

# THE Communist

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TWOPENCE

## GALLACHER'S ELECTION ADDRESS

### To the Working Men and Women of Dundee

COMRADES and FELLOW WORKERS,

ON November 15th you will be called upon to make a decision that will have far-reaching consequences for you and to the future of our class.

In this election you must choose between a representative of capitalism and a representative of the workers.

Capitalism gave you the war, gave you its horror, its bloodshed, atrocities. However much the Imperialists may haggle over whose was the blame, over who made the war, never forget that Capitalist governments were in power in every country involved. On each and all of them responsibility lies.

#### Capitalism Will Give You More War

Even now nations are preparing! Surely you have had enough! Surely the time has come to end it! Unemployment, low wages, semi-starvation, these are the rewards served out to thousands of the Dundee workers by the system you have so long tolerated. A determined effort is being made to find a government that will stabilise industry, something the Lloyd George Government signally failed to do. But the very process of stabilising simply means that the industrial defeats inflicted on the workers during the past two years will be supplemented by political suppression and neglect. **STABILISATION CAN ONLY BE SECURED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKERS.**

Parliament is only one of the many institutions that will be used to effect this end. It is a sham and I do not believe the vital questions affecting the lives of the working class can be finally solved there. But a working class representative can expose and reveal all the deception and trickery behind which the power of the capitalist class is maintained.

#### Full Maintenance for the Unemployed

I have fought with you industrially. I have taken my part with you in the struggle for Maintenance for the Unemployed, and if it is your will that I should carry on the struggle in Parliament, I will give my whole strength to the task.

**IF I GO I WILL GO TO FIGHT TO DO WHAT IS HUMANLY POSSIBLE TO HELP TO BREAK THE POWER OF CAPITALISM BY FORCING ALL CLASS ISSUES TO THE FRONT RIGHT IN THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS, THUS PREPARING THE WAY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE TO POWER OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

For this purpose I shall uncompromisingly forward all the immediate needs of the workers.

Useful work at full trade union rates or full maintenance I have advocated since the unemployed crisis first evidenced itself. I still go forward with that as one of the most pressing issues.

#### Wages and Working Hours

Continued attacks are being made on wages and working hours. The standard of living is being forced lower and lower. In every such attack the employers have been able to rely upon the state forces being brought in on their behalf. I shall resist every attempt of the capitalists to use the resources of the state, directly or indirectly, to support the attack upon the conditions of the workers.

#### Defence of Workers Organisations

The Capitalists are trying by all the means in their power to destroy trade union organisation and to prevent the political combination of the working class. I shall resist every attack upon any organisation of the workers and oppose any voting of public money for such institutions as the Army, the Navy, and the Police which are used to suppress the workers.

#### Ex-Service Men and Dependents

The treatment given to those who served capitalism during the war scarcely bears mention. Broken men, orphan children, and widowed women have time and again been treated with callous indifference. I will strongly support thoroughly adequate pensions for all.

#### War on Militarism

I am strongly in favour of scrapping the Treaty of Versailles as I consider it has brought only ruin and suffering to the workers of Europe. I stand for the annulment of war debts and indemnities alike, the vain pursuit of which has only served to still more fasten the yoke of slavery on the workers of the world. In the war that now threatens us I shall vote against all war credits.

#### Recognition of Soviet Russia

If the ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS spent by Churchill and his colleagues in hiring cut-throat adventurers, such as Koltchak and Denikin, to attack the Russian Government, had been spent in fostering trade relations, the Famine in Russia and the Unemployment in this country could have been avoided, and the workers of both countries saved from unspeakable suffering.

Recognition of Soviet Russia means an opportunity for the workers there and work for the unemployed here.

The present situation in Ireland is one that has troubled many of those who have been loyal supporters of the Irish cause. It

is a compromise on the part of the Free-Staters that cannot be considered as a lasting solution of the long drawn out Irish struggle.

Sooner or later the workers' republic must come into its own.

The workers and peasants of Ireland have paid too big a price to be fooled with the shadow of a Free State Parliament. The Land and the Industries to the peasants and workers of Ireland is the issue to-day. This would be easy of achievement if British Imperialism did not hold it back with a threat of a military conquest.

If returned I will support the Irish Republicans and do everything possible to break the power of their imperialist enemies.

#### Ireland, India, Egypt, and the Peoples of the East

India, Egypt, and the peoples of the East suffering under the oppression of British Imperialism will receive my support in any effort they may put forward for independence.

In general, I will support the Labour Party in whatever it may do to serve the interest of the workers, but clearly recognising the timidity of the existing policy of the Labour Party, I will strive always to strengthen and encourage the forward section of the Party in the hope that it may openly declare its enmity to Capitalism and take up the fight for working class emancipation in real earnest.

In conclusion, let me say that I come before you as a worker with no desire but to serve the class to which I belong.

**I COME BEFORE YOU AS A COMMUNIST AND AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. UNDER THE BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ARE GATHERING THE MILITANT FORCES OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD. ONLY THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKING CLASS CAN THE POWER OF THE CAPITALIST IMPERIALIST BE BROKEN FOR EVER.**

If you return me to Parliament I will go there to fight without ceasing the enemy that has held us in bondage for so many generations. I place myself in your hands. I have nothing but an intense hatred for Capitalism and have therefore neither respect nor loyalty for the Monarchy and the Constitution which serve as its tools.

