

THE Communist

An Organ of the Third (Communist) International

(PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN)

No. 117

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28th, 1922.

[Registered at the G.P.O.
as a Newspaper]

TWOPENCE

A UNITED FRONT AGAINST THE CAPITALIST ENEMY

Manifesto of the Communist Party of Great Britain

TO THE FUTURE RULERS OF BRITAIN
THE UNCONQUERED WORKING CLASS

THE capitalists call you to an election. They have attacked you with every weapon at their command.

They have battered down your wages to starvation levels.

They have cast you on the scrap-heap of unemployment in millions.

They have gagged your every protest, bludgeoned you when you assembled to demonstrate your misery, and laid by the heels in prison all those bold enough to voice your claims and your indignation.

Now they wish to complete their victory by calling on you to register your submission at the ballot box. They call on you to agree to their power for another five years, in order that they may cover the further tyrannies they have in store with the appearance of your consent.

Working men and women! To hell with their capitalist politics!

We want bread; we want work; we want homes for our children; we want an end of class tyranny and oppression.

Vote down every Capitalist candidate. Their labels mean nothing to us. Coalition yesterday, Conservative and Liberal to-day, they are all the same. They all stand upon the backs of the workers, and differ only over their share of the plunder.

We must stand together against them. The only struggle for us is the struggle of the workers against their exploiters. The election is only a phase of the struggle.

Why should we take part in the election? Not because we believe our struggle will be fought in the enemy's platform of Parliament. Not because we believe fine speeches will persuade the ruling class to surrender. No! the struggle of the workers will be fought out in the streets and in the workshops.

But we send working-class candidates to Parliament in order that the many millions of workers who still believe in it may see the truth of it in practice and learn its futility for the working-class struggle. We make the elections a rallying cry for the workers to measure their strength against the capitalists. The demonstration of to-day becomes the open struggle of to-morrow.

All over the world the struggle is raging. the workers of Europe, the peasants and masses of India and the subject nations, have been in open revolt. But always the

embattled power of reaction from its citadel here in Britain has held them in and prevented the victory of the working-class. It rests with us to make an end of this. The workers of the world, the subjected masses of every country, are looking to the British working class to assert itself. We must not fail them.

Every blow struck at the Capitalist domination here is a blow struck for the workers' struggle all over the world. Let us by the demonstration of our strength and our unity in this election send out a message of hope to the hard pressed and heroic workers of Russia, of Germany, of Ireland, of India, and every other country, that they may go forward in their difficult battle with renewed faith and determination, confident in the sure knowledge that we shall soon be with them.

To demonstrate our strength and our unity we must stand together. We must present a united front of the working-class. No worker must stand against a worker to the advantage of the capitalists. We must support our own candidates, chosen by the workers' own organisations, against the capitalist candidates. Support all working-class candidates.

We Communists are the revolutionary left wing of the working-class movement, united in a party to give independent expression to the revolutionary policy of the working-class, but fighting with the rest of the working-class in every struggle. For the elections we stand shoulder to shoulder with the other candidates of the working-class.

Workers of Motherwell and Dundee, support the Communist Candidates! The Communist Party is the vanguard of the working-class, leading the way to the ultimate conquest of power. Our candidates are tried and true fighters in the revolutionary struggle. Show that you back them in their fight.

Workers of the other constituencies, support the Labour Party candidates. The large body of the working-class forces in the Labour Party stands for the fight against capitalism, even though they do not clearly understand the implications of the struggle. They are still the easy victims of reactionary leaders: they are misled by the false hope of overcoming the ruthless capitalist domination through paper Parliamentary reforms. But, inasmuch as they stand for the fight against capitalism, we

are with them in action, even while we point out their mistakes.

Because we are convinced that by the struggle against capitalism they will be compelled to adopt the policy of the Communist Party sooner or later or perish, we decline to put opposition candidates against the Labour Party candidates where these are already fighting. Labour cannot afford to present a broken front to the enemy in the crisis to-day. We call on the revolutionary workers not to hesitate to give the most active support to every Labour Candidate. Whatever our criticisms among ourselves, in all action against the capitalists we present a common front.

But support the Labour Party candidates with your eyes open. See that your candidates shall really represent the interests of the working-class. We warn the workers against easy hopes and illusions. There have been betrayals in the past, in 1914, and time and again. Be on your guard against it in the future. Demand that your candidates shall be faithful to the workers' interests.

Pledge your candidates against any form of alliance or understanding with any capitalist party.

Pledge them to vote against all war credits.

Pledge them to support the unemployed demands and to fight for them.

Pledge them to oppose every expenditure of the Government which serves to organise repression of the workers—army, navy, or police.

Pledge them to maintain the interests of the workers' organisations, and to resist every attack upon the liberty of organisation, of speech, of meeting, or of strikes.

Pledge them to oppose every form of Government intervention against the workers or supporting of organisations hostile to the workers.

Fellow workers, the struggle at the election is only a beginning. The real struggle comes after. Only the revolutionary conquest of power can achieve our aims. But, in the meantime, let us mass our forces in unity in the present struggle and be prepared for the struggles of the future.

Down with Capitalist misrule!

All Power to the Working Class!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the
Communist Party of Great Britain.

Victimisation Vendetta

By J. D. Lawrence

AT the beginning of the lock-out the bosses circularised their members inviting them to practise victimisation as a definite policy in their war against the engineering trade unionists.

There was nothing new involved in the issue of this circular as the bosses had been employing the weapon of victimisation from the time of the Armistice in 1918. It was issued, no doubt, in the hope that it would intimidate the active union men into doing little or nothing to fight the bosses' onslaught upon their unions.

Few, if any, were so intimidated, and the courageous leadership of those men, who dared to openly fight the bosses, marked them down as certain victims on the Federation black-list.

There is no doubt about the wide extent of the Federation's operations. All over the country active union men are being deliberately kept out of the workshops. For months past the organisers of the A.E.U. have been engaged in repeated and in many cases unsuccessful attempts to secure reinstatement for the victimised men.

