

# Kirpotin: Gorki, the Great Proletarian Writer

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# The Strike Movement in Germany.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

The emergency order which the Papen Government issued in accordance with their economic programme, came into force on September 15. The first reply of the workers in various factories was a half hour to two hours' protest strike. When the employers, a few days later, announced definite wage cuts in accordance with the emergency order, there set in a whole number of strikes which represent the commencement of a strike wave.

The wage reductions which the emergency order render possible amount to 27 per cent. What this means to the working class is to be seen, for example, from an admission which the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", the organ of heavy industry, inadvertently made in a polemic with the big agrarians. The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of September 18 wrote:

"If one makes a cursory examination of the income of the workers and employees and how it is expended, it will be seen that the total real wages of this stratum has sunk to about 50 per cent. of the level of 1928."

As a matter of fact, the real wages of the workers and employees are even lower.

The strikes are, however, not only a defensive action against the intended fresh big wage reductions, but represent at the same time a political protest against the emergency

decree and against the Papen Government. The bourgeoisie are fully aware of this fact.

The commencing strike wave is to be seen at present before all in the industrial district of Hamburg, in Berlin and in the Rhineland, and then also in other parts of the Reich. In a great number of cases the strikes have resulted in complete success; in many cases a mere decision on the part of the staff to strike has caused the firm immediately to cancel the announced wage cut.

Of great importance also is the fact that the unemployed have not, as the bourgeoisie expected and the reformist trade union leaders repeatedly prophesied, acted as strike-breakers, but on the contrary have supported the strikes and eagerly taken their places in the picket line. Further, the newly engaged workers, hitherto unemployed, have not proved a hindrance to the struggle, but on the contrary were definitely for downing tools against wage cuts.

One of the features of the movement is the activity of the women workers and the youth. In many of the Hamburg works and factories, as for instance, the jute factory in Billstedt, Tollgreve (fish factory), Fuchs paper mills, which struck against the wage reductions, women are employed for the most part. At a works in Altona the apprentices joined in the strike.

The employers acted in accordance with a carefully considered plan. They commenced their attack in the small and middle enterprises, because they assumed that here they would encounter less resistance. The employers intended to achieve small successes at first and then, eventually after the elections, to proceed to the attack along the whole line. Thus, for example, an arbitration award has just been pronounced regarding the wages and working hours of the Ruhr miners, which prolongs the present wages for another four months, and in regard to working hours finally fixes the eight-hour shift instead of the seven. That is a blow against the Ruhr miners. If there is not stipulated a general direct wage reduction, it is only in order, after a few months when the extra-Parliamentary excitement connected with the elections has died down somewhat, to proceed to a large-scale wage cutting offensive against the Ruhr miners.

The strikes are of great importance not only because the first new attacks of the employers in the individual enterprises have been repelled, but because they serve at the same time to encourage the whole of the working class and to indicate the path to be followed by them.

The militant determination, the will to unity of the workers is to a great extent the result of the uninterrupted united front work of the Communist Party of Germany, in particular the result of the anti-fascist action of the Red Trade Union Opposition and the C.P.G., which, in accordance with the decisions of the Central Committee, concentrated their work on the factories and enterprises. In a certain number of strikes the R.T.U.O. seized the initiative and led the strikes.

The social democratic trade union bureaucracy attempted at first to divert the workers from the fight against wage cuts and the emergency decree by consoling them with a referendum which the social democratic party introduced. This referendum, if it is permitted at all, could not be held before the Summer or Autumn of 1933! The "Gewerkschaftszeitung", the organ of the A.D.G.B. (German Federation of Trade Unions), while adopting an oppositional pose, supported Papen's emergency decree. In its issue of September 17 it wrote:

"Our sense of responsibility demands that we examine every measure without prejudice, and reject it or propose amendments, always from the point of view of securing what is best for the working class and the economic interests of the people, or **averting the worst**. If we approach the **emergency decree for the revival of economy** from this point of view, we must admit that the Papen Government has ventured on a bold stroke."

When, however, the A.D.G.B. leaders observed that this manoeuvre failed to achieve its object and they were forced to admit the increasing militancy of the workers in the factories, they resorted to other tactics. In order to create the impression that they were opposing Papen and wished to fight against wage cuts, in order to catch votes for the social democracy, in order to obtain a stronger position in the dispute between the bourgeois parties, and above all in order to be able to hold the workers in check, they declared their support for a number of strikes and attempted to place themselves at their head.

The Hitler party likewise resorted to manoeuvres in order to deceive their worker followers. Thus the Berlin "Angriff" published reports of the strikes under the big headline "Strike against Wage Cuts", but without publishing any comment directly approving the strikes. In actual practice, however, the Nazi party supplied strikebreakers, as for instance in the strike of the firm of Menk & Hambrook in Hamburg, and Krause in Leipzig. The national socialist labour party wanted, to create the impression that they are friends of the workers, but on the other hand they were obviously more afraid of offending the employers who finance them.

The retreat of the employers in face of the strikes does not mean that they have finally renounced wage cuts. The economic disaster impels the bourgeoisie to **continue their offensive**.

The bourgeoisie, the Papen Government and their supporters are now preparing to deliver a fresh blow. The "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of September 23 threatened:

"It might prove necessary to make use of **sharper legal measures**."

The Reichs Minister for Labour, Schäffer, declared on September 24 to a representative of the Wolff Telegraph Bureau:

"There is no doubt whatever that the payment by the employers of the wages reduced under the emergency decree is to be regarded as a complete fulfilment of the obligations of the collective agreements. It is not necessary to point to the immediate consequences of the violation of civil peace."

The Frankfurter Zeitung of September 24 reports that it is assumed that a new emergency decree or an official declaration by the Government will make it clear that such disturbances are to be regarded as a breach of the collective agreement.

The bourgeoisie are quite aware that when the A.D.G.B. bureaucrats support strikes they are only carrying out manoeuvres, but at the same time they fear that the workers will take these manoeuvres seriously and greatly retard the carrying out of the emergency decree.

The appeal by the Reichs Minister for Labour Schäffer to the trade unions will not remain unheard. The A.D.G.B. bureaucrats obediently fulfil the wishes of the Papen Government. On September 25, Spliedt, the secretary of the A.D.G.B., declared at a trade union meeting in Berlin:

"The trade unions must emphatically oppose the wage cuts under the emergency decree . . . In this case only the **arbitration courts** can decide."

The capitalist arbitration courts shall protect the workers from the wage cuts of the capitalist Papen Government and the employers.

The commencing strike wave means a sharpening of the class antagonisms and indicates the growth of the proletarian class forces.

## POLITICS

### The Debt Conversion in France.

By P. Fontenay (Paris).

The debates on the conversion of the French rentes which took place at the extraordinary meeting of the Chamber on September 16, are concluded. It will be remembered that the adopted decisions are as follows: The rentes to be converted are: the 5 per cent. 1915/16, the 6 per cent. 1920 and 1927, the 5 per cent. of 1928; the 6 per cent. bonds of 1927 and the 7 per cent. treasury bonds 1927.

The holders of the rentes either receive their capital back or new rentes bearing 4½ per cent interest, and which cannot be converted before January 1, 1939. The new rentes are redeemable in 75 years at latest.

The discussions which arose on the Bill, which has now become law, were exceedingly interesting as revealing the standpoint of the bourgeois and social democratic parties. Before dealing with these things, however, we shall mention some of the provisions of the new law.

The promises which the Government made only a few weeks ago to the small rentiers have proved absolutely illusory. In exchange for their rentes the small investors receive a life-annuity: in other words, the Government says to the small holder of rentes: If you are not satisfied with the conversion, if you do not declare your agreement to the redemption, you will never see your money again. For the rest, this provision (life annuity) applies only to persons over 60 years old and who have acquired their title to rentes before November 30, 1920. Therefore, it is only an exceedingly restricted number of small holders of rentes who benefit by the "generous measures" of the Government. For all the others the conversion means simply a reduction of their income, after having already lost four-fifths their capital through the stabilisation effected by Poincaré.

Secondly, the way is now open for loans. As was to be foreseen, the Government has acquired unrestricted power for issuing treasury bonds in order to cover the financial requirements of the operation. Article XI of the law provides that these loans can be taken up in the following forms: emission of new rentes bearing interest at 4½ per cent, emission of a short-term treasury loan, or a loan from the redemption fund to the Treasury.

One of the worst features of the law is the question of the commissions of the banks. The law does not in any respect restrict the profits of the banks in this financial transaction. It is known that by far the greater part of the bureaucratic

operations connected with the conversion will be entrusted to them. For this role of intermediary between the rentes holders and the State the banks are to receive commission the rate of which is not stated. Two interpellations were therefore made in the Chamber, one from the deputy of the Right, Dommange, and one from the social democrat Monnet. The first proposed that the brokerage commission of the banks should not exceed 0.1 per cent; the second, Monnet, suggested the minimum figure be 0.25 per cent. As the Government rejected these proposals there arose a heated discussion, in the course of which transpired that the Finance Minister had already concluded an agreement and fixed the rate of commission. According to the statement of one speaker, the rate of this commission is 0.875 per cent, which in the case of a transaction running into 65,000 millions would yield the round sum of 568 million Francs.