My unswerving loyalty I reserve for my own class in whose cause I pledge myself to work and strive until the day when all our enemies overthrown, we will enter into our heritage and the land and industries of this country become the property of all.

## The Fight in Dundee GALLACHER ARRIVES

**A** BOLD bid is being made to capture Dundee for the Workers' Government. If there is failure it will not be for lack of stir and fight by the Communist Party Candidate, Willie Gallacher. Seldom has Dundee witnessed such scenes as characterised Gallacher's arrival to begin the fight, last Saturday night.

Travelling from London, after sitting in to the early hours of Saturday morning at a Central Committee meeting, by the first train for the North, there was a bumper surprise awaiting him, that made ample compensation for the fatigue of the journey. A crowd of 10,000 workers awaited the arrival of the 7.20 p.m. train and gave Gallacher a right, royal, reception. Fourteen sandwichmen heralded the arrival, and after the customary salutary greetings, the huge crowd was headed by the engineers' band and marched into the town. We notice the *Daily Herald* is a bit timid of Gallacher, and goes out of its way to make clear that E. D. Morel is the only candidate the Labour Party is responsible for. While Comrade Gallacher will defend the policy of the Communist Party, Labourists needn't be apprehensive. Gallacher stands for the defeat of the Capitalist Candidates and the return of a Workers' Government. Churchill and his associates must be defeated.

Gallacher will win one of the seats. If Morel wants to be in at the death, let him join with the Communist Candidate in winning Dundee for the Workers.

N. D.

Every Communist should read a  
**HITHERTO UNTRANSLATED  
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entitled

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THE

## Labour Monthly

(A Magazine of International Labour).

Edited by R. PALME DUTT

6d.

November Issue

## THE FUTURE OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY By G. ZINOVIEV

THE LABOUR PUBLISHING CO., LTD.,  
6, Tavistock Square, London.

## MANCHESTER COMMUNIST RALLY.

Communist Party of Great Britain

ANNIVERSARY of RUSSIAN REVOLUTION MASS DEMONSTRATION in GAIETY THEATRE, Peter St., M/C., on Sunday, Nov. 5th, at 2.45 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

TOM BELL, HARRY POLLITT, ELLEN WILKINSON, FRANK WILDE (Y.C.L.)

CHAIRMAN—J. JAGGER.

Ticket Holders Admitted 2.15 p.m.  
Doors open at 2.30. Chair at 2.45.

# The Unemployed March on London

By W. HANNINGTON (National Organiser N.U.W.C)

We have approached the headquarters of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, and have obtained the following report relative to the great national hunger march, for publication in the "Communist." This we know will be appreciated by our readers as it is first-hand information.

**T**HE greatest march of the unemployed in history is now taking place.

At the moment of writing the following contingents are well on the road: Aberdeen, Glasgow, Barrow, Dalton, Ulverston, Newcastle and Plymouth, and by the time this appears in print, two or three hundred Welsh miners will be rising to the occasion and leaving the valleys to proceed to London. The cotton operatives of Lancashire and the other workers from that district will also be facing the hardships of the road. But, judging from the reports from those already on the Great Trek, the hardships have been considerably

## ESSAY COMPETITION RESULT.

The prize has been awarded to J. W. Hudson, 21, Primrose Street, Nelson, Lancashire. The winning essay will be printed after the election.

lessened as the result of the towns-people rallying to their assistance and rendering hospitality.

The following are extracts from some of the latest reports. The Aberdeen and Glasgow contingents who left Glasgow on Oct. 17th, write on the 25th as follows:—

"After leaving Annan we marched to Carlisle, arriving on the evening of the 24th. . . . We were met with welcome from the Trades and Labour Council members, who supplied us with accommodation and a hearty breakfast next morning. I may state that our tea that evening was supplied by the local Co-operative Society at their own expense.

We are billeted in a mission hall here, which is the only place available, but it is quite satisfactory.

We are still in the best of condition, and hoping to remain so until this great and glorious Trek is finished. We leave for Kendal to-morrow."

The next is from the Barrow, Dalton, and Ulverston contingent:—

"Our contingent left Lancaster on the 28th and arrived in Garstang at 2.30 p.m., and were provided with a good dinner in the Workhouse. From Garstang we proceeded to Preston, arriving at 7.30 p.m., and will be staying here until Monday, when we shall leave for Wigan.

The comrades of the I.L.P. are providing us to-day (Sunday) with dinner and tea. All men in the best of spirits."

The report prior to this stated that they had free tickets given to them for the Grand Theatre, Lancaster, and the manager asked them to render a selection with their drum and life band, which they did, receiving rounds of applause and a good contribution to their maintenance fund.

From the Newcastle contingent:—

"We are housed in the Workhouse here. Have been well received and provided for. All the comrades are displaying a splendid spirit of determination. Great interest is being taken in the march. . . . The towns-people come out to meet us on the road. So far as we are concerned the march is creating a tremendous impression."

