is being worked.

The American journalist who has written an exposure of the shocking conditions in this oil-field (which is said to be typical of the "bad lands" of the West) was informed by the president of the "Standard Oil Company" of Indiana that a six-day week and an eight-hour day was observed by the company in all its fields except "where the workers themselves have petitioned otherwise."

Strange to say there is no record available of a petition for a seven-day working week by the workers of the "Elk Basin" Oil-field!

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All communications to Advertisement Department, "The Communist," 16, King Street, W.C. 2.

#### MEETINGS

##### Communist Party Branches

**BIRMINGHAM.** Special Lecture, Floodgate Street School, Sunday, 7 p.m. Prominent Speakers. Bull Ring, Sunday, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m. Intending members apply T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

**CENTRAL LONDON.** Minerva Cafe, 144, High Holborn, Sunday, December 31st, 6 p.m., Social and Whist Drive.

**ISLINGTON.** A. M. Wall speaks at West Islington Library, Caledonian Road, on Sunday, December 31st at 7.45 p.m., on "The Fascisti in 1923."

**WOOLWICH.** Sunday, December 31st, at 7.30 p.m., Reading Room, Co-op. Buildings, Lakedale Road, Plumstead. J. Vaughan: "The Economic and Political Situation."

**CENTRAL LONDON** Carnival Dance at the Old Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, on Tuesday, January 2nd. Tickets 2/- each.

The Federation of British Industries and Freemasonry are one. Freemasonry is the cause of unemployment. Freemasonry is the cause of 91 per cent. of our social evils. Walter Rodway speaks to any Society (free) on "Freemasonry is a Curse to Humanity." 149, Merton Road, Wimbledon.

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