In view of the excitement of the Chamber Herriot was compelled to intervene and declare that the signing of an agreement with the banks was a matter for the government, and therefore the negotiations which Germain-Martin had conducted did not mean the last word. This declaration satisfied the social democrats; Leon Blum withdrew the interpellation of his party. Thus the Government now has a free hand and the bankers are able to pocket hundreds of millions.

Fourthly, The Communist deputy Ramette pointed out that numerous workers' institutions, co-operatives, friendly societies, pension funds of the miners, etc. are compelled by law to invest a considerable part of their reserves in State securities. All the institutions, the speaker declared, have been built up by the pennies of the workers.

"Your bill" said Comrade Ramette, "offers no security to these funds which are affected by the conversion. What is to be done?" The Government refused to amend the bill in this respect. It contented itself with making vague promises.

As regards the extraordinary session of the Chamber, the following can be said: what was characteristic was the unity of the Rights and the "Left" in saving capitalist finances by robbing the middle class and the proletariat. 525 deputies voted for the Government bill and only 46 against. This enormous majority for the Government reveals the connection of the Radicals and various democrats with the supporters of Tardieu and a part of the Marin group on the Right wing and with the 128 social democratic deputies on the "Left" wing. The Communist renegades (in the workers and peasants party) courageously abstained from voting.

The attitude of the social democrats was more "national" than ever. The speakers of the social democratic party were solely concerned about balancing the budget, about the realisation of the national programme of construction, which will be carried out by the issue of loans following the conversion. Commenting on the vote the well-known journalist, Marcel Loucaïn, wrote in the "Paris Midi":

"A prominent politician informed me yesterday that the vote on the conversion confirmed the agreement for the inevitable concentration to take place in November or December. He added that a party policy would not be able to overcome the deficit, nor extricate the country from the economic crisis nor lead it out of the cul de sac in regard to foreign affairs. Parliament must be able to adopt the energetic decisions which events demand, especially in regard to a big restriction of expenditure. Parliament must be inspired by the spirit of unity which prevailed in 1926."

Closest collaboration of the bourgeois and social democratic forces against the workers—that is the great lesson of the extraordinary session of the Chamber.

Only the Communist fraction conducted a fierce fight against the Government Bill. In addition to the speech by Comrade Ramette regarding the workers' funds, Comrade Renaud-Jean spoke on the commission to be received by the banks, and Monjaouis on the necessity in the first place of restricting expenditure for war purposes and the police, if there is to be any talk of economy. The Communist fraction, through Comrade Capron, introduced an alternative Bill. This Bill proposed in the first place the taxation of large fortunes and the reduction of the military and police budget by 33 per cent. In this way the Communists wish to save the small investors from the burdens threatening them. They proposed measures which would affect only the big fortunes and aimed at the same time at greatly hindering war preparations.

We must now increase our action in order to win the mass of the discontented small people, who are plundered by the State, for the proletariat and its independent class policy.

## The Result of the Parliamentary Elections in Sweden.

By E. T. (Stockholm).

As was generally expected, the Parliamentary elections in Sweden resulted in a considerable weakening of the bourgeois parties. The Conservatives (extreme Right) lost 14 seats, the Liberals (government party) 2 seats; the social democrats won 14 seats, the Communists 2, whilst the national Communist (Brandler renegades) lost 2 seats. The national socialists, in spite of a great expenditure of money and a noisy propaganda, did not win a single seat; they polled 15,000 votes.

The bourgeois parties polled altogether 1,240,034 votes, whilst the combined vote of the social democrats, the national communists and the Communists amounted to 1,248,931; of these the social democrats received 1,042,063, the national Communists 132,368 and the Communists 74,500.

The percentage increase of the social democratic vote is in any event very insignificant. Thus, for example, in Stockholm the social democrats increased their vote by only 5.5 per cent. since the municipal elections last year, as against an increase of 86 per cent. by their Brandlerist allies and 104 per cent. by the Communists. It should be mentioned that the Communists are weakest in the capital town, whilst they possess much greater influence among the working class in other parts of the country.

In Göteborg, the second largest industrial and most important seaside town of the country, the success of the Communist Party of Sweden is splendid and has greatly disturbed the bourgeoisie and the social democrats. In this town the Communist Party polled 9,450 votes as against 2,615 polled by the renegade party of Kilboom. Thus the Communist Party has in two years increased its vote more than fourfold, as at the municipal election in 1930 the Party received only 2,215 votes. The Communist gains in this town are all the more significant as they consist of the votes of workers in the most important big undertakings, especially in the metal industry.

The Communist advance is likewise considerable in the district of the North of Sweden in which are situated the big saw mills and paper works. Here the Party has won the confidence of broad masses, because in the economic struggles it stood at the head of these masses and conducted a consistent revolutionary policy against the offensive of the employers and against the defeatist policy of the reformists. The victory of the Communist Party of Sweden in this district furnishes proof that the Party can, by playing a leading rôle in the economic struggles, achieve the greatest successes among the exploited masses.

In the timber and mining district of Norrbotten the C.P.S. polled 16,000 votes and gained two seats; here it is the second largest party and is not much smaller than the social democratic party, which received 18,000 votes. The renegade party, which lost its seat to the C.P., received 734 votes. In this district the Communist Party has become the largest party in 12 large municipalities. In Odalen, Medelpad, and Helsingland the advance of the C.P.S. was likewise considerable. In the town of Söderham it outstripped the social democratic party and became the largest party—a plain answer of the proletarians to the provocative shooting by the police and to the prison sentences passed on the striking celluloid workers in this town.

In spite of these undoubted big successes it must be said that the considerable radicalisation of the Swedish working masses which has taken place of late, is expressed only to a very small extent in the Communist advance. The collapse of the Kreuger Trust, the growing crisis, the great unemployment, the wage-cutting offensive of the employers—all this was a favourable ground for Communist propaganda. But this was also cleverly taken advantage of by the social democrats, who adopted a very radical tone at their election meetings and demanded not only the socialisation of big industry, but also the abolition of task work and the introduction of adequate unemployment benefit. Thanks also to their gigantic party apparatus, their big party press and the funds of the trade unions, they had incomparably far larger means at their disposal than the Communist Party; from the trade unions alone they received 250,000 crowns.

The large number of votes polled by the renegades, whose party, in spite of the large cadre of leaders, the big newspaper which it possesses in Stockholm and the 135,000 crowns paid to it by the Match King, is organisationally much weaker than the uninterruptedly growing C.P.S., is partly explained by the fact that it entered into an election alliance with the

social democrats and thus succeeded in retaining large masses who were abandoning the social democracy, as they were convinced that by this election alliance they would not throw their votes away if they voted for the Kilbom party. The monstrous incitement of the renegades and social democrats against the Communist Party who, they declared, were helping reaction, as they had no chance of winning a seat and by their isolated action were weakening and splitting the labour front, doubtlessly caused many workers who sympathise with the Communist Party to refrain from voting for it "in order not to endanger the victory of the working class". These workers will soon learn from the deeds of the newly appointed social democratic government that the Communists were right when they said that a victory of the social democrats will only serve to consolidate capitalist rule.

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As a first result of the successes of the Left parties the King has entrusted the leader of the social democratic party, Per Albin Hansson, with the formation of the Government. This solution was recommended to the King not only by the late Prime Minister, but also by the leader of the Right, the admiral and millionaire Lindman, from which fact it can be seen that the bourgeoisie have no fear of a "Labour Government".

"Ny Dag" the central organ of the Communist Party, published on 25th September an article on the change of government in which it wrote:

"The new social democratic government has the task of steering the Swedish ship of State through the billows of the tremendous economic crisis. It must adopt measures in order to help capitalism to find a way out of the crisis. It will not oppose the policy of wage cuts; it will, after the German pattern, assist the attack of the employers upon the standard of living of the proletariat. It will continue the unemployed policy of the Liberal government, as a result of which three quarters of the unemployed are without any relief whatever whilst the remaining quarter have the 'privilege' of performing task work.

"In regard to foreign politics the social democratic policy means close collaboration with the League of Nations and its anti-Soviet designs; it means increased armaments behind pacifist smoke-screens. Thus the new Government does not mean a new political situation, but a continuation of the wage-cutting offensive, of the exploitation of the masses by taxes and interest, social and cultural reaction. Thus the social democracy will be driven to adopt measures which in turn will accelerate its dissolution and will drive the masses to the open struggle against 'their own government'. But these measures will at the same time facilitate our chief task; the liquidation of the main social support of capitalism and the winning of the majority of the working class."

## The Elections in Greece.

By Kostas Gryptos (Athens).

Athens, 26th September 1932.