Plymouth contingent:—

"We left Plymouth Saturday, after a great demonstration. We spent the night in the Workhouse at Totnes. We were given two blankets each, and slept on the Board-room floor. We were met by the Newton Abbot comrades to-day who are providing us with three meals and sleeping accommodation. The boys are fine, and in good trim."

These reports not only indicate the spirit and determination with which the men are undertaking the march, but also show how the workers in the various towns are rallying to them with the warmest of feeling.

When the miners from S. Wales get on the road they will not only be prepared to address audiences (if halls can be found for such meetings) on the question of unemployment, but will also speak of the appalling conditions prevailing to-day amongst the employed miners in the villages of S. Wales.

This should give a great impetus to the electioneering campaigns of the Labour forces.

The march has come at an opportune moment, and, if taken full advantage of by the Labour Party, should result in a good sweep of the Labour Candidates being sent to the "gas bag" at Westminster.

Whoever is Prime Minister will feel the breeze on Nov. 22nd, when England, Scotland and Wales demand "Work or Full Maintenance at Trade Union Rates."

The marchers will converge on London from all sides, and stay just inside the boundaries on the night of Nov. 16th. On the 17th they will march through Marble Arch into Hyde Park at 2 p.m., where they will be welcomed by a mass demonstration of London Unemployed.

On the day that Parliament assembles, Nov. 20th, the Marchers' Parliament will assemble also in one of the big halls in London to prepare the presentation of their case to the Premier on the 22nd of Nov.

The time of the year, and the distance that the men are marching, certainly make of it the greatest march of its kind. It will stand out in future history as a wonderful historical accomplishment of tenacity, determination and courage.

These men are starting out fully conscious of the fact that they will be very much dependent upon the hospitality of the working class whom they come into contact with for their livelihood. But they aim at making the authorities maintain them whilst on the road. This makes the march all the more important.

Up to the present they have fared well with the exception of a few hardships, and I hope that the same right hand of comradeship will be extended to them by the London workers.

Various contingents will be starting daily now from different parts of the country, and it is difficult to say exactly how strong they will be by the time London is reached.

When the mass of the downtrodden workers start marching, who shall determine the consequences?

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# THE LABOUR PARTY PROGRAMME

By R. PALME DUTT

"This is Labour's alternative to Reaction and Revolution."—*Labour Party's Election Manifesto, 25/10/22*

"Whoever wins, there should be no detriment to the national interest from revolutionary measures on the one hand or reactionary measures on the other."—*Mr. Lloyd George's Election Address to the National Liberal Party, 25/10/22*

"On all questions of foreign policy and on nearly all questions of domestic policy, there is no serious division of opinion between the Liberal and Labour Parties."—*The New Statesman, 23/10/22*

THE issue before the working-class to-day is a plain one.

The capitalists want to re-establish their system which has been shaken by the war by the threat of working-class revolt which followed on the war, by the victors' quarrels over the plunder after the war, by the follies of the imperialist peace, and by the consequent breakdown of trade and industry.

Stabilisation is the capitalist policy to-day. "Back to pre-war" and "Tranquility" are their mottoes.

For this purpose they have forced down the working class to undreamt of levels. They now wish to hold them down.

Stabilisation means for the workers the fixing of their servitude at its lowest level, after their spirits have been broken by unemployment and the breakdown of their organisations, and the successful re-establishment of capitalism as before the war, grinding out the lives of the workers and remorselessly progressing by the same paths and the same inevitable issues of world slaughter and destruction.

In this situation the alternatives are clear.

Whatever programme makes for stabilisation is a capitalist programme.

Whatever programme makes for the attack on capitalism is a working class programme.

Of which character is the official programme issued by the Labour Party Executive for all Labour Candidates? Does it make for the stabilisation of Capitalism? Or does it make for the attack on Capitalism?

Are the present leaders of the working class movement ready to face the actual issues confronting the working class to-day—the capitalist offensive and the coming war—or do they hope to find a way out through the re-construction of capitalism?

The answer to this question is to be found in the proposals that they make.

They present a programme of "International Peace and National Reconstruction." What do they mean by these phrases, which, taken in themselves, are simply the stock-in-trade of Liberal-Capitalism?

By "International Peace" do they mean the solidarity of the workers against militarism and imperialism? Or do they mean the patching up of capitalist trade and finance after the shaking of the war.

The answer to this is only too clear from the concrete proposals they put forward.

These concrete proposals are drawn up entirely within the framework of capitalist and imperialist policy.

Every item furnishes an example.

Thus, they do not attack the vicious system of indemnities. Instead they want the indemnities scaled down. "German reparations must be brought within Germany's capacity to pay." This is the capitalist policy.

They do not demand the withdrawal of the Armies of Occupation. Yet only open militarism could defend these.

They do not demand the cancellation of the international debts. Yet even many capitalist economists are prepared to support this.

They do not attack British Imperialism. Instead they support British imperialist policy in Ireland and India.

In Ireland they stand by the British machine-guns of the Irish Free State against the declared will of the majority of the Irish people for a Republic.

