

Willie Gallacher

Communist Candidate for Dundee

ASKED by the Editor to supply particulars for a brief biography, Comrade Gallacher—trusting to the Editorial generosity—offered the following:—

STORY OF MY LIFE.

I get born.
I grow up. I go to school. I grow up more.
I get a job carrying milk.
I continue to grow. I leave the school. I get a job with a grocer.
I still grow.
I get a job in an engineering shop. I begin to grow in earnest.
I become a knut! I join the I.O.G.T. I'm a helluva fine young fella!
Years pass. I join the Socialist movement. I lose my job.
I stop growing. I go to sea. I get shipwrecked. I don't get drowned (what a pity!).



I'm still a knut. I get married: then get cracked. I start growing again—smaller.
I go to America: become a "bum." I return: the war starts.
I grow again—crazy!
I get involved in strikes. I get to gaol. I grow again—sad.
I come out. The war goes on—so do I.
The war ends: more strikes: more gaol.
Come out again: I go to Russia. Great experience: train on fire: adrift in the Arctic Sea.
Back again: trouble again; gaol again!
Out again: Communist Party going strong. I become a "heid yin." Communist Party not going strong any longer.
I become a Parliamentary Candidate.
Great sensation! Overwhelming majority! Triumphant march to London. I enter... Colney Hatch!
Poor Old Gallacher.
Amen!

The conclusion of this narrative requires some modification. With Gallacher in the House it would be more likely for the Speaker and his Deputy to be carted off to the Asylum.

£1,000 WANTED

The right in the constituencies has begun. Gallacher in Dundee and Newbold in Motherwell are in the field as representatives of the working class.

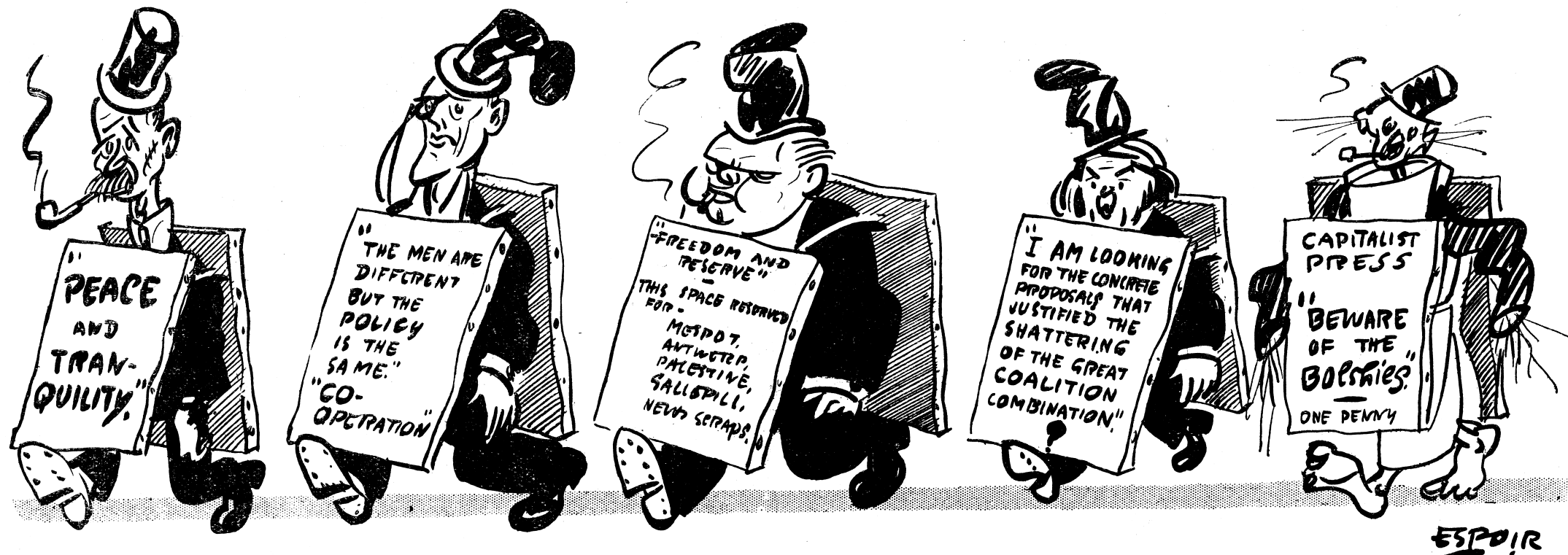
Their appeal is for the support of all workers. In a General Election, as in a strike, the interests of all workers are one.