The elections to the Greek Chamber of Deputies took place yesterday (Sunday). Exact details are not yet available, but it is already clear that the Venizelos Party will have the majority over the Populairist Party of Soldaris and that the communists have made considerable progress. The communists have had no members in the chamber up to the present, but it is now thought that have won several seats.

The elections were held at a time of crisis of the whole of Greek economy. In addition there is a credit crisis and a collapse of the State finances, which, after prolonged and desperate appeals for help to the League of Nations and the British capitalists, led to the official bankruptcy of the State and the abandonment of the gold standard.

The immediate results were a doubling of the price of all goods and the employment of dictatorial customs measures which throttled imports, whilst the world crisis and the economic retaliatory measures of the other capitalist States ruined the export trade.

The only way out of this crisis left to the bourgeoisie was a savage and ruthless superexploitation of the working class and of the whole toiling population. This is the path which was actually pursued. In all branches of production wages were reduced by 30 to 50 per cent. Where the eight-

hour day existed it was abolished. Many thousands of women and children had to take the place of the men.

The peasants are actually dying of starvation; they have sold their cattle and are absolutely ruined. Greece is the relatively most heavily taxed country in the Balkans. The villages are tyrannised by the tax officials and gendarmes. The relief measures adopted by the government for the peasants, i. e. a provisional moratorium for their debts to private creditors, led to an immediate bankruptcy of small businessmen and tradesmen, especially in Macedonia and Thessaly.

The author and bearer of this programme is Venizelos, who had the overwhelming majority of the Parliament and Senate behind him. At the elections in 1928 he indulged in a passionate, monstrous and shameless demagoguery. He promised the working masses that within four years he would so transform the whole of Greece that it would not be recognisable. The four years have passed... In these four years peasants were killed by gendarmes because they could not pay a tax of 28 drachmae. There were big miners' strikes resulting in killed and wounded. Nearly a thousand revolutionaries are permanently confined in the prisons, where they are perishing. Three Macedonian revolutionaries were shot.

The Communist Party is illegal in reality. Its press is confiscated in the post; all its functionaries are persecuted. The revolutionary trade unions are dissolved. The notorious "Communist law" gives every gendarme the opportunity to proceed against everybody ruthlessly. Fascist laws against the State officials, against the freedom of the press and for the fascisation of education have been issued.

Nevertheless, this savage policy of depriving the toiling masses of their political and economic rights in no way rendered easier the path of the Greek bourgeoisie. The last twelve months has been marked by a number of big miners' strikes, peasants revolts, hunger marches (which in the autumn and winter of 1931/32 embraced the whole of Thessaly and the whole of Macedonia), strikes in the towns, indignation on the part of the petty bourgeois strata, demonstrations of the small tradesmen in Macedonia and Thessaly and strikes of officials.

The crisis and the rising of the working masses led by the proletariat in the towns caused a rapid differentiation in the political camp of the bourgeoisie. The parties which in the four years of Venizelos' rule were absolutely united in the policy of economic and political suppression of the working population, opened a systematic fight against Venizelos. Due to the inner contradiction between the remnants of feudalism (monarchist party) and the various strata of the bourgeoisie, the fight assumed exceedingly acute forms. Venizelos tried to make use of these contradictions by opening a new big campaign on the eve of the elections against those who "undermine the Republic". Under the same pretext of "defending the Republic" he organised the **military League**, with branches in the whole of Greece.

Venizelos expressed his intention of carrying out a change of the Constitution as a basis for the **military fascist dictatorship**. On the other hand, discontented and monarchist officers and non-commissioned officers, headed by the ex-dictator **Pangalos**, have organised an anti-Republican opposition within the army.

The Communist Party of Greece is the only Party which organises and leads the resistance of the proletariat and shows the working population the revolutionary way out of the crisis. It was under the leadership of the Party that there was set up the **united front of the workers and peasants** for the election campaign, which realised in broad revolutionary action the united front of the struggle of the masses from below against the reformist, agrarian and Trotskyist leaders.

The Party organised a series of meetings in nearly all the towns of Greece. In spite of all persecutions, the united front put forward 107 candidates and contested every constituency. The election fund of the united front war raised exclusively from contributions of workers, peasants and members of the middle class. Many peasants offered wheat and food because they had no money.

In face of this splendid action the Government resorted to desperate measures in order to throttle it. Most of the candidates, all members of the central election committee and most of the members of the local election committees are in prison, charged with high treason. The election funds were confiscated. The fight was continued, however, by the rank and file members of the united front.

## The Overthrow of the Karoly Government.

By Gal (Budapest).

The official reason given for the resignation of the Government of Count Julius Karoly is the differences of opinion which have arisen between the Government and the overwhelming majority of Parliament. These differences of opinion which existed for a long time between the agrarian wing of the Unity Party and the Government, have become particularly acute recently.

The causes of the tension between the Unity Party and the Karoly Government lie in the steady deepening of the crisis of Hungarian capitalism, in the accentuation of class antagonisms.

The output of Hungarian industry has been declining for years. In the most important branches of industry the decline ranges from 25 to 40 per cent. Only the war industry and some branches of industry which have been placed in a more favourable situation by the import prohibition are better situated.

The situation of agriculture is still worse. The value of the total output of Hungarian agriculture has sunk in the last few years to one third (from 2,400 million to 800 million). The value of land has likewise sunk one third. In spite of the extortionate taxes it has been impossible to balance the budget. The arrears in taxes amounted in May 1931 to 230 million, and a year later to 300 million. In the first six months of this year the foreign trade balance was 43 per cent. less than in the first six months of the previous year. Exports amounted to half of what they were in the year 1929. Hungary's foreign debts amount to over 4,000 million Pengö. The deficit in the payment balance amounted in the last three years to hundreds of millions. The banks have only been saved from bankruptcy by government subventions running into hundreds of millions.

All this shows the depth and the further worsening of the crisis of Hungarian capitalism, which at the same time brings about a further lowering of the standard of living of the toiling masses. With a working day of 9-14 hours the Hungarian worker earns only 50 per cent. (in the province often only 40 per cent.) of pre-war wages. Articles of daily use, however, are with few exceptions dearer than before the war.

The rural proletariat has sunk almost to the level of the colonial proletariat. On the big estates of the landowners a worker receives only one Pengö for a day's work lasting from dawn to late in the evening. But the millions of unemployed in town and country are in an even more disastrous situation. These masses, who with their families number several millions, receive no unemployment benefit, and have to live on the soup provided by the poor-law authorities. In return for this and for a few hellers they must perform public work under conditions which would be bad even for a dog.

The petty bourgeoisie are also living in chronic misery. The crisis has severely hit the most faithful supports of fascism, the State and municipal officials, whose salaries have recently been cut three times and on many occasions paid only after months of delay.

The starving and suffering masses express their discontent in revolutionary hostility to the fascist dictatorship. The working class have shown their militancy in repeated strikes and in street demonstrations, whilst the peasants have displayed their fighting spirit by beating the tax collectors, by refusing to pay taxes and by armed collisions with the gendarmerie. The bitterness and resentment of the petty bourgeoisie have reached such a pitch that in various cases they have resorted to the strike weapon (closing of workshops until their demands have been fulfilled).

The popularity of the Communist Party of Hungary and its political influence have increased tremendously among all these strata, although the Communist Party was still too weak in order to consolidate this influence organisationally.

It is largely due to the organisational weakness of the Communist Party of Hungary that the spontaneous radicalisation of the toilers in the Hungarian village, the hostility to the fascist dictatorship is made use of by the agrarian oppositional party of **Gaston Gal** and by the social democracy for their own purposes, and that these parties have been able to divert the masses from the path of revolutionary struggle. Hence these two parties have lately greatly increased their influence in the village. At the last municipal and Parlia-

mentary elections they recorded a great increase in their vote.

The Unity Party, which is supporting the Government, view this development with growing uneasiness. Some of their members have left the party and joined the Agrarian Opposition of the big agrarian group led by Count **Franz Hunyadi**, who formerly supported the government. By this means the number of Parliamentary seats of the Agrarian Opposition was increased within a very short time by 100 per cent. When the Government did not immediately fulfil the demands put forward by the Agrarian Opposition (reform of land taxes, reduction of the rate of interest, moratorium etc.), when it was also found that the agrarian conference at Stresa had resulted in nothing for Hungarian agriculture but good advice, the unrest within the Unity Party grew to an open palace revolution with which Count Karoly could no longer cope. He therefore resigned.

The ferment in the Unity Party and the palace revolution were instigated behind the scenes by Count **Stephan Bethlen**, the leader of the Unity Party, who for ten years was at the head of the fascist dictatorship government in Hungary. Between Count Bethlen and Count Karoly there exist various differences of opinion, which to a certain extent reflect the differences between various groups of the bourgeoisie; in the main, between the industrial and the agrarian bourgeoisie. The question of inflation or deflation is also a very important subject of dispute.