In India they stand by the British Army of Occupation against the demand for independence. Their policy is the Imperialist policy of "self-government" laid down by the Lloyd George Government and already endorsed by the Tory Government of Bonar Law.

Finally for the issues of war and peace they put their trust in the Capitalist League

of Nations and not in the international working class movement. They talk of the possibility of dealing with "international disputes" by the methods of "judicial arbitration and conciliation." They do not answer the blunt question where the Labour movement stands in the event of war.

Thus on all the world issues of to-day they stand on the side of capitalism and imperialism. They raise no working class issue to challenge these forces. The international policy of the Labour Party Executive is the policy of the Restoration of Capitalism.

There is not a single working class issue in this international policy of the Labour Party Executive. It is a policy drawn up by diplomats, professors, economists and ex-generals. It is wholly unrepresentative of the working class movement.

The working class movement must assert itself and call on the Executive to give a real lead on actual issues to the unions.

It is a crime that a Labour Manifesto should not make clear the absolute opposition of the working class movement to future wars.

It is a crime that a Labour Manifesto should not evince the unanimous demand for Peace with Soviet Russia.

It is a crime that a Labour Manifesto should not make clear the hatred of the working class movement for the infamies and oppressions of British Imperialism and the industrial exploitation of coloured labour.

These are all working class issues on foreign policy. They find no mention in the Labour Manifesto.

The Labour Executive Manifesto does not attack capitalism abroad. Does it at home?

Is "National Reconstruction" the challenge to monopoly and exploitation? Or is it the salvaging of capitalism after the storms of the war period?

Again the actual proposals give the answer to the question.

The Manifesto proposes a Capital Levy specifically for the purpose of redeeming the War Debt, and the Nationalisation of Mines and Railways.

The Capital Levy is an expedient for extricating capitalism from the tangle of the war debt. As such it has been blessed with the approval of the present Prime Minister, distinguished capitalist economists such as Professor Pigou, and the officials of the Treasury. There is no question of an attack on capital. It does not in any degree weaken capitalism's strangle-hold on the productive wealth and power of the country. It only transfers paper holdings in such a way as to release the active body of capital from the cancer of the unproductive war debt. By this means it saves the capitalist state from bankruptcy, and restores capitalism to full activity. As with the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, it is part of the policy of saving capitalism from its own mess.

The Nationalisation of the Mines and Railways, if carried out without expropriation, are measures which are not only not menacing to capitalism, but are ones which capitalism itself will have to adopt sooner or later. Both proposals have appeared freely in Liberal programmes, and were at one time even thought to form part of the programme of the Coalition Government. Both are obvious developments of the capitalist state at an early stage. Mines and railways are industries which are economically declining from the point of view of profits and which the capitalists will be glad to get rid of, when the time comes, at a good price. Their transfer will strengthen and not weaken capitalism.

The capitalists will be sure of getting their returns without risk under the guarantee of the State, and they will have their money free to invest elsewhere.

The only change which can actually attack the capitalists is their direct expropriation. Buying out and taxation can easily be manipulated by them so as to leave them in the same position or even better off than before. Only their actual removal from the means of production can be a gain to the working class. But the attempt to do this through Parliament would lead to civil war. The Labour Party Executive is not ready to face the logic of the struggle with capitalism: and therefore their actual proposals are unable to hurt it, and, on the contrary, only tend to strengthen it and preserve it. Their programme is a programme of Reconstruction, but it is the Reconstruction of Capitalism.

But if they are not ready to attack the capitalists on behalf of the working class, are they ready to stand up for the working class against the attacks of the capitalists?

It is an incredible fact that their programme gives no sign of it.

Just as in the maze of international affairs they are blind to the one staring challenge of the coming war, so in the maze of home politics they are blind to the one staring challenge of the capitalist offensive.

Working class organisations have been subjected to every form of attack; their political rights have been challenged; the whole forces of the State have been brought against strikes; working class speakers have been arrested and imprisoned; all the machine of propaganda, police, army and navy, have been directed against the working class. On all this the Labour Party Executive is silent.

Are they prepared to put up a fight for the rights of the workers—even when those workers are Communists? Or will they prefer to stand in with the capitalist class?

Are we to understand that when they become the Government, they will carry on the same methods—the secret police spying on Labour organisations, the bludgeoning of the unemployed, the blacklegging of strikes "in the interests of the community," the bringing in of the military to terrorise the workers, the formation of White Guard Defence Corps and all the rest of it?

If not, let them declare it plainly. Let them make an absolute and unreserved statement of opposition to all police and other Government action against the working class. The working class movement has a right to expect this of their Executive.

If the official policy of the Labour Party is thus not attacking capitalism, why are the capitalists so afraid of the Labour Party?

The answer to that question is the answer why we should support the Labour Party candidates, even though they are tied to a programme of this character.

The capitalists are afraid of the Labour Party, not because of what it stands for now, but because of what will come after.

They know that behind the feeble servilism of a ———, or the cheap coercionism of a ———, is looming up the real force of the working class, which shall not long be satisfied with the empty clap-trap of the present programme.