It is disgraceful to be compelled to admit that after the organisers have failed the unions usually leave the men to shift for themselves. Evidence to this effect is to be found in the report recently published by the A.E.U. of the proceedings of its Final Appeal Court. Fifty-nine appeals against the Executive's decision not to grant full wage benefit to victimised men claiming it were heard by a rank-and-file body of fifteen members. There were seventy-four pages of closely printed matter describing the circumstances of each claimant's appeal. Reading the statements carefully one cannot misunderstand the deliberate and malignant fiendishness of the bosses.

What one cannot understand is the poor support accorded to the men by the Final Appeal Court. Only fourteen appeals were

upheld, the remaining forty-five being settled in favour of the Executive and the bosses (who must rub their hands with satisfaction at discovering that the A.E.U. is not prepared to support the men who fought its battle during the lock-out, evidently preferring to save its money and to lose its honour).

The actual number of men victimised is difficult to gauge but there must be hundreds and the question is are we to leave them to shift for themselves or are we to consider ways and means to rescue them from their sorry plight?

I ask this question of the Communist Party, because it is the only organised body in the country certain to respond in no uncertain fashion.

The significant fact to be remembered is that the unions have officially deserted the victimised men. The same applies of course to other trades—the usual futile appeal for re-instatement is made to the cold-blooded bosses and then the matter allowed to drop. The men go on to the streets and endure while the officials concentrate their minds and hopes upon the coming General Election and delude themselves and many of us that all will be remedied when a Labour Government is returned to power.

Meanwhile, what can we do for the victimised men? They are not the sort to advertise their sufferings and when you meet them they always try and convince you that they are doing "fine." Now, my experience is that the best kind of help they prefer is to land them a job. Will every member of the C.P. keep watch for vacancies and endeavour to work in a victimised man?

I know that the engineering trade is seriously depressed but, even so, vacancies do occur, and if you are constantly on the alert you can often land a job for a friend.

I should like to see committees formed in all centres for the purpose of fighting the

bosses upon this issue in an organised way, first by trying to get the men jobs and then by concentrating their energies against the bosses in their localities.

If the Executive of the C.P. would permit its office to be used as an information centre to ascertain the number of men concerned and to receive notice of vacancies, I believe it would not only be the first attempt of its kind in this country, but good business, and a simple act of good comradeship towards men we are bound to by ties of sympathy and above all, respect.

Whatever view may be taken of this suggestion, the fact is before us that no attempt is being made by any organised body in this country to counteract the effective working of the bosses' character-note system. The bosses have it all their own way and they intend to stamp out the Reds everywhere they can. They are succeeding very well too, and we shall be wise to organise against them or there will be a big diminution in the number of active union men in the near future. No boss minds a tame union man, it is good policy to patronise him and to give him the plum jobs. I believe that the Labour M.P.'s could do a lot of effective work in Parliament upon this matter after being well kicked into action by the suggested local committees. I know that individual M.P.'s have attempted to do something now and again, but, while any effort is praiseworthy, there is nothing like a full line up of all hands upon a matter of this description. Most of the offending firms are Government contractors, and there is nothing to prevent all the Labour M.P.'s making an organised attack upon them by doing what they can to stop the issue of Government contracts to them. The bosses don't like publicity in connection with their blackguardly work of victimisation. They should be publicly denounced in Parliament and intimation should be made that Labour in power will end the whole damnable business of the character-note by abolishing the bosses' power to sack anyone except themselves. The local committees can collect the facts and they can compel their Labour M.P.'s to take some kind of organised action to end this evil.

An Appeal

From the Red Navy to the Seamen of the French Navy

AT the beginning of last April, the All-Russian Conference of Communist Sailors of the Workers' and Peasants' Navy, convened at Moscow, addressed the following message to the honorary members of its organization, comrades Marty and Badina, imprisoned by the present Government of France:—

"The All-Russian Conference of the Communist sailors of the Navy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic greets in your persons the sailors of every country, and the people who aspire to further the work of the Proletarian Revolution begun by the workers and peasants of Russia.

The great revolutionary deed, such as was your refusal to fire on the workers of Odessa sets a memorable example and gives you the right to occupy a place of honour in the Executive Committee of our Communist Conference. Be courageous; the hour of deliverance approaches!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!"

Several months have passed since then. Our expectation of the approaching liberation of the prisoners has been partly justified. Badina and several other sailors have been freed by the French Government under pressure of the working masses. Marty remains incarcerated, but agitation continues outside the walls of his prison.

In this situation we consider it important to impart to you, comrades of France, our conviction and our hopes.

France appears to-day as the bulwark of world reaction. Upon her rests the greatest responsibility for the failure of the conferences at Genoa and the Hague. France, directed by a handful of financiers and generals, remains the most bitter adversary of Soviet Russia.

France, by the Imperialist policy of warman Poincare and his political allies, is preparing a new world war, the horrors of

which will far surpass those of the war just ended.

This France is not, cannot, be the true representative of the millions of French proletarians—workers, sailors, soldiers, and impoverished peasants.

We firmly believe, nay, we know, that the descendants of the French Communards cannot be traitors and renegades to the great work left uncompleted by the heroes of 1871. To them belongs the last decisive word as to who shall determine the final role of France in the history of humanity.

And we are firmly convinced that the hour approaches day by day when the just anger of the French proletariat will turn against Poincare and against all of the criminal governments.

The liberation of Badina and the energetic demand for the freeing of Marty are landmarks in the development of the proletarian revolution in France. Instructed by the Russian Navy's experiences of long years of revolutionary struggle, we send you our fraternal greetings, while reminding you, sailors of France, that only the determined and united direction of the Communist Party can aid you effectively in your future struggles and assure you in the final reckoning of a decisive victory.

The revolutionary movement in the Russian Navy goes back to 1824. But up to 1917 it did not have, nor could have, complete success in large measure, because it was not united under the direction of a political party truly revolutionary, and defending in deed, not alone in words, the interests of the proletariat.

Since October, 1917 our Red Fleet has rallied itself under the Communist flag. Now, at the end of the fifth year of the Social Revolution, it counts with honour numerous proofs of combat. And it remains resolved to battle until the triumph of the international proletariat.

Take your stand, comrades, with the Communist Party. Do not allow yourselves to be hypnotized by the soothing sermons of false Socialists. Do not lower your heads under the painful blows of repression. Prepare yourselves, act, keep unceasingly before your mind this same task to struggle against your capitalist system. Demand

the recognition of Soviet Russia, follow to the end the path indicated to you by the Communist Party.