All these contradictions are now to find a solution. But one can already say that the change of government will not bring about any alteration either in the system of fascist suppression or in regard to the Parliamentary combinations. The groups within the Unity Party will come to some agreement or other, as each group is afraid of the elections, even though elections would be held under the terror of the gendarmerie. Count Karoly, after his resignation, declared that it would be impossible to hold elections, as "at present the minds of the masses are so excited that new elections would expose the country to great upheavals."

For this reason the agent of the capitalist class, the social democracy, is conducting a hitherto unsurpassed base and bloody campaign against the revolutionary labour movement, against the Communist Party. For this reason the "Nepszava", the central organ of the social democracy of Hungary, writes that every means must be employed in order to silence the Bolshevik big talk and to destroy the demagogy of empty phrases, that "above all those who now again mouth revolutionary phrases must be called to account".

The great sympathy which was expressed in the recent protest against the summary court in connection with the execution of Comrades **Sallai** and **Fürst** enables the Communist Party of Hungary to lead the toiling population in town and country in the fight against fascism and social fascism, and to consolidate the organisation of the Party. The Communist Party of Hungary can solve this task, can overcome its organisational crisis only if it conducts a ruthless fight against conspirative irresponsibility, which greatly facilitates the work of the police against the Party.

## The Conclusion of the Stresa Conference.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

"At the concluding session of the Conference at Stresa for the restoration of the central European States, the heads of the delegations of the big Powers adopted an optimistic tone, although a few hours earlier, at the last secret session, numerous delegates made reservations which render doubtful the practical realisation of the proposals of the Conference. When one speaks personally with the delegates, most of them are rather sceptical and do not believe in the possibility of practically realising the plan for restoring the value of grain."

Thus reports the "Neue Freie Presse" on the result of the Conference at Stresa. This is how a conference is concluded which was to have been the prelude to the World Economic Conference, and whose task was to discover means of overcoming the transfer difficulties, and for gradually doing away with the existing restrictions on foreign exchange transactions, measures for promoting the commerce of the Central and South European States, and finally, relief measures for the agrarian States of South-East Europe.

The central problem of South-East Europe is the agrarian crisis, which is ruining the peasants, and has brought a

deficiency in the State budgets of the States in question. Therefore, France came forward in order to rescue its loans and its political hegemony, and proposed preferential tariffs for the agrarian products of the countries of South-Eastern Europe in order to render them capable of competing with agrarian imports from the overseas countries. It is true, France at the same time wished to aid not only the agrarian States which are dependent upon it, but also the industry of Czechoslovakia, this very important pillar of its imperialist system in Central Europe. The increased purchasing power of the Rumanian, Yugoslavian and Hungarian, peasants resulting from the preferential tariffs shall accrue to the benefit of Czechoslovakian industry. But Germany had no intention of stopping its rapid economic advance in the Balkans solely for the sake of the jeopardised French loans. Therefore Germany, instead of the collective treaty desired by France, proposed bi-lateral preferential tariff treaties, in which the return given by the agrarian States should consist not in preferential tariffs for the industrial products of certain countries but in the reduction of the tariffs which comes under the most favoured nation clause. Germany wished to see the door kept open for its dumping which is based on wage reductions. Italy, on the other hand, has no intention either of abandoning its interests in South-East Europe, which are of an important political nature—Hungary and Bulgaria as allies against Yugoslavia, the ally of France—or alienating its South-American customers by granting preferential agrarian tariffs to the agrarian countries of South-East Europe. Therefore Italy proposed the payment of contributions instead of preferential tariffs. The contributions should enable the governments of the agrarian States to maintain the competitive power of their agriculture either by tax abatements or by subventions.

What has now been actually decided?

There is actually to be set up a fund of 75 million gold francs, which shall be used for improving the price of grain, while at the same time wheat, fodder barley, maize, rye, barley for brewing purposes and oats are to be subject to quotas in order that their production shall not be increased. This fund will be formed by general contributions by the States joining the convention. The amount contributed by any State will be reduced according to the advantages which are already granted to the exporting States on the basis of bi-lateral agreements. That is to say, that preferential tariffs can take the place of contributions.

There are no preferential tariffs for industrial articles: the most favoured nations clause has been maintained. Thus the plan to promote Czechoslovakian exports at the cost of the German has come to nought. The competitive fight on the basis of the most-favoured nations treatment still goes on. But the privileged treatment which Austria hoped to receive for its collapsed industry has also come to nothing. According to this draft agreement, Austria may either contribute to the common fund, which it is incapable of doing, or grant preferential tariffs on agrarian products to the South-Eastern agrarian States, but does not receive anything in return for this.

A number of reservations were made regarding this grain agreement which render its realisation very questionable. Holland rejects it altogether. England made a number of reservations in the secret session. Germany will not undertake any further obligations apart from the sacrifices connected with the bi-lateral preference treaties. Germany will also conclude preferential tariff agreements only in regard to wheat, fodder barley and maize, and only with Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia but not with Poland. Italy and France, it is true, have pronounced in favour of accepting the report in its entirety.

But even if the agreement should be ratified, will it offer any effective aid to the agrarian States of South-East Europe? Already some days ago the "Pester Lloyd" bitterly declared that the subventions of 2 gold francs for every cental of wheat and 1½ gold francs for every cental of oats and maize are far too small to constitute any effective help. And at the concluding session the Rumanian Minister for Trade, Madgeary, stated that the hopes which the agrarian States had placed in the Conference have been only partly fulfilled, for without an increase in the price of grain there could be no improvement of their financial situation. The fulfilment of their financial obligations, and for some even the payment of interest on loans, was uncertain so long as they could not improve their payment balance by exporting corn at a remunerative price.

The Conference also adopted a report divided into 11 points with recommendations for the economic policy of the Central and East European States, which, however, contains so many platitudes that it is surprising that so-called economic experts could spend 14 days drawing it up. Thus, for instance, point 9 recommends "the improvement of transport conditions by land and water". Austria is advised to continue its negotiations for the conclusion of commercial treaties.

The result of Stresa is, that all the problems which the Conference had to solve still remain open. This could not be otherwise, for the imperialist antagonisms, especially between Germany, France and Italy, which were plainly revealed at the Conference, stood in the way of the solution of these problems. But the more acute these antagonisms are, the more urgent it will be for the imperialist States to seek their solution on the basis of an understanding for solving the most important antagonism, the antagonism between all the imperialist Powers and the Soviet Union. If to-day there is talk of a common relief action for the East and South European States and the creation of a common relief fund, then these plans can soon be realised in the form of support for the East-European armies against the Soviet Union and in the form of a common war fund for the fight against the Soviet Union.

Very symptomatic of this tendency is the fact that the Soviet Union was not invited to this conference, which was supposed to deal with the restoration of Central and South-East Europe.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### Opening of the Meeting of the League of Nations.

By Gabriel Peri.

Geneva, September 26, 1932.

The 13th full meeting of the League of Nations was opened in an atmosphere of great international tension. In order to save the face of the League of Nations, endeavours will be made in the coming days to shorten the general discussion in the full meeting. Today's meeting was devoted to settling formal affairs: The election of the President and of the presidium. The whole meeting was under the impression of the speech of Herriot at Gramat, which was from beginning to end a denunciation of Germany's armament policy and a defence of French militarism. These are the two ideas which Herriot elaborated at Gramat. The speech of the French Prime Minister as such did not contain much that was new. The figures he cited are inexact, but in order to grasp this intended inexactitude we must examine more closely the circumstances under which the head of the French Government made his speech.

Scarcely a week has passed since the publication of the English Note. In the meantime there took place in Geneva the events already known in connection with the German Note and the initiative of Arthur Henderson. On the other hand, here in Geneva, as well as in Paris, France is making the greatest efforts in order to secure the support of the U.S.A. in the European disputes. As the military system established by France is threatened, Herriot was compelled to remain vague. The French Prime Minister did not bang the table with his fist or adopt a belligerent tone. One could rather say that he sighed. But this method is one of the means which France employs in order to secure the inviolability of its special position.

Let us deal somewhat more closely with the speech delivered at Gramat, which played an outstanding role in the discussion at the session of the League of Nations. A considerable part of this speech were devoted to describing the revival of German militarism: the Stahlhelm demonstration, the emergency order of September 13, etc. It is an undeniable fact, however, that the French military manoeuvres in the Champagne and President Lebrun's tour in the Eastern provinces supply no less serious matter for complaint against French imperialism. The second part of the Gramat speech was scarcely more tenable. The evidence adduced in it is, to put it plainly, of no value whatever. It was stated that France has reduced the period of military service. No mention, however, was made of the fact that Germany is

demanding the same thing, only because the reduction of the period of service would render it possible to increase more quickly the strength of the trained reserves. Herriot claimed that the French war budget had been reduced last July. He forgot to mention, however, that in the decision regarding this measure, which was enforced by the disastrous position of the State finances, the Government solemnly promised the General Staff compensation in the question of the training of the reserves.