It is not the morrow of a Labour Government which alarms them, but the day after that morrow.

That is why their representative on the Labour Party, Webb, is so anxious to bolt and bar the door on the working class elements before the storm begins.

Their fear is our hope. We do not hesitate to take our part in the united working class struggle against the capitalists on its present plane, because we know that the future is with us. We wish to hasten its coming.



## 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.

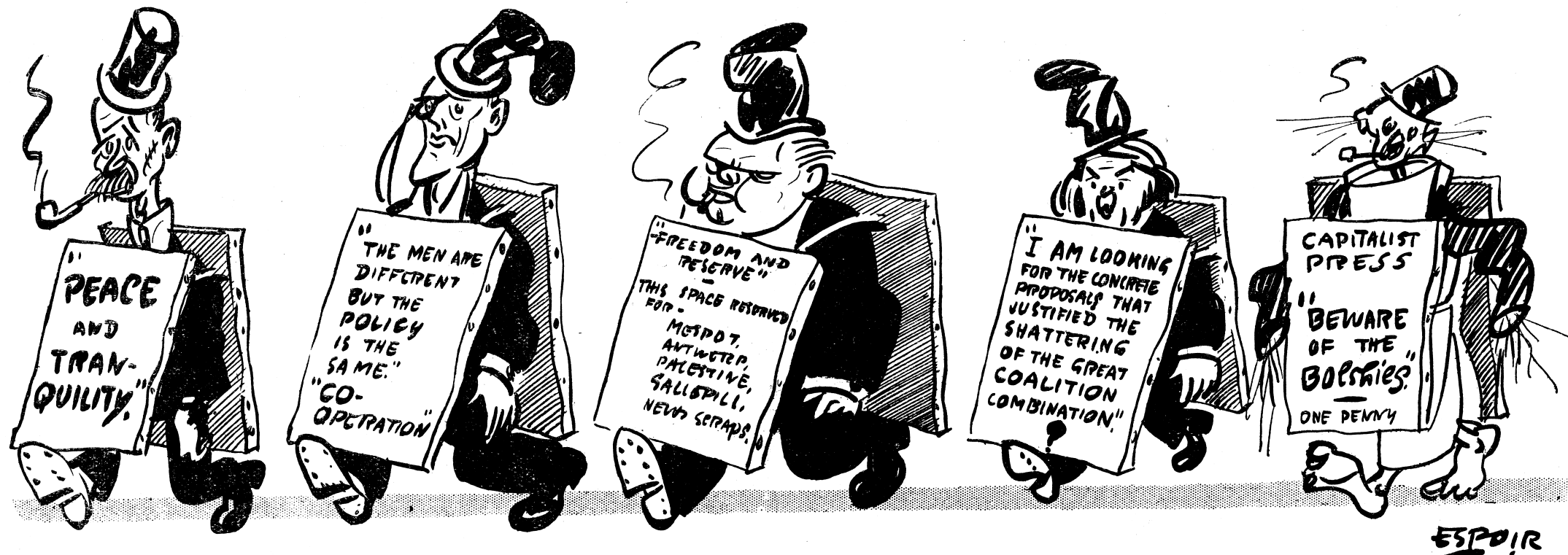
Their appeal is for the support of all workers. In a General Election, as in a strike, the interests of all workers are one.

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.

(Continued on Page 5)

## 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 Fontainebleau 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

(Continued on Page 6)

## 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

(Continued from Page 4)

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

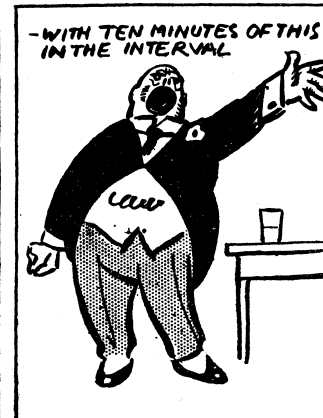
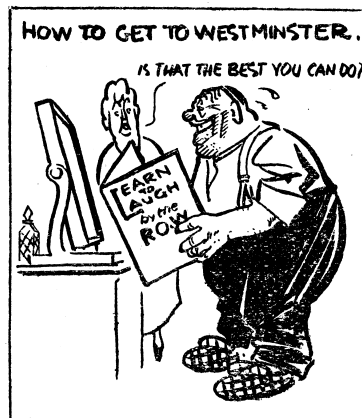
That is why we are appealing to all sections of workers to help in the attack upon two capitalist-imperialist strongholds, Dundee and Motherwell.

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

# French Communists in Congress

By the British Delegate, T. BELL

**T**HE Congress of the Communist Party of France which opened at the Maison de Syndicates, Paris, on Sunday, Oct. 15th, and lasted till Thursday, 19th, marks another milestone in the Consolidation of all the forces of the Communist International.

Since the Congress at Tours when the French S.P. decided by a majority to adhere to the Third International, and become the Communist Party of France, there has been a fierce struggle around policy within the Party between the elements of the LEFT and the elements of the RIGHT and the CENTRE. In this struggle the relation of the Press to the Executive has occupied a prominent place.