The navy is the most important revolutionary force in each country. The navy of imperialist France which counts in its ranks so many courageous revolutionists, will not be the last to perform its revolutionary duty. In the struggle of the working class of France a great historic role devolves upon it.

Long live the revolutionary marines of France!

Long live their union under the flag of the Communist International!

Workers of all countries, unite!

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of the COMMUNIST.

Dear Comrade,—

Comrade Halstead, of the Unemployed Organisation has been criticised because of the remarks made in my article relating to his speech at the Southport Congress. It is only fair to Comrade Halstead to state that he arrived at the Congress the moment he was expected to speak and had to make his speech from notes that had been handed to him. He had very pluckily stepped into the breach at the last moment and therefore the criticism passed on his remarks was hardly fair to him personally.

I trust that you will be able to find room to insert these few lines in order to remove the misunderstanding that has occurred.

Yours sincerely,

ELLEN C. WILKINSON.

GRAND DEBATE

at the

Baths, High Street, Walthamstow,
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 29th

"The Policy of the Communist Party, or that of the I.L.P.—by which can the Workers Achieve Power?"

For the C.P. ... T. A. JACKSON

For the I.L.P. ... E. C. FAIRCHILD

Chairman ... Councillor QUINN

(Chairman Walthamstow U.D.C.)

Doors Open 7 Commence 7.30 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE

Reserved Seats 3d.

TASKS OF THE 4th WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THE Fourth World Congress has as one of the first items on the agenda, the subject "Five years of Russian Revolution and the Perspectives of the World Revolution."

The 4th World Congress will not merely review the 5 years of Russian Revolution, but, during the whole of the deliberations it will consider and estimate the results and experiences in Soviet Russia, and will draw conclusions therefrom for the activity of the Communists.

The struggle of the Russian workers to capture the power of the State was not easy. Still more difficult was it for the Russian peasants and workers to maintain the possession of the state power. The struggles have been victorious. The Soviet Power both from the military point of view and the point of view of foreign politics is more consolidated than ever. The difficulties which the proletarian state has yet to overcome on the road to pure Communism are at the same time enormous.

In Central Europe too, whose social foundations were greatly shaken during the autumn days of 1918, the revolutionary struggle has not so quickly succeeded as the Communists of all countries expected.

While in the first years following the conclusion of the imperialist peace, the Communists immediately took up the fight for the ultimate aim (the conquest of the state power) the Communists of all countries which are still Capitalist, have now set up the so-called proximate aims, which are intelligible to the working masses and which are calculated to gather the whole working class under the banner of Communism and the struggle for which must immediately become a struggle for the attainment of the final goal.

The Fourth World Congress will have to test and examine all these experiences in Soviet Russia and in the capitalist world.

This necessity for self-understanding also finds expression in that the discussion of an international programme as well as of the programmes of the various sections of the Communist International has been placed upon the agenda of the World Congress. It is true, no final decision will be reached upon the international programme, as the preparatory work is not sufficiently advanced. But the reports to be delivered and the work of the programme Section will form a good basis for further discussions in the Communist circles of all countries.

The report of Comrade Zinoviev upon the activity of the Executive and the further tactics of the Communist International will at the same time provide the opportunity of deciding the much debated question of the transition demands or proximate aims. Although the resistance against the tactics of the united front and against the proximate demands set up by the Communist International has been reduced within the Italian and French Parties and in the smaller groups of the German Party, only the authoritative decision of a World Congress will finally close the discussion upon this topic. At the same time every Party and every Party group will be pledged by this decision to carry out loyally and with all their energy the tactics of the united front in their own country.

The necessity for fighting with closed ranks, will have to be particularly pointed out in the reports on the offensive of capital and the struggle against the Versailles Peace in connection with the home and foreign politics. The transition demands arising out of this struggle against the capitalist offensive and the Versailles Peace can in a generalised form find a place in an international programme of the Communist International. The formulation of such demands does not mean that these demands will be actually reached in the prescribed form but only that these demands must be the rallying point for the struggle of the broad masses. The struggle for one of these demands is sufficient to roll up the whole front of the class struggle and lead to the realisation of the Soviet Dictatorship.

The question of the tactics of the united front which stands for discussion along with

the report of the Executive is therefore immediately connected with the programme question. The question of the tactic of the united front and the programme question mutually complete each other as practical and theoretical sides of the same problem: by what means and under what slogans will the Communists of all countries most rapidly and most successfully arrive at their goal—the realization of Communism.

The Second International, before, during and after the war, set reformist work and revolutionary work against each other, giving preference to successful reformist work and abandoning all revolutionary work. The practice of all the Menshevik and Social Democratic Parties show that the renunciation of revolutionary work has also hindered the improvement of the living conditions of the working class. Reform work is only successful when it is conducted in a revolutionary spirit and when it leads immediately to revolutionary struggles. How little the formulation of concrete, proximate demands has converted the Communist International into a reformist International, is shown by the ever-widening chasm between the Communist International and the Second and 2½ Internationals.

The efforts of the Communist International at the Berlin Conference to form a proletarian united front and to organise a proletarian world congress were answered by the 2nd and 2½ Internationals with increased fury against the Communists. Nothing is more disagreeable to the Mensheviks and Social Reformists than the fact that the Communists stand up most energetically for the daily needs of the workers. Theoretical debates upon the advantages of the proletarian dictatorship or of the bourgeois democracy are perhaps welcomed by them. But as soon as they are faced with concrete facts, and are summoned to a struggle against the enemies of the working class, they get into a rage and seek by means of abusive campaigns against the Communists to confuse the working class and to isolate the Communists who are forcing them into the struggle.

In Germany, for example, the trade union bureaucracy, the independents and the Social Democrats, directly after the movement following the murder of Rathenau, issued the slogan: "have nothing to do with the Communists," because the tactics of the Communists during this movement were more dangerous to the Social Democrats than if the K.P.D. had been isolated.