True to the traditions of French Ministers, Herriot served up this dish with the usual pacifist trimmings. France, so he declared, wishes to pursue a League of Nations policy. It is therefore of the opinion that Section V. of the Versailles Treaty imposes on all parties the obligation to work for disarmament. France wants security for all. The French Prime Minister even announced that a number of prominent personalities at Geneva are working out a plan which shall bring about the realisation of this ambitious aim. According to very trustworthy reports, it seems that so far this plan exists only in Herriot's imagination.

No less beautiful promises were made in their time by Briand, Boncour and even Tardieu, with what results is known. Herriot, however, who understands his job, knows that these assurances make a good impression in London and Washington and that they will also please Leon Blum.

The Prime Minister went so far as to cite in support of his thesis the Memorandum drawn up by the Socialist Party of France in 1917 on the occasion of the Stockholm Congress. But does not that only prove that the social democratic pacifism of 1917 rendered admirable services to imperialism?

Herriot's speech formed to a certain extent the foreword to the present sitting at which two speeches were delivered; by De Valera, the head of the Irish Government, and by the Greek Politis, who had been elected chairman of the meeting. Both speeches were a lamentation over what these gentlemen

describe as the "impotency of the League of Nations". De Valera said that the work of the Disarmament Conference had disappointed the peoples throughout the world, the problems raised by the war in Manchuria remained unsolved, and that the illusions awakened by the League of Nations were collapsing one after another and giving place to suspicion and mistrust. The man in the street saw a lack of proportion between the results of the work of Geneva and the cost involved. Finally, he expressed the determination of Ireland to live as a free country.

M. Politis declared that the League of Nations had yielded only very meagre results, for which reason he demanded an extension of the League. It deserves mentioning here that M. Politis, who was elected this morning as chairman of the meeting, represents at Geneva a pitiless dictatorship which is only able to remain in power by means of bayonets of the Greek officers' corps.

The Bureau of the Disarmament Conference, which has to deal with the proposals made by Henderson, met at five o'clock to-day. It will be remembered that Henderson, at the sitting held last Thursday, announced his intention to submit to the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference a draft resolution on equality of status which should facilitate the return of the German delegation. This proposal had called forth a storm of indignation among the French delegation and in France itself, because France intends to make Germany pay a big price for its reappearance at the Conference.

In view of the pressure exerted on Henderson and in consequence of the abortiveness of the steps undertaken by him with the German Foreign Minister Neurath, Henderson withdrew his proposal. The next meeting of the Bureau is to be held between the 10th to 20th October.

Herriot is expected this evening in Geneva where, immediately after his arrival, he will have a conference with the English Foreign Minister Sir John Simon.

## ***Against the Campaign of Lies against the Soviet Union***

# **New Campaign of Lies Against the Land of Socialist Construction.**

**By L. Moskwin (Moscow).**

The historian to whom there fell the somewhat unsavoury task of diving among the filth which the press has poured out for the last 15 years against the Soviet Union, would have to record that in the last year or so, in the years of the decisive successes of socialist construction, it has become more and more difficult for the bourgeois press to spread their lying reports about the Soviet Union. With inward rage, or with feigned astonishment, a certain part of the bourgeois press even if with reservations, admit one success after the other of the Soviet Union. The reports of thousands and thousands of foreigners, of tourists, workers' delegations, intellectuals etc. who have visited the Soviet Union, the reports of the many foreign workers and specialists who are immediately taking part in socialist construction, and finally the increasing spread of faithful descriptions of actual conditions in the Soviet Union—all this restricts the freedom of movement of the capitalist papers and produces a peculiar crisis in a branch of capitalist production, in the fabrication of anti-Soviet lies.

The problem now engaging the capitalist newspapers is how, in the new situation, to serve up their lying reports. That is the one question that interests them. They could, of course, continue to publish sensational telegrams from their notorious "own correspondent in Riga", or place the columns of their papers at the disposal of white-guardist press hacks and adventurers from the circles of the emigrés—, but the press products of this sort are finding less acceptance. Sensations from "Riga" are frequently exposed on the following day as canards which speculate on the credulity of the readers. It is really hard to report a "revolt in Moscow" if on the following day the press which really has its own correspondent in Moscow, publishes telegrams which deny the Riga report

and categorically declare that to-day there is no other country or city in the whole world in which greater order and security prevails than in the Soviet Union and its capital. The foreign press has recently been repeatedly compelled to publish telegrams of this character. "Riga" has lost its nimbus for the newspaper reader. Even those circles which would be only too glad to read something in the newspapers regarding the overthrow of the Soviet government, are unable to swallow such stories.

In England, however there has been found a paper which has attempted a new trick. The readers do not want to hear anything more from "Riga"? They no longer believe what the reporter in "Riga" writes about conditions in Moscow? Very good, we will send our own correspondent to Moscow and instruct him to write as if he were in "Riga".

This paper, this jewel in the crown of Lord Beaverbrook, the newspaper king, is the "Daily Express", which has a mass circulation. Two circumstances induced Lord Beaverbrook's hirelings to attempt a new trick: the necessity to increase the anti-Soviet campaign in connection with the protest which the English press, including very influential organs, has raised against the tendencies of some British circles to establish closer contact between Great Britain and the Dominions, especially with Canada, at the cost of the trade with the Soviet Union, and to fulfil the demand of Mr. Bennett, the Canadian Prime Minister, that the imports of the Soviet Union to England be restricted, even at the risk of England losing Soviet orders and unemployment increasing in England as a result. Further, there is the necessity of obliterating the favourable impression which the articles and declarations of English politicians and journalists on the impressions of their visits to the Soviet Union has made on

the English public. This applies especially to the articles of 15 English journalists and representatives of various well-known bourgeois and labour papers.

The "Daily Express" own correspondent in Moscow, Miss Rhea G. Clyman, was commissioned some time ago to supply Lord Beaverbrook's press with the desired material. Miss Clyman, who has been already some time in Moscow, eagerly seized on this chance of rendering the desired service to her master.

"Red Troops Fire on Starving Mob", "Hunger Riots in Russia", Daily Express Correspondent, Moscow, September 8.

Under the above headings there appeared in the "Daily Express" of September 9 a canard from Moscow. Just listen to this:

"Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the Northern textile centre of Soviet Russia, has just suffered its baptism of gunfire from Soviet troops, after an orgy of riots and looting by hordes of hungry workers.

"These starvation outbreaks, revealed to Moscow to-day by eye-witness' accounts filtering in despite a rigid censorship, are generally believed to be the prelude to the worst riots and pillaging raids which Russia has known since the days of Red revolt and wholesale starvation shortly after the end of the war..."

"Impelled by hunger, bands of workmen stormed and looted the Government store houses."

"Troops of the Red Army and the G.P.U. (secret police) were summoned, and finally, after repeatedly firing into the mobs, succeeded in quelling the rioting crowds."

This base invention is not the first of the series of reports in the "Riga" style. A few days previously, in the "Daily Express" of Sept. 5, there appeared with splash headlines on the front page the following report from Miss Clyman:

"The approach of the worst Winter in Russia since the great famine ten years ago was heralded to-day by two drastic decrees issued by the Soviet Government.

"The first orders a reduction by approximately 50 per cent. of the present food rations of Russians and foreigners working in Russia... The hundreds of foreign specialists employed on the Five-Year Plan... will find living desperately difficult this Winter."

But Miss Clyman has won the special favour of the newspaper king not by means of these short reports, but by a series of articles in the "Daily Express" from August 29 to September 2—a series of articles which the editor, in the issue of August 29, announced on the front page in the following sensational manner:

#### "The Russia nobody knows."

"The Town Of The Living Dead! The town whose name no man or woman dare even whisper; to which many go but from which few return; where no one is ever heard to laugh; such is the hidden town of Kem, far up in the North of Russia. Its dread secrets have now been penetrated by a woman correspondent of the "Daily Express"—the first Briton to set foot inside the notorious prison stronghold of the Soviet since the British troops withdrew in 1929—are revealed in an enthralling new series which begins on Page Seven to-day."

Judging from Miss Clyman's articles it would seem that she has actually been in Kem. She openly states for what purpose she went to the North of the Soviet Union. She wanted, just think, after visiting the concentration camps, to expose the "horrors of the Cheka"; she wanted to write about what she had seen of "forced labour". In the first article of the series, entitled: "Town of the Living Dead", Miss Clyman declared that the name of this little town, "though never mentioned aloud, is now seared on the souls of millions of Russians. Mothers use it to frighten naughty children, grown men tremble when they hear it pronounced in court".

Miss Clyman wanted to give a highly coloured description of Kem, employing plenty of effective words and phrases; but she over-reached herself. She states that Kem is a place for all undesirables and that in the whole of the Soviet Union there is not a single family which has not contributed a victim to the town of the living dead.

Miss Clyman, however, has had really bad luck. There was nothing to expose. Miss Clyman has only exposed herself. In the article, entitled: "The town of the living dead", Miss Clyman, against her will, describes the living peaceful and creative work for educating people who are not punished

for the crimes they have committed, as bourgeois justice punishes criminals in its efforts to be rid of them, but by means of a definite regime of work are converted into useful members of society.