The Party is still top heavy with intellectuals and literateurs. It suffers from a corps of free-lance journalists who air their own views to the confounding of the Party membership and the working class generally. It is, for example, no uncommon thing to have prominent writers opposing the Communist International and Soviet Russia.

The same thing applies to its organisational machinery. Federation is still the keystone of the Party, with the result that that centralised direction and control demanded by the Communist International is absent.

It was well known that this struggle was bound to come to a head at this Congress and probably result in an open cleavage. Not that the Comintern desired a cleavage. As a matter of fact the patience and tolerance of the Comintern has been astonishing considering the things that have been said and done by leading personalities in the Party, especially since the Thesis on the United Front issued last December.

The Comintern knows that one cannot transform an old standing social democratic party into a Communist party by a mere change of name. It knows that there are still elements in the Party that would be considered RIGHT WING even in the camp of the Longueurs. For many of these elements Communism is a big debate; the class struggle something to orate about.

But the Communist International is above all an international of action, and when the French Party or a section of it argue that the E.C.C.I. has no authority to declare for a United Front but that we must wait for the next Annual Congress, or begins to argue with the Central Executive about the impracticability of its application to France, then we land back into the camp of the Second International and the situation becomes intolerable.

At the enlarged Executive meeting in Moscow of February, this year, these prob-

lems of the French Party came up for special consideration. Pledges were given and remedies to be effected to bring the Party into line with the requirements of the Comintern. After long arguments consent was given to the Executive demands and brave words uttered about being loyal to, and accepting like soldiers, the discipline of the Third International. But the French were were always great at histrionics.

The crux of the crisis in the French Party is to be found in the indecision of the CENTRE, led by Cachin, Frossard and Ker. The LEFT, led by Souvarine, Trient and Couturier, have put in some fine work for the Communist International. But personal prejudice is their strongest opponent. Souvarine and Frossard will never unite. That was made evident to me at the Congress debates as well as in conversation with different representatives of tendencies. Nothing much need be said about the RIGHT. They are pure and simple socialists. The big problem of the Congress was the political direction of the Party. The LEFT are unable yet to secure a majority on the Executive. They must pay more attention to the training of the rank and file. At best they could only hope for a compromise on the basis of parity in representation. This seemed to have been accomplished until Ker announced in his speech, to the astonishment of the Congress, that the agreement was at an end. I was unable to divine for why. This announcement almost turned the Congress into a bear garden. Recriminations were hurled right and left. Each side denied responsibility, and blamed the other. In point of fact no serious effort was made to find agreement.

The control of Humanité is a big obstacle for the Unity of the French Party. The CENTRE are much attached to the spirit of Jaures which finds its expression in Humanité. There is much personal feeling aroused at the suggestion of making changes in the direction of the paper. In France there are still Communists who do not realise that so long as Party organs are not subject to Executive control the free lance writer can work wondrous harm to the Party.

Again, the Comintern had demanded the expulsion of Verfeuil and his supporters. When the report of the commission on expulsions were given and 42 including Verfeuil were recommended for exclusion, the suggestion was made that they were being expelled for following the tradition of Jaures. This led to wild scenes. Frossard declared his readiness to be expelled, too, if these exclusions were for following the traditions of Jaures, and seized his hat and papers to leave the Congress. Only the deftness of Cachin, after vindicating the honour of

Jaures, saved the Congress from breaking up in disorder.

It was amusing in a sense to watch the procedure of the chair at this Congress. The chairman was more concerned to get the orators a hearing than to put them down when evidently there was no desire to listen to them. The result was that an enormous amount of time was frittered away in useless talk. Hours and hours were wasted in senseless reiterations.

At length, after three days and an all night sitting, the voting began. For the Frossard-Souvarine resolution which declared for the United Front there voted 2,690. With reservations, 156.

The Dondical-Renoult resolution against the United Front being applicable to France received 696 votes.

The other resolutions of the right elements were hopelessly beaten. A proposal was made by the LEFT to the Centre for the principal of parity of representation on all official posts. This was rejected by the Centre, which insisted on a list from the CENTRE of 24 members to act provisionally as the Executive till the FOURTH Congress. The voting on this was close. 1,698 for the CENTRE, and 1,516 for the LEFT, with 814 abstaining.

Immediately following this vote Renoult declared that his tendency would abstain from all official posts in the Party till the FOURTH Congress. The Executive Committee and the administration of the Press, it will be seen, are still in the hands of the CENTRISTS and the struggle must still go on. By 1,190 votes against 803, with 136 abstaining, Verfeuil, Francois Mayoux and Mari Mayoux were excluded and the others were sent to the E.C. for deliberation.

As I said at the beginning of this article, another milestone has been reached in the evolution of the French Party towards becoming a real Communist Party. No doubt the FOURTH Congress will have something to say on the matter. In the meantime the Socialist Party has issued an appeal for those expelled to join up with it and return to the fold. The S.P. is welcome to them. It is their native home.

In conclusion, I should mention the fine tribute paid the Communist International by the French police. The closest watch was maintained throughout the whole proceedings for the foreign delegates. They succeeded in picking up the Italian, the German delegate and myself, but not before we had all delivered our messages and were thinking of departing.