The campaign now being conducted in Germany by the trade union bureaucracy for the expulsion of the Communists is also a proof of how dangerous the trade union tactics of the German Communists have become to these trade union leaders who are so friendly to the employers. If the World Congress deals this time with the trade union question it will in the first place have to confirm the tactic of remaining within the trade unions and of carrying on the revolutionary work there. In so far as the trade union bureaucracy systematically excludes the Communists, the World Congress will have to discuss the appropriate measures of defence, for it is clear that the Communists cannot stand idly by and watch the systematic splitting of the trade unions; but all such measures must be calculated to unite those who have been excluded.

In addition to these most important problems, the World Congress will have to discuss a number of problems which relate to separate practical questions. Besides the oriental and colonial questions and the agrarian question, which have already been discussed at the international congresses, the World Congress will discuss the education question which occupies a special item on the agenda.

The report upon the work among the youth will not be a mere report but it will exhaustively deal with the difficulties and problems that have arisen in the youth movement as a consequence of the changing situation.

The interest which the Communist International constantly has for the women's question is shown by the fact that at this

Congress there will again be delivered a special report upon the position of the work amongst the women.

The great importance of the Co-operative movement will also find expression in a report upon this question connected with a report upon the International Co-operative Conference.

Finally, the Congress will bear witness to the universal interest of the working class in the proletarian famine relief for Soviet Russia in a report upon the Famine Relief for Soviet Russia.

The Communist International regards its conferences not as parades which merely have outward effects but as days of serious work of self-examination and understanding over the future struggle. The Communist International does not shrink from openly discussing the weaknesses of individual parties. As in the past years, many of the failings of the Communist Parties were openly dealt with, so this time the World Congress will by a special item on the agenda devote itself to the question of the French Party which has revealed many critical symptoms. The Communists know no sensitiveness. They regard every pronouncement even when they lead to critical conclusions as brotherly assistance. They accept every decision of the whole International in the spirit of proletarian solidarity and discipline, both of which are indispensable in order to be able victoriously to overthrow our mighty antagonist, the bourgeoisie, and, along with it, its allies, the Social Democrats.

TOM MANN'S MEMOIRS

WHEN Comrade Mann sailed for South Africa a few weeks ago, he left the typescript of his memoirs in the hands of a leading firm of publishers. This firm is anxious to undertake the publication. But the book cannot be issued at a price that will make it available to working-class readers, *unless a large sale can be guaranteed in advance.* If two thousand advance orders can be booked, an edition of 5,000 will be printed. This will make it possible for Comrade Mann's *Memoirs* to be published at 6s. for the bound copies and at 3s. 6d. in paper cover—a very moderate figure nowadays for a handsome volume of about 300 pages, containing over 100,000 words and numerous illustrations.

But readers of the COMMUNIST must help! No money is required at this stage—only guaranteed orders.

Write *at once* to the address of this paper, marking your letter outside "Tom Mann's Memoirs," stating how many copies (one or more) you will take and pay for on delivery—postage extra. Branches able to handle a dozen copies or more will receive a discount.

Just a word or two about the contents. It is the autobiography of the man who is probably the most noted Labour agitator of the day, the man who began life as a pit-boy, worked for many years as an engineer, helped to lead the celebrated dock strike in East London more than thirty years ago, fought for left-wing Labour causes all over the world, was imprisoned ten years ago in connection with the famous "Don't Shoot" leaflet.

The "stormy petrel" of Labour disputes, Tom Mann is always on the scene when there is an acute outbreak of the class war.

Another point that adds interest to the volume is the writer's account of the numerous personalities with whom he has come into contact in the four quarters of the globe.

Not being a millionaire, Tom Mann has no money of his own to risk upon the volume. If it is to be published soon and cheaply *you must help.* If the orders roll in, the book will be ready to greet the author on his return from South Africa. Meanwhile, a duplicate copy of the typescript has gone to Russia, where a translation is to be published for the comrades in that country.

Don't say: "I must think about this."
SEND ORDERS NOW.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

THE imminence of the General Election will have its effect upon the Local Government Elections, due to take place on November 1st. It will minimise their relative importance to the orthodox party politician and it will affect their nature.

The fall of the National Coalition will mean the fall of the local Coalition. But the result of the capitalist front remains.

Just as nationally the General Election comes because the pro-Capitalist Parties are so confident of their victory upon essentials that they can afford to dispute upon incidentals, so locally, the general determination of the property-owning, employing, and ruling class to fasten the workers down into subjection and servitude is revealed rather than concealed by their incidental party divisions.

Against the Capitalist parties of all shades a united working class front is indispensable locally as well as nationally.

Against the Capitalist parties we work hand in hand with the Labour Party. We refuse to oppose them to the advantage of the Capitalists. We will not be responsible for any breaking of the front.

The Local Government Elections on November 1st (like the General Election later) must be made an opportunity for teaching the Capitalist Political Parties and their dupes that the workers are not to be brow-beaten and insulted with impunity. We call upon every worker to register his vote for the working-class candidates in order to rob the friends of his enemies of every shred of excuse for pretending to be other than what they are—enemies of him, his life, his liberty, and his happiness.

At the same time we warn the workers against placing their hopes upon the futile machinery of Borough Councils and Town Councils, any more than in the futile machinery of Parliament.

Poplar has shown us what happens when any serious attempt is made to use the machinery of local government for the benefit of the workers.

Send working-class representatives to the municipal bodies; demand that they take every action possible to assist the workers; watch their actions after their election. But if they fail to achieve much, after having honestly tried, vent your wrath not upon them but upon the machinery of local government which was expressly designed to prevent them doing all those things that you would wish them to do. Realise that only the complete overthrow of the existing machinery will enable the workers to achieve their ends.

Throughout Britain we have many Communist Candidates standing under Labour Party auspices.

Let this be clearly understood. Every Communist Candidate stands before you clearly and openly a Revolutionary Communist.

(Continued on Page 5)

“When the wind's from the East strange things may happen!”



LINE UP! LABOUR!

To Hell with Capitalist Politics—Work to Defeat the Imperialist Conspirators

STAND TOGETHER AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION

IN the place of Lloyd George—Bonar Law.

In the place of a tool of aggressive industrial capitalist imperialism, a tool of the commercials the credit manipulators, the holders of State bonds, and the rentiers generally.

In the place of a Capitalism still virile enough to have hopes—youthful enough to dream dreams of Imperial expansion—a capitalism set with every nerve on edge greedily upon conserving every item of its privileges and every particle of its possessions.