The divisions of capitalist politics serve the ends of dividing the workers and thus keeping the capitalist in power.

The divisions of the capitalist are only apparent. They are at one in the matter which concerns their existence—keeping the workers divided, and in subjection.

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They don't know where they are—we know where they should be



THE REAL ISSUE

Shall Capitalism save itself—or will You save Yourselves?

By J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD

ON the surface the issue in this Election is whether Mr. Lloyd George is to be Prime Minister at the head of a Coalition of Liberals and Conservatives all united to prosecute their common end—or whether the Government shall pass to the Conservative Party, who will, led by Bonar Law, do the same thing only more so. The real issue is, of course, quite different. European capitalism is in a state of collapse. During the war the manufacturers of everything essential to the conduct of the war and the owners of the means of transportation piled up such masses of wealth (in the form of enlarged plants and inflated bank balances) that the coming of peace left them faced with a dual problem: (a) that of realising Government paper in tangible cash or commodities and (b) that of doing so without rendering the State so bankrupt that they lost in taxation and in civil disorder all that they had gained on paper.

Before the problems of deflating the currency (without producing wholesale bankruptcy public and private) of "Making Germany Pay" without destroying Central Europe as a market for the disposal of commodities; of reducing wages without sacrificing profits; of making the workers produce more (for less) and finding an outlet for the more so produced—before all these problems multiplied and magnified by the eternal fear of a Proletarian Revolution, every European Government (Russia alone excepted) has collapsed.

It is a grim and ironic comment upon the fevered state of capitalism that that very Russian Government which bourgeois statesmen refuse to "recognise" because it is "too unstable" to last has outlived every Cabinet and Premier in the world.

The real issue behind this Election is—Shall Capitalism secure itself at the expense of the Workers—or will the Workers secure themselves at the expense of Capitalism.

A scrutiny of the parties in the field will make this as clear as noonday.

Competing for the workers' suffrages—it is the vote of the working mass that matters since if they can be induced to put faith in a Party so far as to vote for it they can be expected to aid it against its enemies, at any rate for a time—competing for the workers' suffrages are four subdivisions of the Capitalist Party on the one hand and the Labour Party (with the Communist Party at its side) on the other.

Bonar Law and the Conservatives, Lloyd George and the Coalition Liberals, Chamberlain and the Coalition Unionists, and Asquith with the "Free" Liberals may (and do) differ very sharply upon the, to them, important question of who are to draw the emoluments of office, but they are avowedly at one on the main issue. They all agree that whatever else be done Capitalism must be preserved—and at the expense of the working mass.

They say they are opposed to "Revolution"—they mean (just what they say) they

are opposed to allowing power to pass from their class.

Lloyd George became Prime Minister (with the powerful aid of the Northcliffe Press, which is now among his enemies) at a time when the big industrial capitalist magnates had under pressure of war necessities grown into all but supreme power. Under those conditions the "passive" capitalists—the landed proprietors, the holders of state bonds, the commercial loan bankers, were forced into a willing subservience to their domination. Thus the Coalition reigned unchallenged with the nominee of the industrialists supreme at its head.

With the war ended, the problem of "business as usual" was raised in all the forms indicated above. By the end of 1920 the war-impelled trade "boom" broke into pieces upon rocks of the war settlement's making. And the industrialists fell in proportion to the exaltation of their previous rise.

Their plants—elaborated recklessly during the war and to evade payment of the Excess Profits Tax—became scrap-iron; their shares (especially where they had been cute enough to unload them upon a swarm of petit-bourgeois investors) became scraps of paper; and the big bankers and financiers (headed by those of the U.S.A.) moved into action and completed their discomfiture.