Secondly, in spite of her provocative attitude, in spite of her intense desire to bring about collisions, nothing happened to Miss Clyman. To her great regret, we assume, the authorities displayed the greatest patience towards her. Miss Clyman, who set out to make discoveries (according to her own account), did not spend the days she was at Kem in the dungeons of which she had dreamed, but in a clean, spacious room of one of the hotels.

Miss Clyman sheds big crocodile tears over the lot of the "poor victims of the Soviet Government". She constantly seeks to harrow the feelings of the readers of her paper with descriptions of the "terrible Chekists", who later however, according to her own description, prove to be thoroughly obliging, cultivated people. Also the guard in front of the commander's office supplied Miss Clyman with material for making her readers' flesh creep. Here her phantastic imagination causes her to write: "I knew that the sentry would shoot me down if I ventured to enter the building without a pass." (We should like, in passing, to ask Miss Clyman what would sentries in other countries have done in such a case?)

In almost every line Miss Clyman makes use of the expression "living dead". She boastfully calls attention to her "courage", her "bold behaviour in conversation with the Chekists". Much cry and little wool, one might say. The emissary of Lord Beaverbrook is compelled to make the following admission: "There is nothing in the outward appearance of Kem to associate it with the horrors of prison and exile." Miss Clyman relates what the obliging commander of the camp told her:

"We have dairies, orchards, and gardens which could very well compete with those in England. We have never made use of force."

Here our good Miss Clyman has evidently noticed that she has not described Kem in the way Lord Beaverbrook desired. Quite without reason she suddenly changes her tone and attributes to the camp commander a statement which he of course never made: "And if they do not work", declared the camp commander, "we shoot them." ("Daily Express", August 31.)

Miss Clyman is obviously not pleased with such facts as a well organised school and a magnificently equipped laboratory in which very interesting inventions are made; orchards in which, right in the North of Soviet Russia, peaches and strawberries are grown. These and various other facts, at which the "Daily Express" correspondent is painfully surprised, are only casually mentioned, and then she turns her whole attention to the so-called "forced labour". Miss Clyman, however, is pursued by ill-luck. In her presence one of the "living dead" is handed out his trade union card and, what displeased her still more, his wages, according to trade union rates. What is there left for such a "reporter" in this case? She must again attempt to make her readers' flesh creep. She writes that "it is impossible to imagine what can happen to me here. Nobody in Moscow knows where I am. They will search for me for months."

But as a matter of fact, nothing happened to Miss Clyman. The camp commander made reference to some of her fellow-countrymen, who in the years 1918/20 invaded this district, and told her that he himself fought against them, that he took part in the civil war.

What does our traveller then do? She attempts to get past the sentry by showing him papers which have no validity (she admits this herself) in order to gain admission to places which can only be entered with a special pass. (And again we would like to ask Miss Clyman in passing, what, for instance, the British authorities would say to such actions on the part of a foreign newspaper correspondent, say for example a representative of the Soviet press?) Miss Clyman finally arranged something in the nature of a public political demonstration in memory of the British intervention-troops. She went to a church during a divine service and, to "the astonishment of all present", handed over to the priest ten roubles with the words: "I give you this money in the name of my fellow-countrymen who are buried here in North Russia. Please include them in your prayers."

The priest, greatly touched, invited Miss Clyman to a cup of tea, which was gratefully accepted.



One could quote numerous other examples to show how Miss Clyman has endeavoured, without success, to carry out the orders of Lord Beaverbrook, how she, who wanted to make exposures, has only succeeded in exposing the provocative purpose of her journey. Lacking actual material, she indulges in an unbounded incitement against the Soviet Union, in the course of which she allows herself to make such statements as the following: "Arm a bandit and you have a 'Red Guard'." ("Daily Express" August 30.)

What has been said appears to us to suffice for the following conclusion: The visits of representatives of the bourgeois press to the Soviet Union and the permanent residence in Moscow of correspondents of the big bourgeois papers and news agencies are, in our opinion, a good sign showing that the circle of readers of these papers and agencies desire regular and authentic information about the Soviet Union. Newspaper correspondents who come to Moscow for this purpose must and do have every possibility of carrying on their profession unhindered in accordance with the laws of the country in which they are staying.

Should however some organisers of anti-Soviet campaigns be of the opinion that they can violate these laws and abuse the designation of "Own correspondent in Moscow" in order to carry on a lying provocative game, they will be bitterly disappointed. One thing is certain: there is no place either in Moscow or anywhere else in the Soviet Union for Lord Beaverbrook's "Own Moscow correspondent" Miss Clyman, who wishes to introduce "Riga" customs in Moscow. Miss Clyman's chief must think out a new trick. The manoeuvre with "Riga" information, from Moscow, is exposed and frustrated.

## FASCISM

### Unrest and Disturbances in Italy.

Italian frontier, 26th September 1932.

The effects of the economic crisis and the resultant unemployment, wage-cuts and increased taxation have given a great impetus to the anti-fascist movement in Italy. Despite all the efforts of the fascist authorities, including demagogic measures, the entry of the former syndicalist Rossoni into the government and the taking over of the leadership of the Corporations by Mussolini on the one hand, and intensified terrorist measures on the other, the opposition is growing in strength and activity.

During the course of the past few weeks several hundred workers and peasants have been arrested. The fascist Special Tribunal will have more work to do and the trial of a group of anti-fascists from Rome is already announced as being in preparation. These arrests are the answer of the fascists to the unemployed demonstrations in Venice, Milan and other towns, the demonstrations of the poor peasants in Sicily, Sardinia and Southern Italy, and the anti-war movement which is gaining in strength.

During the preparatory work for the International Anti-War Congress the young communist **Georges Amendola** was arrested. Amendola is the son of the liberal Minister Amendola who was murdered by the fascists. In Bergamo the work amongst two regiments stationed there (artillery and infantry units), was so intense that the units were disbanded and the men distributed throughout the country. Anti-war demonstrations took place in La Spezia, Italy's most important naval base, and eighty workers and sailors were arrested. A mutiny took place on board the Italian warship "Andrea Doria" and the ringleader, a young sailor, was secretly tried and executed in Tarente. On the armoured cruiser "Trieste" special warnings were issued by the commandant against the distribution of the illegal communist organ "Unità".

### Italian Proletarian Prisoners on Hunger-Strike.

Italian frontier, 23rd September 1932.

200 Italian proletarian political prisoners held in the prison of Civita Vecchia have gone on hunger-strike against the inhuman prison regime. Amongst the hunger-strikers are Comrades **Terracini, Li Causa, Pianezza, Damen, Sanna, etc.**

The fascist legal authorities have now begun a fantastic new process against the political prisoners who are charged with having organised a communist organisation in prison. The chief accused have now been taken from the various prisons in which they were held and lodged altogether in Civita Vecchia. They have been in solitary confinement for three months. Their food consists of bread and water; they are not permitted to exercise in the open air and they receive no reading material of any kind. At the same time all the political prisoners have been deprived of the right to read books and newspapers, even the fascist newspapers.

In view of the fact that almost all the hunger-striking prisoners have served six years in prison, already their condition is very poor and the hunger-strike may very quickly have fatal effects. The strike threatens to extend to other prisons and a hunger-strike has in fact already begun in the prison of Pallanza. The Italian political prisoners who are fighting a terribly difficult struggle must receive the support of an international campaign of proletarian solidarity.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Scottsboro in Horthy's Hungary.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Into the very shadow of Horthy's gallows in Hungary the Scottsboro Negro Mother, Mrs. Ada Wright, carried her fight against the more modern American anti-labour weapon of judicial murder—the electric chair—that threatens the Scottsboro Negro boys.

In many Scottsboro meetings over Europe she had raised her voice for the lives of **Sallai** and **Fuerst**, and she had denounced their fascist murderers. And then she had come to **Budapest** to raise the struggle against the American dollar reaction and its judicial lynchings before the Hungarian masses.

The Hungarian social-democratic organ, "**Nepszava**", through open provocation, wrecked the only meeting planned in Hungary, that of the Feminist Society at Budapest.

It published brazenly the "information" of the Czechoslovakian police agents, that Mrs. Wright had been arrested as a "Communist propagandist" and an "undesirable foreigner", that she was on a "propaganda tour" carrying on "extreme left agitation" and raising "Communist slogans", and that only "left political organisations" had urged her release from prison on President Masaryk. This was all in the best style of the "**Vecer**", the mouthpiece of Slavik, Czechoslovakia's minister of the interior, who had to justify the Scottsboro Negro Mother's expulsion by denouncing her as a "Black Bolshevik" and as a "Communist Negro Woman". The Social-Democratic "**Nepszava**" became Slavik's Hungarian mouthpiece and the best provocateur of the Hungarian police in a land where all militant labour organisations are prohibited and their members subjected to the bloodiest oppression. **Sallai** and **Fuerst** were strangled to death by Horthy's hangmen merely for being members of the Communist Party.