Our French comrades are to be congratulated for the arrangements in connection with our Comrade Manoullsky. His two hours' speech was a masterly criticism of the French Communists and will do much good. It will be doubly interesting to hear the verdict of the World Congress at Moscow after this important Conference at Paris.

## The Real Issue

(Continued from Page 5)

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.

\* \* \*

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.



# Why Bother About Parliament?

By T. A. JACKSON

**I**S it illogical for the Communist Party to take part in Parliamentary elections?

The question is only possible to those whose opinion of Communism has been moulded by a study *not* of Communism but of anti-Communist versions of what the Communist Party proposes.

The Communist Party faces the fact that if Society is to be changed from what it is into what the workers must wish it to be, many other things are involved than a mere majority in the House of Commons.

To make it so that all men work whether they wish to or not, that wealth is produced not for money-sale but for the direct satisfaction of the ascertained needs of the whole co-operating community of owning-workers involves a complete change in every detail of social life.

It means a change in the relative quantities of things produced—the scrapping entirely of the production of such luxuries as are possible only to a privileged few living in magnificent ease at the expense of the toiling and suffering many, and the multiplication of the number of things necessary to the health and well-being of the toiler of which they are deprived by the poverty inseparable from the existing system.

It means, therefore, the transference of workers from one industry to another, the creation of new plants, new methods of distribution and a new social *morale* to enable the transition to be effected with the minimum of friction, dislocation, hardship and delay.

It is because it means all these things that the Communists say that the emancipating transition *must* be the work of the working class itself.

It cannot be done by a few decrees issued by a few wisecracks from a Cabinet operating through a hierarchy of official underlings whose only concern in the process is to enforce an order regardless of consequences. At every stage it will require understanding, judgment, discernment, sympathy, and goodwill for the working mass in whose interest the change must be undertaken. Hence the preparation for the workers' emancipation involves a whole series of considerations—whole worlds of experience—which do not come into the picture in an orthodox Parliamentary election.

If Parliament be examined in detail it will easily be seen that it owes its very usefulness to the existence of different classes, each with its distinct and divergent interest, and the proudest plea of its apologists is that it is an institution for reconciling the claims of contending classes.

In its heroic age Parliament was the institution wherewith the then subject bourgeoisie (now grown into the Plutocratic or Capitalist class) barred the path and ultimately thwarted the ambitions first of the King and Court and then of its allies the landed aristocracy. As a means for the revolutionary creation of capitalist property at the expense of feudal property—now all but utterly extinct—Parliament left nothing to be desired.

The very illusion of equality that it created helped to push into the background the latent economic antagonisms in the ranks of the "Commons." Small producers destined to become big manufacturers and small producers doomed to pass through bankruptcy into the position of wage-workers for their former "equals" were alike induced to hope for everything once their common enemy was put down (and "out").

The poor who hoped to become rich, and the rich who hoped to become still richer once a parasite court and a plundering aristocracy were overthrown could all accept Parliament as their common denomination in that it was against their enemies. Even now Parliament is still theoretically a "check" on the arbitrary power of kings and lords, and the protector of the Commons from illegal exactions. But no machinery exists (now that the aristocracy are simply titled bourgeois, with the king the number one in their team) to prevent Parliament becoming the instru-

ment for the most drastic coercion ever imposed upon a subject mass.

Parliament was (and is) effective for arranging compromises between conflicting tendencies upon an agreed basis of capitalist property—as a means for the extinction of that property and the creation of a workers' commonwealth it is a cumbrous and complicated anachronism.

The Communist therefore has, as part of his programme, not only the abolition of the Monarchy and of the House of Lords, but the abolition of the House of Commons likewise.

This being so, why does the Communist Party run candidates for Parliament?

Firstly because the Boss Class will use Parliament to give a show of fair play and legality to every act of dictatorial repression against the workers until the workers rob them of that pretence by taking Parliament away from them. Every working class candidate elected who is man enough to protest against and expose these atrocities can use the very authority of his position as member of Parliament to expose the fraud and humbug of Parliament itself—to show the immorality concealed behind the Law and the brutality and class-savagery camouflaged as government impartiality.

This is especially important in the case of strikes and lock-outs, and here a vote for a workers' candidate—provided it be the vote of a man who means to back his vote with deeds of determination—is a challenge to the dictatorship of the Big Boss class.

Secondly the Communist Party takes part in elections in order to put the whole issue to a practical test.

The majority of the workers at present "believe in" Parliament and see no necessity for the disciplined, planned and purposeful struggle which will be necessary if they are ever to be freed. To cure them of this illusion is impossible without a practical test. Therefore the Communist Party promotes candidatures, and urges the support of others of such a character as will test definitely the question whether Parliament can be used as an instrument of working class emancipation or whether it must be scrapped as an instrument designed for oppression and capable of nothing else.

The Communist Party, for instance, urges you to pledge your Labour candidate to support the demands of the unemployed and to fight for them. Enforce that pledge. Elect your Labour candidate; make them fight for the demands of the Unemployed. Whether the Labour Party are strong enough to enforce them or not—in either case the results will show why the Communist Party holds that in the workers' march to emancipation Parliament must be treated as an enemy castle to be taken *and dismantled*.