The clever ones among the industrialists having "unloaded" the shares in their businesses upon the small investors, transformed their gains into war loan stock and so passed

over into the camp of "passive" capital. The stupid ones held on, and their power waning day by day became all the more ready for desperate ventures to rehabilitate their failing fortunes.

Thus in the ranks of the Coalition developed a split.

The industrialists, once all-powerful economically, held the key positions in the Government. They were able to carry through without a hitch the industrial war on the wages of the Workers, whose Waterloo was Black Friday and whose Fontainebleu was Frank Hodges' "Ten Years' Truce." They were able for a time to hold on to the policy of carving an Empire out of the Near East and pressed by their creditors—the financiers—behind whom they saw the evil intentions of Wall Street they developed ever more definitely a policy of hostility to the U.S.A. and its French tools.

Had their hands been free they would have recognised Russia (to secure the Urquhart and other agreements and to keep the French and Americans out) and cancelled enough of the indebtedness of Germany (on terms) to permit of the isolation of France and the economic pacification of Italy. Thus secured, the British Empire, led by its aggressive industrial capitalists, would have turned at bay ready to meet Morgan, Rockefeller and their United States in a battle to the death.

But their hands were not free. As they had dwindled so their one-time subordinates

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J. T. Walton Newbold

Communist Candidate for Motherwell

J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, C.P.G.B., Parliamentary Candidate for Burgh of Motherwell and Wishaw, was born Culcheth, Lancashire, May, 1888. Educated Buxton College and University of Manchester. Graduated Master of Arts (History) 1912.

Joined I.L.P., 1910. Left I.L.P., 1921. Was one of the leading spirits with J. R. Wilson, Mrs. Crawford and E. Brown in the Left Wing Movement of the I.L.P. for affiliation with Third International, 1920-1921. Joined C.P.G.B., 1921. Member Motherwell Branch.

Joined Plebs League, 1917. Active supporter of cause of Independent Working Class Education. Lecturer, Lancashire and Cheshire Labour College, 1919-1920.

Labour Party Parliamentary Candidate, Burgh of Motherwell and Wishaw, Lanarkshire, Scotland, Dec., 1918. Polled 4,135 votes.



Author "How Europe Armed for War" and many pamphlets, etc., on Capitalism and Capitalist Imperialism.

Adviser to Ernest Bevin at Dockers' Enquiry, 1920.

Member Executive Labour Research Department, 1922-23.

Married June, 1915, Miss Madge Neilson, school teacher, Wishaw, whose active work there and in the Lower Lanarkshire I.L.P. Federation, 1908 to 1916 and in Socialist Sunday School, 1908 to 1916, is well known.

Motherwell has a splendid fighting tradition. It was where Keir Hardie made his first appearance as a candidate and the Motherwell and Wishaw Branches for long led the fight inside the I.L.P. in favour of the Third International.

Opposed to Comrade Newbold are three candidates: a National Liberal, a Free Liberal, and a freak Conservative—an Orangeman.

Comrade Newbold's work in revealing the inner workings of Capitalism has made his reputation world-wide. Militant fighters for the working class in every country in the world will watch with keen interest the progress of the struggle—in Motherwell as in Dundee.

£1,000 WANTED

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The essential of the winning of working-class freedom is unity. Gallacher and Newbold stand for working-class unity in the struggle against capitalism.

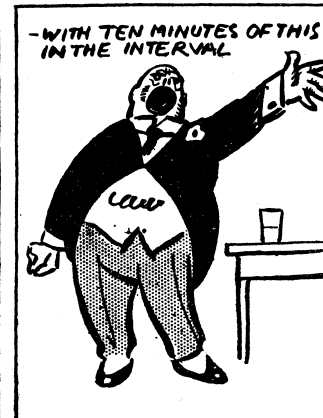
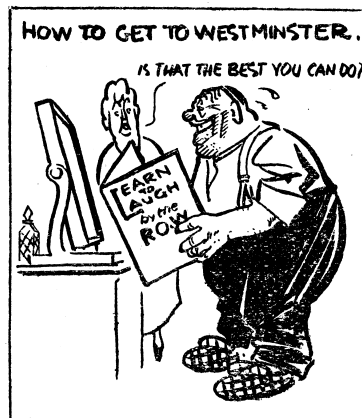
That is why we are appealing to all sections of workers to help in the attack upon two capitalist-imperialist strongholds, Dundee and Motherwell.