Merely carrying through the meeting for the Scottsboro Negro Mother, under these conditions, in the eyes of the leadership of the Feminist Society, meant that this organisation, too, would be prohibited, or persecuted out of existence as was the case with the Hungarian section of the League for Human Rights. One of the leaders of the Feminist Society now stands charged before Hungary's fascist courts with "defamation of the nation" because she dared use strong language in a petition circulated for signatures among the thinking people of Budapest against the bestial slaughter of **Sallai** and **Fuerst**.

It was also claimed that the press of Budapest would be closed to the Scottsboro Negro Mother. On the day of her arrival the "**Magyar Hirlap**" had published a report of her arrest in Graz, Austria, where she had never been, since her meeting here had been prohibited, also by a social-democratic government official acting in the absence of his fascist superior. Two days before Young Communists in Budapest had been bloodily attacked by the police while carrying through an International Youth Day Demonstration under red flags in the streets, one of their number being fatally wounded, dying a few days later. There were 48 arrests.

But the Scottsboro Negro Mother, in spite of difficulties found a voice in the press of Budapest, long articles with pictures being published; even the social-democratic "**Nep-**

száva", that had last spring attacked the circulation of a Scottsboro protest petition to the American ambassador as "Communist propaganda" that must be denounced, changed front and published a news article and an interview in its "Woman's Section" that would lead all the world to believe that it had always been agitating energetically for the release of the Scottsboro children.

The editor of its woman's page wrote of Mrs. Wright that; "She is a living monument of Motherhood, more beautiful than any work in bronze or marble. In her lives the Mother Love of thousands of years."

Even the voice of the Scottsboro children in prison was heard through the publication of extracts, even though brief, of their letters to their Mother. The penetrating appeal of "Scottsboro!" had crashed through the fascist dictatorship's censorship and terror.

It will probably never be known just how Stephan Bethlen, leader of the government party and premier for ten years explained it to the American ambassador, Nicholas Roosevelt, nephew of New York's governor and democratic candidate for the presidency, when they next played golf together. Perhaps Roosevelt tried to laugh it off, mingling with his cronies, militarists, the titled nobility that remains and the money changers, who sip their liquor midst the laughter of the terraced gardens of the elite hotels of the Danube embankment. This is the same outfit with which Herbert Hoover, who opposes Roosevelt for the presidency in his efforts to get re-elected, cooperated as head of the American Food Administration and helped destroy the Hungarian Soviet Republic behind the mask of dollar philanthropy, and aided in carrying through a blood bath of death and torture against thousands of the best forces of the Hungarian working class.

It was as if the Scottsboro Mother struck back at both the democratic and republican oppressors of her race and class, both the defenders and apologists for the lynch mobs, when she got her appeal before the impoverished Hungarian worker and peasant masses, some sections of which had already raised the Scottsboro slogans in militant struggle, just as they had helped carry through the **Sacco-Vanzetti Campaign** in its final stages in 1927, when the secretary of the legal revolutionary workers' party received six months in prison merely for sending a protest telegram to the United States. This year Scottsboro has been in the centre of many Hungarian working class activities, especially the demonstration before the American embassy when the workers raised the slogans of "Down with Dollar Imperialism!" "Down with the Lynchers of the Young Negro Workers!" "We Demand the Release of the Scottsboro Negro Children!" and "Long Live the international Red Aid!" in this land where the Red Aid is a proscribed organisation. There were 16 arrests and the bourgeois press said nothing. Other forms of gatherings, in the open during the summer, have taken place where speakers have discussed the international terror and "Scottsboro".

Hungary provides fertile soil for the Scottsboro campaign that will crystallize into ever broader Scottsboro Committees and other forms of struggle. Even under the martial law of the Horthy terror the important day of **October Tenth** in the Scottsboro struggle will be fittingly remembered. And Hungarian labour looks with enthusiasm to the **World Congress of the international Red Aid** in **Moscow** in November as a milestone in the development of greater resistance to fascism and terror.

The Scottsboro Negro Mother proceeded next to **Bulgaria**. As the passenger train sped along she had translated for her the slogan that appeared chalked on the sides of many cars of freight trains that passed: "**Karikas must not die!**" and: "**Free Karikas!**"

## The Rueggs Must Be Released!

The American Bureau of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat has issued the following Appeal:

After fifteen months of imprisonment, threats and torture; after severe illness and a 14 day hunger strike against unjust imprisonment and intolerable prison conditions, the secretary of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat—**Comrade Ruegg**—and his wife, **Gertrude**, have been sentenced to life imprisonment. Because of mass protests of the toilers all over the world, and because of protests of a wide strata of intellectuals,

the Kuomintang government did not dare to sentence to death these valiant fighters of the working class.

In order to build up a case against Comrade Ruegg and his wife, the Kuomintang court based its decision on manufactured evidence, fabricated testimony of police spies, and agent provocateurs. The court proceedings themselves lacked all semblance of legality.

According to the court decision, which was dictated by the imperialists and the desire to suppress the growing revolutionary liberation movement of the toiling masses, Comrades Ruegg are facing a slow and torturous death in the Kuomintang prisons. This decision is also calculated to terrorize and smash the Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat which is giving leadership to the Pan-Pacific masses and is gaining wide support for the strong anti-imperialist movement in China, India and other Pacific coast countries...

But there is no power that is strong enough to stop or suppress the revolutionary liberation movement of the Chinese masses and the toilers of all other Pacific coast countries and India. The treacherous Kuomintang campaign against the Chinese Soviet districts is suffering one defeat after another. The Japanese invasion in China is meeting with stubborn resistance by the Chinese workers and peasants particularly by the Manchurian masses. All the repressions, tortures and executions of the most courageous fighters, which the imperialists and their Nanking lackeys employ to smash the revolutionary trade union movement, to stop the activity of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, are in vain.

The lynch verdict against the Comrades Ruegg, this vicious act of class savagery must be met with the most vigorous protests from the workers, peasants and intellectuals throughout the whole world; must be answered with the most determined mass actions. The struggle for the unconditional and immediate release of the Rueggs from the horrible Kuomintang dungeons must be carried on with renewed force, with tenfold energy and resoluteness. In every factory, in every trade union, among the unemployed, in the workers' quarters, in the villages, among the intellectuals—everywhere—protests, resolutions and demonstrations must be organised with the demand for their immediate release and against the Nanking lackeys of the imperialists.

Every one who sympathises with the struggles for freedom of the toiling masses of China and all other countries; every one who is against exploitation, starvation, oppression and imperialist war must join his voice to ours in loud protest against the imperialist oppressors and the Kuomintang hangmen and against the imprisonment of the Comrades Ruegg, and demand their immediate release!

The Comrades Ruegg must be saved from torturous death within the dreadful Kuomintang prisons and restored to the working-class movement!

## Communist Election Victory in Sofia.

Sofia, 26th September 1932.

The municipal elections took place yesterday (Sunday) in Sofia. 44,000 out of a total electorate of 65,000 went to the polls, or 9,000 less than at the last elections. The Workers Party won 4,000 votes and polled a total of over 14,000 votes, being the strongest party at the polls. The victory of the Workers Party has given the government an unpleasant shock. The electoral system is not a proportional one and in consequence the distribution of the seats is seldom in accordance with the polling strength of the parties. Usually this system favours the bourgeoisie, but this time it came down with a will on the side of the Workers Party, which received 21 out of a total of 35 seats, that is to say, easily the absolute majority on the municipal council. This unusual result is explained by the intense disruption of the bourgeois front. The government block received 11 seats and the Zankoff opposition 3 seats.

The press reports that the government will under no circumstances submit to the result, but will declare the elections invalid and perhaps disband the Workers Party, which has now become the strongest Party even apart from the freak distribution of seats.

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **Dnieprostroy at Work.**

**By S. Yantarov (Saporoshe).**

On August 16 the fifth aggregate of the Dnieprostroy water power works commenced working. The tremendous masses of water of the Dniepr set into motion the vanes of the turbines. Everything proceeded without any show or ceremony as part of the everyday work. Those people who have worked for months at mounting and fitting this tremendous turbine generator weighing 100,000 poods, have remained in order carefully to test the work of the aggregate, the inflow of oil, water, and air. This work of testing and examining lasted for 24 hours, and then the aggregate was declared to be all in order.

The starting to work of the fifth turbine generator completes the first series of the Dnieprostroy electric power work, one of the most important items of the Five-Year Plan. It was achieved by the collective struggle of the workers and specialists of Dnieprostroy for the erection of the most powerful water power works and the largest coffer dam in the world. The Dnieper, which drives with enormous power its masses of water between cliffs and rocks, was vanquished and its forces placed in the service of Socialism.

The building of the water power works, erected on the right bank close to the coffer dam, is over a quarter of a kilometer long. In the huge machine hall stand the powerful aggregates. At the present time the four turbines of the second series are being fitted. Behind the machine hall there run long corridors on two floors, in which are situated the compressors of the regulating system for the turbines and all the necessary electrical apparatuses. From the lower corridor one arrives at the turbine pit. The tremendous drum makes 88.25 revolutions a minute; the weight of the rotating part of the aggregate is 640,000 kilogrammes.