Lloyd George has gone, and with him the manipulators of Big Business—the giants who were big enough to be concerned only with the big things—who knew their job so well that they were able to put a face of good intentions upon the most arbitrary and self-seeking of their deeds.

For the time they are displaced—by a class too timid for big adventures, too mean to be other than malicious, too stupid to be other than clumsy in their anxiety for the brutal repression of the working mass.

Lloyd George has gone. Bonar Law has come—to be caretaker for whoever is to follow.

The tragedy of this political crisis lies in the fact that Lloyd George fell before—not an uprising of the working mass whom he had tricked and deluded into submission to his plutocratic paymasters and fellow-con-

spirators—not before a revolt of the maimed, the bereaved, the impoverished, or the hunger-maddened unemployed—but before a revolt of the Reactionaries whom his very success has emboldened into thinking that they could rule (and better) without the camouflage of his “democratic” and “liberal” pretences.

Under the smoke screen of his promises and professions the Lords of Active Capital, engineered the crushing of the organised workers—now the Lords of Passive Capital with the princelings of commerce and the loan markets—the holders of State bonds and the “die-hard” aristocracy, think to rule rough-shod over a broken and dispirited working mass, out of whose toil their security can be wrung without hitch or hindrance, resistance or revolt.

Let there be no deception. The fall of Lloyd George means no fall for the enemies of the worker.

It means that their enemies feel that it is safe to enter upon a policy of down-right open repression in place of repression veiled and disguised under all sorts of pretexts.

Each Party—Lloyd Georgite and Conservative—goes into battle with an Anti-Revolutionary battle-cry. Each Party urges that its method is the one safeguard against a working-class Revolution.

Lloyd George would concentrate on the Empire, upon the development of its re-

sources, upon the extension of its “mandates,” upon war with its enemies as a safeguard against Revolution. He would make terms with Soviet Russia to secure the Imperial advantage which in the end would enable him to crush the Russia he would betray with a Judas’ kiss.

He would do all this as a means to the great end of lifting British Capital into the position of World Empire—and because the plutocrats of the U.S.A. and their French tools saw this they have actively assisted in his fall.

The Conservatives would run no such risk. Counter-Revolution is rampant in the Baltic States, in Poland, in the Balkans, in Hungary.

Horthy has just been welcomed to the Council of the League of Nations.

The Fascisti talk of taking over the Government of Italy by force and arms.

The Junkers Orgesch are preparing to do the same in Germany.

The American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan hunt the leader of the American workers like wolves—Ex-Black-and-Tans are prominent in the service of the Irish Free State.

Everywhere Bloody Reaction makes its bid for triumph and Bonar Law and his Rampant Rentiers would make Britain the key and base of the whole anti-working-class conspiracy.

Against all this the workers must make a stand.

It is now or never.

If the Labour Party flinches now—if even now it will not learn—the Labour Party will go down into ruin along with the working-class whom it has failed in its hour of need and a black night of horror spread over this and every other land.

The Communist Party urges the workers into action.

Every pro-Capitalist candidate must be defeated. Every Labour Candidate must be forced to fight to win.

We have no illusions about the Labour Party leaders, we dissent from their philosophy, we have no faith in their policy, we have no pity for their illusions.

But upon them falls the task of acting as a barrier to this onrush of Capitalism grown infatuate with constant victory.

Labour must win—to teach the Counter-Revolution that they cannot do their will with impunity.

Labour must win—to teach the workers to hope.

Labour must win, if only to clear the ground for the final battle for power.

Lloyd George stood for Capitalism disguised by patriotic pretences.

Bonar Law is a warming-pan keeping the bed ready for Capitalism, naked and unashamed.

The Labour Party must stand four-square against Capitalism in all its disguises, and the rank-and-file, led by the Communist Party, must keep them to it.

(Continued from Page 4)

He stands for the Labour Party programme not as believing that certain reforms will achieve the ultimate aims of the working-class, but as recognising them for the present demands of the organised workers and therefore an actual fighting basis for a common working-class front.

But the real struggle for the future is the revolutionary struggle for power.

Our stand in these municipal elections is only a stage in the preparation for this.

Clear the ground for the workers' triumph.

DOWN WITH THE CAPITALIST PARTIES.
UP WITH THE CONQUERING WORKING CLASS!

COMMUNIST CANDIDATES IN LONDON

THE following members of the Communist Party are candidates at the forthcoming Borough Council Elections.

BATTERSEA:—

KILOH (A.E.U.)	Endorsed by
EDWARDS (M.E.A.)	Trades Council
OKINES (Labour Party)	“
HARLIN (Labour Party)	“
MRS. GANLAY (Women's Co-op.)	“

BETHNAL GREEN:—

J. J. VAUGHAN (C.P.)	Central Lab. Pty.
J. VALENTINE (C.P.)	“
A. H. GILLISON (C.P.)	“
S. ELSBURY (C.P.)	“
MRS. ELSBURY (C.P.)	“
W. WINDSOR (N.U.G.W.)	“
GREENBERG (Lab. Pty.)	“
LEAR (N.A.F.T.A.)	“

BOW:—

EDGAR LANSBURY (Lab. Pty.)	Poplar Lab. Pty.
N. LANSBURY (Lab. Pty.)	“

CLAPHAM:—

A. M. WALL (L.S.C.)	“
HIGGINS (A.S.L.E. & F.)	“
W. MCLAIN (Brixton Lab. Pty.)	“

LAMBETH:—

A. B. ELSBURY (Lab. Pty.)	Lambeth Lab. Pty.
---------------------------	-------------------

CENTRAL:—

MRS. SAVAGE (Women's Co-op.)	Shoreditch Lab. Pty.
------------------------------	----------------------

ISLINGTON:—

MRS. SAVAGE (Women's Co-op.)	Islington Lab. Pty.
------------------------------	---------------------

KENTISH TOWN:—

C. BATCHELOR (N.U.G.W.)	St. Pancras T.C.
C. PERRY (Lab. Pty.)	“
R. BISHOP (Lab. Pty.)	“
MRS. COLLINS (Lab. Pty.)	“
SPARKS (Lab. Pty.)	“
BOYD (N.A.F.T.A.)	“

PECKHAM:—

E. T. JOPE	Camberwell Lab. Pty.
------------	----------------------

RICHMOND:—

SPRINGHALL (Unemployed)	Richmond T. & L. Ccl.
-------------------------	-----------------------

STREATHAM:—

F. TANNER (W.U.)	Streatham Lab. Pty.
------------------	---------------------

WOOLWICH:—

J. WYATT (E.T.U.)	Woolwich T. & L. C.
-------------------	---------------------



LLOYD GEORGE (to his mates)—Don't be downhearted! Sidney Webb and Arthur Henderson may do something for us, yet!