The fight is your fight, even if you don't live in either of these places. Supply the munitions.

An encouraging response has already been made.

Do your bit. Pile them up, NOW.

All contributions to:—
W. M. Holmes,
16, King Street,
Covent Garden,
London, W.C. 2.



IT WON'T WORK FOR EVER

The Real Issue

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had gained. The tangled exchanges which they would have cut through had already more than half throttled the commercials and the Manchester group, and these were added as enemies to the financial groups who, bent upon using the exchanges as a path to a mortgageship of all Europe.

To all these were added all the small fry of rentiers, panting for release from crushing income tax, enormous rates and general disillusionment. So grew into being the revolt against Lloyd George and his Coalition.

From the nature of things the aggressive industrial group is bound to be small. The great bulk of the petit-bourgeois oscillates perpetually between the old style Liberalism—and old style Conservatism. Manchester and the textile North is the radiating centre of the former. The Court, the Services, the Country Gentility (each with its swarm of hangers on) are the generating stations of the latter. But each from its nature is doomed to the rôle of follower—doomed to alternately thrill with great hopes and shiver with enlarged terrors as they respond to the call of one or other of the Imperial parties.

Thus came into being Glasgow, Liverpool and Birmingham as clearing houses for Liberalism grown cynical and Toryism grown timid, both uniting under the banner of Liberal-Unionism and Imperialism to make a break with the bonds of aristocracy on the one side and those of petit-bourgeois and proletarian radicalism on the other. Here lay

the strength of the Chamberlains, and here Lloyd George looks to find the backing that the defeat of Zaharoff and the Ralli's has made imperative to him.

Behind Bonar Law and the Conservatives are the big financial interests followed by a needy and greedy swarm of aristocrats, landlords, court functionaries, toadies, disappointed small investors, timorous Government bondholders and a whole fry of bankruptcy threatened commercial agents whom another war would "bust higher than a kite."

Lloyd George, aided by Austen Chamberlain, would have (as at Cannes and Genoa) fought the British Empire as a Big Business into the headship of the world regardless of cost and consequences.

Bonar Law & Co. will not take the risks. Although miners, railwaymen, engineers and the rest have all been defeated yet the fear of Black Friday remains. It might so easily have been Red Friday and the Lloyd George policy challenges the same risk at least once a year.

Bonar Law & Co. will play for safety.

They will, as he says so eloquently and so naively, "avoid all attempts at improvement." They will come to terms with the U.S.A. They will "restore trade"—how they don't know (like Lloyd George they "hardly understand where they are") but they hope that with the assistance of Wall Street world capitalism will gain even if the British Empire suffers.

In all this where is Asquith? Theoretically Manchester was his and all that thereto belongs. But the world has moved while Liberalism has stood still. Practically

Asquith's one hope lies either in alliance with Lloyd George which will rally the more progressive petit-bourgeoisie to the side of the aggressive industrialists, or alternatively in a bold and frankly petit-bourgeois programme which will rally not only the lower middle-class but all the traditional Liberalism of the less instructed proletarians.

But on this ground he is challenged. The Labour Party is in the field. It has been in being sufficiently long for even the conservative working man and the small tradesmen to have come to accept them as inevitable and all the shrieks of Bolshevism will not prevent large sections of these seeing in the Labour Party an alternative to all they have suffered at the hands of those who have gone before.

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To the Worker who knows his business the issue is clear. The Conservatives stand for the preservation of World Capitalism. The Lloyd Georgeites stand for the preservation of World Capitalism. The Free Liberals stand for the preservation of World Capitalism.

Only the Labour Party (with all its timidity and lack of clarity) stands and must stand—as even Arthur Henderson is constrained to admit—hostile to the rule of those enterprises which have made the world a hell for the wage-working mass.

By voting the Labour Party into office the working class may not secure any great or immediate gains. But they will secure (what is of infinite importance) the defeat of a swarm of their avowed enemies.