## BEHIND THE SCENES

**THE BOSS:—**You understand—denounce "Bolshevism" every minute, or I'll sack the lot of ye!



"The Four Horsemen of the New Apocalypse"

# The Coming of the Iron Heel

**S**ALUTED by the King and amid the frantic enthusiasm of the big and little bourgeoisie the Fascisti (the Italian Volunteer "Black and Tans") have captured Rome and taken over the Government of Italy.

Does that mean nothing to you?

Think!

Whether they call themselves Conservatives, Unionists, "National" Liberals or "Free" Liberals (so called because while their Liberalism is free everything else you pay damned dear for!)-whatever they call themselves they all agree in denouncing any Party of the Workers-any claim that Labour should Rule.

This they call "Bolshevism." This they are out to fight. And the whole of their prostitute press applauds the Fascisti counter-revolution as the proper "patriotic" answer to Bolshevism!

They announce-side by side with their notices of the framed-up election scramble (whereby the Bosses hope to swindle you into giving them a blank cheque for another five years)-and announce with glee, that the Communist Party of Italy has gone into dissolution.

They lie, and they know they lie.

But they reveal a great truth in the act of lying.

\* \* \*

Behind the political sham fight the real fight is organising. Capitalism is in its last stages: it cannot be preserved. It was bound to go and the war put on it its last bursting strain.

After Capitalism is-what?

Either the Rule of the Workers by the Workers for the Workers, or the Iron Heel of the Big Boss class enforced by open terror applied by all the degenerate and de-classed desperadoes that Capitalism in its decadence breeds like maggots in rotten meat.

Do you want wage-cuts enforced at the point of the gun?-That is *Fascismo* applauded as patriotism by the friends of Bonar Law, Lloyd George, and Asquith alike.

Do you want your trade union halls stormed and your unions "reorganised" under the muzzles of machine guns?-With case-

hardened blacklegs installed as branch secretaries and renegade "socialist" rats guarded by thugs to edit your journals? That is *Fascismo*, and that is what you will get if you let them swindle you now.

The whole election is a smoke screen. Bonar Law pretends to be innocent and says he "don't know where he is-!"

He lies.

He knows that he and his are on your back and mean to stop there-if need be by the use of the gun, the bomb, the machine gun and the petrol can.

Lloyd George says he doesn't know why they broke up the Coalition.

He lies.

He was a party to the conspiracy. The whole game is a swindle to demoralise the workers-to sidetrack them into a new patriotic maze-to burst up the United Front and leave you defenceless before the oncoming of the Iron Heel of the new Plutocratic Dictatorship which, tried out in Ireland, in America, in Hungary and in Italy will be adopted as the official policy of Counter-Revolution all the world over.

Workers-rally to your class. Rally for your lives!

Do you want your trade union hall and your "Co-op." stores blazing to the sky while a mob of drink maddened middle-class maniacs chant patriotic hymns to drown the groans of the dying-the stalwarts of your class whom you will have left defenceless because you would not see?-If so, vote for Law, vote for George, vote for Asquith-for any one of the friends of the Bourgeoisie who can preserve their hellish system in this and no other way.

Don't pretend that this is simply an excited scream.

The Italian Socialists said it was impossible that such things could happen, and the Italian Socialists are either in hiding or skulking like rats into the Fascisti's black shirts.

The American Socialists said it was impossible, and the gaols of America are full and the list of lynched agitators makes one think of "niggers."

The German Social Democrats said it was impossible-and Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg died with their brains beaten out of their skulls.

The men who invented the Black and Tans are in the vanguard of Bonar Law's army.

The men who supported and encouraged them are with Lloyd George or with Asquith.

What they did in Ireland they can and will do here-if you give them the excuse to dare.

Give them no excuse.

Cowardly fear invites Cowardly brutality.

Face the issue boldly. Down every Capitalist nominee.

Use your votes now-and let them know that every vote means a man-a man who, when the call comes, will fight.

## MEETINGS

### Communist Party Branches

**BIRMINGHAM.** Sundays, Bull Ring, 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.; Barton's 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 BRANCH.** Minerva Cafe, next Sunday, November 5th. Lecture 8 p.m. Tea 6 p.m. All welcome.

**ISLINGTON.** T. A. Jackson speaks at West Islington Library, Lofting Road, Caledonian Road, on Sunday, November 5th, at 7.45, on "The Fifth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution."

**WOOLWICH.** Sunday, November 5th, 7.30 p.m. Plumstead Baths. Celebration Russian Proletarian Revolution. Principal Speaker: R. Palme Dutt. Subject: "Development of Soviet Government and its Standing in World Politics."

**FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.** A Demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square, Sunday, November 5th, under the auspices of the L.D.C. Y.C.L., commencing 3 o'clock sharp. Chairman: C. Redfern. Speakers: John Steele, W. Redfern, Bert Joy, McDermott, Jimmy Steward, S. Goldsmith and others. Comrades, Rally in celebration of the great victory of our Russian comrades.