RECONSTRUCTION IN EUROPE—IX.

(Manchester Guardian Commercial)

Edited by J. M. KEYNES

I. The Labour Politics of Europe

The British Labour Party's Policy of Reconstruction

J. Ramsay Macdonald

How far is the British Labour Party Socialist?

Philip Snowden

The Prospects and Programme of French Socialism

Jean Longuet

The German Labour Movement

Dr. Breitscheid

The Organisation of International Labour

Arthur Greenwood

The Work and Significance of the
International Labour Office

Albert Thomas

II. The Material Conditions of the Working Classes of Europe

A series of authoritative articles on Real Wages, the Standard of Life and Unemployment throughout Europe. In particular the Real Wages of the chief countries to-day are compared with each other and with those current in 1914.

III. Oil (continued from Number 4)

The British Oil Industry

Sir Charles Greenway (Chairman of Anglo-Persian Oil Co.)

America's Viewpoint on the World Oil Situation

A. C. Bedford (President of Standard Oil)

Articles on Oil Refining in England, Motor-fuel Supplies, &c.

ONE SHILLING

Post free from GUARDIAN BUILDINGS, MANCHESTER

THE FORCES BEHIND THE CRISIS

Why Manchester went Imperialist

By J. T. Walton Newbold

LLOYD GEORGE went to Manchester and there made a speech. He has been to Leeds, and there he made another one.

Austen Chamberlain has been to Birmingham and there he, also, made a speech.

At Manchester Lloyd George spoke of the fact that it was his native city, implied that this was the reason for his coming.

Chamberlain, not too sure of the loyalty of his party, went to the home town of Liberal Unionism to announce the decision at which he had arrived of standing by the side of Lloyd George, leader of the Coalition Liberals. He went back to the citadel of his Party and there, appealing to all the most hallowed memories of "Joey," made known where he stood.

There is something singularly fitting in the venue of these three speeches . . . Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds. They are the original home-towns of that industrial and commercial capitalism which had as its political counter-part the Liberalism from which sprung not only the Liberalism of Asquith and of Lloyd George, but also the Liberal-Unionism of the Chamberlains.

There can be no gainsaying the fact that not only yesterday but even to-day the nerve-centres of British industrialism are in these three cities, together with Glasgow and Edinburgh. Even the great colliery, steel, engineering and shipbuilding industries (which, in this phase of prolonged depression, have become of relatively less economic influence than was the case a few years ago) drew their capital from and to-day are still, to an immense extent, dominated by the big industrialists of the cotton, woollen and metal-making towns.

Hence it is appropriate that Lloyd George and his satellite Chamberlain, should have chosen these places wherein to rally their following.

Let us make no mistake about it. The real issue in this political crisis is the continued existence of British Capitalism as an independent force.

This election will be the prelude either to an act of secret abdication to or of open war with—Wall Street, New York City.

Chamberlain and his followers of the Liberal-Unionist Party, although economic evolution has rallied them, as the older imperialists of industrialism, to the side of the conservatives, so that most people confuse the two forces and think of them as one, have not ceased to take an active and directing part in the conduct of wealth production.

The Conservatives—representatives of the passive elements in the modern property system, the landed interest, the holders of public funds, the sleeping partners in capitalist industry and trade—are obsessed with the fear of the World Revolution. They almost to the exclusion of any other idea desire, at the risk of losing their independence as Britons, to call to their aid the authoritarian power of the French and American bourgeois republics.

The Liberal-Unionists are determined to make a last stand for the sovereign independence of British capitalism and, if need be, to meet their rivals on the high seas and in the air, fighting to the last.

The Conservatives, divorced from the actual life of capitalism, immersed in the arts of government or the enjoyment of property, are so class-conscious as to be ready to sink their national pride and, trusting to their traditional cunning in the

£1,000 WANTED

Communist Party Election Fund

Comrades William Gallacher and J. T. Walton Newbold are about to take the field in Dundee and Motherwell respectively.

Gallacher's fight is against Winston Churchill. It symbolises in a remarkable way the struggle of the working class against the forces of plutocracy and reaction.

Gallacher is the very type of the workers' unrelenting struggle against capitalism. His whole life is a record of selfless endeavour, and hardship endured for his class.

And Churchill—who does not know him as at once the tool of capitalist Imperialism, and inspirer of its evil deeds?

Newbold has given years of his life, too, in the struggle to break the capitalist yoke.

Newbold and Gallacher are men who are worthy of the support of all workers.

They are the direct Parliamentary Candidates of the Communist Party in the coming General Election.

And so a threefold duty devolves upon all members of the Communist Party.

First: Every comrade must work to secure the support of all workers for the Party's candidates, showing them that these stand for the working class against the representatives of its oppressors.

Second: Every comrade must exert himself to the utmost to contribute towards the necessary funds for carrying on the fight in these constituencies.

Third: Every comrade must appeal to all sympathisers outside the Party to contribute also to the funds.

"Second" and "third" follow naturally from "first." But they occupy a first place in importance. We are determined that our comrades who enter the fight as Parliamentary candidates [And there may be others besides these two we have mentioned] shall not be hampered by lack of funds.

We want £1,000.

Times are hard, and demands are many.

But do not shrink. Give everything you can, and give quickly. Enlist all the sympathisers you can as subscribers to our Election Fund, and do this now.

Besides this, you can help by reporting as to the way in which public appeals can be most effectively made in your particular district.

We want the money quickly.

Send it now to

W. M. HOLMES,

16, King Street,

Covent Garden,

London, W.C. 1.

And send your ideas too.

craft of Empire building, and the prestige of the British name, to dominate and direct the politics of their purse-proud but otherwise singularly inexperienced patrons, the money-lenders of the U.S.A.

The public works, railway, engineering and mining machinery magnates of Birmingham look to South and Central Africa, to Egypt and to India, for a continued outlet for the products of their works.

The woollen and worsted manufacturers of the West Riding have been terribly hit by the collapse of the mark and will ardently support anyone whose policy it is to open up a steady and augmented trade in cloth with the millions of Germany, Russia and the other colder countries of Europe.

The cotton piece goods salesmen of Manchester—Germans, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, and all manner of Levantines making a large proportion of these—want a firm hand and wise dealing with the new elements in Indian textile industry.

The spinners of fine counts, the makers of artificial silk (mostly mercerised cotton!), the manufacturers of that blend of rubber and cotton fabric, the motor tyre, who are so enormously influential in Manchester, stand four-square for the British domination of Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Soudan, East Africa, and everywhere else where, by the pouring out of money in building railways, reclaiming swamps and irrigating deserts, it may be possible to grow in greater abundance and more cheaply the long staple cotton which has in the last generation become so vitally necessary to Lancashire's industry.

A series of changes in the technique of textile production has had the result of making Manchester, formerly the home of the pro-French idea in British politics, the antagonist of the Liberals, of Lyons and the other textile centres of France. Thanks to the vast improvements latterly effected in

the mercerising of cotton and in the acetate process of making silk from the same raw material as paper, Lancashire has invaded the silk industry—the staple manufacture of France.

France, seeing artificial silk everywhere displacing natural silk (for all but the highest quality of fabrics,) and making immense strides in popularity in an impoverished world ever on the search for substitutes, is now seeking in the Near East and in Africa to obtain control of that indispensable fibre—long staple cotton.

She is demanding from Germany instead of money payments control over those forests from which the celluloid and wood pulping king, Stinnes, obtains his raw materials.

Thus, cotton, supposed erroneously to be pacific in its influence, becomes, thanks to chemistry and mechanical ingenuity in the means of producing fine textiles (plus the depredations of the boll-weevil), the standard bearer of predatory capitalism.

Of Manchester origin—and, therefore, mealy-mouthed—this new imperialism has gotten itself a new name and calls itself the "inundatory system." It is, however, only the old Chamberlain cult dressed up in a new disguise. It is just British Imperialism.

Now, coal export, steel manufacture, ship-building and marine engineering, having, together with the ocean carrying trade, ceased to provide British capitalism with the means of re-creating and augmenting its resources, cotton has assumed a very much greater importance in the national and imperial economy.

This being so, need we wonder that Lloyd George went to Manchester the mart of the Greek piece-goods merchants, to blow the bugle calling his countrymen to the last fight to keep "the old trade plying and the Old Flag flying?"

NOTICE.

Owing to the General Election, our Circulation Prize Competition is suspended. The winning essay on the Cotton Industry will be announced next week.

STRAIGHT FROM STAMBOUL

By Our Special Correspondent

THINGS are moving so rapidly in the Near East that it is difficult to keep pace with current events. Even the inhabitants of Constantinople are very much in the fog about the political situation, and rely on fantastic rumours for their news. As in all regions under the British iron heel, there is no freedom of the Press. The "Official" news is handed out to a Conference of Capitalist pressmen at the British G.H.Q., Harbie. The censor's pencil vigorously strikes out any forceful truth that may endanger British prestige.

The Moudania Terms, in spite of the official interpretation as a "Victory for the forces of Western Democracy over Eastern barbarity," or some such dope, really constitute a great Turkish victory over British Imperialism. This is particularly evident if one studies the original official declarations concerning the "Freedom" of the Straits which, before, almost amounted to a plan for the permanent occupation of Constantinople and the turning of the Dardanelles into another Gibraltar. An important factor in the Near East events has of course been the fear of Moscow and the Red Army. It is this factor that has modified French policy, and the possibilities of non-ratification of the Krassin-Urquhart Treaty, owing to Kemalist pressure, are causing French industrialists to flirt with the Bolsh. The Kemalist army has not, however, received its arms direct from Moscow, as the Boss Press states. They are mostly British made, and arrived via Novorossisk and the Crimea, being part of the British Supplies abandoned by the Denikin and Wrangel bandits when the Reds hurled these latter out of Soviet Russia. Thus, if the Imperial forces come into contact with the Turks, they will be met with British tanks and Woolwich-made Mills' Bombs. A similar anomaly arose when the Sixth Bolshevik Army, with the aid of British Tanks captured from Yudenitch, kicked General Ironside's swashbucklers out of Murmansk and Archangel in 1919.

By way of a peaceful demonstration of Love, Goodwill, and Western European Civilisation, ten British aeroplanes have been circling over Constantinople the last few days; the Stamboul population, still remembering the carnage wrought by the 1918 British Air Raids over the undefended parts of the city (such as the Buyuk Bazar) are not too enamoured with such antics. The population however, is strung up to the highest pitch of expectation and excitability. This is not to be wondered at; four years of cantankerous rule by the bullies of the Allied Police Commission are at last beginning to have their effect.

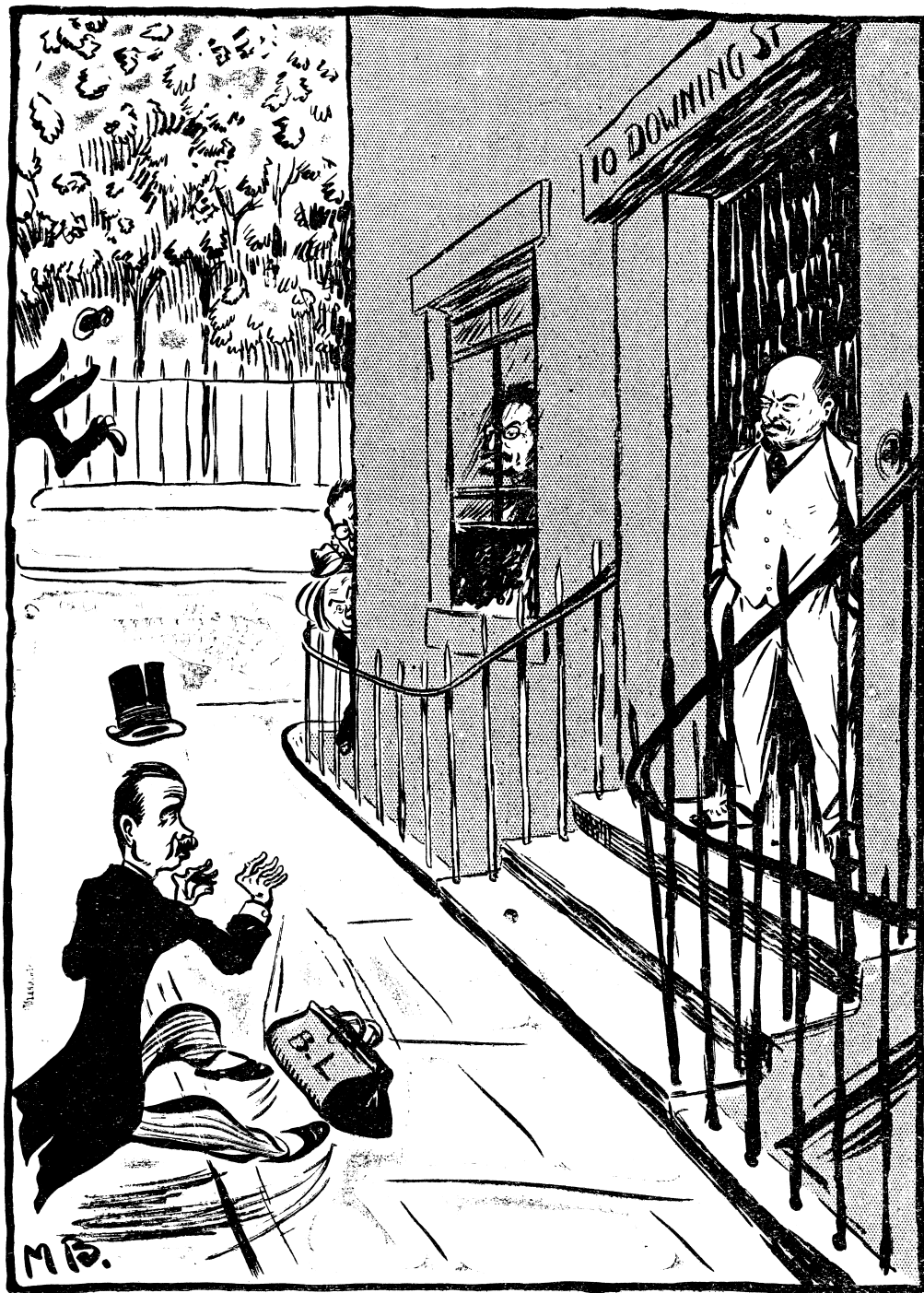
To-day the news of the Moudania agreement came through, and the city is bedecked with flags. When Smyrna was taken the Stamboul proletariat swarmed up towards the bourgeois purlieus of Pera and put the Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and other Allied-protected profiteers into a deep blue funk. The Allied authorities on that occasion raised the bridge over the Golden Horn, connecting Stamboul with Pera, but this did not stop the mob coming across on commandeered Chirket ferry-boats.

Although, from the strictly Communist point of view, the situation is not pregnant with optimism, owing to the workers being practically devoid of class-consciousness, the advent of Kemal will nevertheless give an elan to their already rebellious mood.

Another factor influencing British Near East Policy is Bulgaria, where the Peasants are in power, and the Communists gaining ground every day. An even more important influence at work helping to curb British Imperialist ambitions is the menace of an all-Asia rising of the Moslem masses oppressed by British rule. Turkey, being the leader of Islam, it only needs a spark to set the whole powder magazine ablaze.

But our Imperialists are probably aware that a Holy War would gradually develop into the Workers' Revolution, and are therefore stepping cautiously.

IS HE PREPARED FOR THIS?



"I am prepared for any change that may come."—

LLOYD GEORGE at Manchester

ADVERTISEMENT RATES

PROPAGANDA ADVERTISEMENTS. (C.P. branches and kindred organisations):—Displayed, 5s. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on) 6d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

COMMERCIAL ADVERTISEMENTS:—Displayed, 7s. 6d. per inch, single column or pro rata. Classified (run on), 9d. per line (6 words) or part thereof.

No advertisement will be inserted unless copy is received, together with cash in prepayment, by second post Monday for insertion in current week's issue.

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

MEETINGS

Communist Party Branches

BIRMINGHAM. Sundays, Bull Ring, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.; Bartons Arms, 7 p.m. Wednesdays, Ad-derley Road, Saltley, 7.30 p.m. Fridays, Small Heath Park, 7.30 p.m. Branch Meetings Thursdays, 8 p.m., Floodgate Street Schools. Intending members apply T. Lowe, 27, Heath Mill Lane, Deritend.

CENTRAL LONDON. Minerva Cafe, Monday, October 30th, at 8.15. Comrade H. D. Dickinson on "The Materialist Conception of History."

HAMMERSMITH. On Friday next a lecture will be held at the Labour Rooms, 154, Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush. Subject: "Orthodox Economics versus Marxian Economics." Lecturer: E. Wright (Plebs League). Commence at 8.15 sharp.

ISLINGTON. Dave Kendal speaks at West Islington Library, Lofting Road, Caledonian Road, Sunday, October 29th, 7.45. Subject: "The Bombing of Labour on the Rand."

STEPNEY. St. George's Library, Cable Street, E. T. A. Jackson on "Revolution," Monday, October 30th, at 7.45 p.m. Comrades, rally! The branch meets Thursdays, as above, at 8 p.m. New members invited.

TO LECTURE SECRETARIES.—Lantern Lectures on "Russia." Now booking for Winter Session. For terms, dates, &c., apply Russian Famine Fund, 35, Grays Inn Road, W.C.1.

THERE APPEARS ROOM for a Business specialising in out-of-print BOOKS on ECONOMICS and LABOUR QUESTIONS. Glad to correspond with anyone thinking of starting such a business on a small scale.—Williams, 37, New Town Road, Hove.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The attention of all branches and members of the Communist Party is drawn to the fact that the Central Executive Committee has excluded from membership of the Party: Miss Frant, 21, Applegarth Road, W.14, and Charles Lahr, 68, Red Lion Street, Holborn, W.C., both members of the Central London branch, on the grounds of political unreliability.