Left of the entrance of the power works there stands a four storey building. In the top storey there is a small hall in which the control and switch boards are situated. Here there converge all the arteries and nerves of the power works. Here the powerful generators are switched on or off, the revolutions of the turbines regulated, the quantity of water flowing through measured, the main transformer and the supply of current controlled.

This small hall is connected by thousands of threads with the aggregates and their details, with the transformers and sluices. The slightest deviation in these aggregates or their constituent parts brings into movement a whole system of signals, automatic light and whistle signals, sirens and lamps.

All the machines of the power station are lubricated with Soviet oil. The power works on the Dnieper is the largest in the world and will supply the cheapest current. The first calculations have already shown this. The kilowatt hour cost in June 0.82 Kopeks, in July 0.5 Kopeks. The starting of work by new aggregates and the growing number of consumers of current will cheapen the cost still further.

The five turbine generators of the Dnieprostroy power works have five times the output capacity of Volchovstroy. And these machines are tended by ten persons. These ten persons direct the huge power plant which already to-day supplies current amounting to 450,000 horse power. The total staff of the works numbers 143, including the charwomen telephone operators, repair workers etc.

Who are these people to whom the country has entrusted its best power works? Most of them are young workers who have passed through the Soviet high schools, who took part in the building work right from the beginning and have acquired all experience in the mounting and fitting of the aggregates.

At the head of the power works is the engineer. **W. P. Garin**, who played a leading part in the construction of the Volchovstroy water power works. He has experience extending over 30 years. When the first aggregates commenced working he came to the Party nucleus of the power works and made application to join the Party.

Only the Soviet Union, only the Bolsheviks could erect this gigantic coffer dam on the Dnieper. It takes 15 minutes to walk across the dam from one shore to the other. It will soon be possible to cross it in 3 to 5 minutes, as in three

months trams and motorbuses will be running across the dam.

It is now very quiet on the coffer dam. Instead of the thousands who worked there formerly there are only a few hundred. Three to four cranes in place of dozens. This quietness indicates that the building work will soon be completed. The coffer dam has raised the surface of the upper part of the river by 43 meters. In a few months the Dnieper will be navigable. Dozens of ships will pass through the locks every day. On the left bank a docks is being built. On the left bank the huge lock with 3 chambers, has been built. The ships which pass through the lock must be raised or sunk 37 meters. Each chamber of the lock is 120 meters long and 18 meters wide. Two ships can pass through the lock in an hour. The lock required for its construction 135,000 cubic meters of concrete. It is not quite ready but will soon be opened to traffic.

The victory of socialist construction work on the Dnieper fills the whole world with astonishment. Every day there come dozens and hundreds of foreign tourists, professors, students, delegations of foreign workers. Nobody who has seen this work can fail to express his admiration.

Dnieprostroy was planned, constructed and set going by Russian workers and specialists. It is true, the advice of Americans was sought, and 4 to 6 American experts were constantly engaged on the construction work. But hundreds of Soviet engineers took part in drawing up the plans and projects, in realising the plans; thousands of Russian workers, young and old, took part in the work.

The Party is sending the erectors of the Dnieprostroy and the builders of the dam to the Volga, there to build a new power works. The preparatory work on the coffer dam at Kamyshin and on the power works on the Lower Volga has already been commenced. We now have the task of constructing Angarastroy, etc. The workers, specialists, and Party functionaries, who have acquired experience and efficiency at Dnieprostroy form the cadres of the new power works. With their hands, with their experience, the country will achieve fresh successes in the sphere of electrification.

It is five years since Comrades **Kaganovitsch**, **Petrovsky** and **Chubarj**, along with the first building engineers and building workers, laid the foundation of the Dnieper power works on the desolate shores of Dnieper. On this foundation stone there is inscribed:

"On November 8, 1927, on the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, in fulfilment of the testament of Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat, with the forces of the toiling masses of the first Workers' State in the world, there was laid by the Government of the Soviet Union and of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic the foundation stone of the Dnieper Water Power Works, which with an output capacity of 650,000 horse power will be a powerful instrument for socialist construction in the Soviet Union."

The Bolsheviks did not require much time in order to fulfil the great testament of Lenin.

## **Moscow's Urban Development.**

**Moscow, 23rd September 1932.**

The Moscow urban administration has just completed a great project for the planned development of Moscow to a town of five million inhabitants. The street and railway plan of Moscow will be radically reorganised. Whole districts of old houses are to be broken down and modern buildings will come in their place. A great boulevard with two traffic roads will run from the Lubianka Square via the Sverdlov Square to the Soviet Square. The banks of the river Moskva which already have numerous gardens and green spaces are to be made into modern promenades. Much alteration will be made in the railway net and a new great central railway station is to be built.

## 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Maxim Gorki's Literary Activities

# Gorki, the Great Proletarian Writer.

By Kirpotin (Moscow).

40 years ago the Tiflis newspaper "Caucasus" published Maxim Gorki's first story, entitled "Makar Chudra". This was the beginning of his rich and fruitful literary work, of his rapidly increasing revolutionary influence on the progressive reading world of Russia and Europe.

The nineties of the last century were a period of social revival in Russia, of growing revolutionary upsurge, conditioned by the increasing power, activity, and consciousness of the working class. This upsurge found expression in the strikes in the nineties, led by the "fighting unions" and participated in directly by Vladimir Lenin, who had commenced his world historical activities at that time.

A panegyric of the rashness of the brave—this is the essential element of the romantic tales of the first period of Gorki's career as a writer. This is the **political standpoint** of Gorki's earliest stories, the sagas of old Isergil, etc., and this is at bottom the basis of his idealisation of the freedom-loving, ragged proletarian, as opposed to the drab Philistine existence of the humble and devoted subjects of the Russian tzars Alexander III. and Nicolas II.

The bourgeoisie have endeavoured to interpret Gorki as the bard of Nietzsche's Superman, as the bard of the absolute ruler and despot, who regards all other human beings as means for the satisfaction of his moods. Bolshevik criticism raised early protests against this representations of Gorki's innermost meaning. V. Vorovsky, in reviewing Gorki's first works, polemised against the futile effort to represent the young writer as a panegyrist of the Superman. Sorrow for humanity, for the masses, for the oppressed and exploited, this is the motive power behind all Gorki's work from his very first story onwards. When describing characters with

mighty and overwhelming passions, what Gorki actually had in mind—as pointed out by Engels in his letter to Paul Ernst—was a real human being, as opposed to that shabby creature, the Philistine, who calmly accepts every oppression and suppression. Gorki's idea was to describe a human being who has still some character, who is capable of initiative, and acts independently. The revolutionary struggle invariably gives birth to such "real" human beings. Even under the conditions of old Russia they were born, as soon as the struggle for the overthrow of absolutism commenced—and they sprang up in the greatest numbers out of the working class in its revolutionary struggle. It was simply the result of the peculiarities of Gorki's own life that at first he drew his characters of these "real" human beings from the ranks of the slum proletariat or from old gipsy legends. Later on it of course became clear to Gorki what the world of the slum proletariat really is, and that it is not here that the best champions are to be found in the struggle for decent human conditions for all humanity. His well known drama: "Night Shelter" shows his realisation of the terror and impotence of this scum of mankind, and of the opportunism of the sanctimonious, conciliatory, pacifying preaching of the pious pilgrim Luka.

Gorki's writings contain direct polemics against the bourgeois individualism of the Nietzsche type. Though clothed

in the shape of legendary figures, the first tale of the old Isergil saga is actually a story of the punishment of a Nietzsche superman, a condemnation of the inhumanity of freedom and power if they are directed solely for the satisfaction of self. Larra the son of a woman and an eagle, lives as a "superman" should live. "He was free as a bird; he came and robbed cattle, maidens, everything he wanted. He was shot at, but arrows could not penetrate his body . . . He was skilful, strong, cruel, predatory, and did not mix with human beings". But Larra in his loneliness fell into melancholy. His proud and lonely freedom, unwarmed by the proximity of other human beings, became a burden to him. He longed for death—but could not die. His punishment was in himself. He was immortal. "He cannot live, but death will not release him. There is no place for him among mankind . . . Thus he was punished for his pride."

Gorki's sympathies are not with Larra, but with Danko, the hero of another saga of old Isergil. Danko is another romantic figure, whom the writer contrasts with the wretched lives of a powerless majority of beings existing in the darkness of an impenetrable swamp. But the proud and freedom-loving Danko has other cares than his own egoistic pride. He loves people, and the question moving him is: How can I help them? He leads his brothers out of the damp and dark forest, out into the sunshine and freedom. But when at one moment those whom he is leading lose their way in the dark, and commence to murmur, he tears his flaming heart out of his breast and raises it aloft as a flaming torch, leading his brothers out into freedom at the price of his own death.

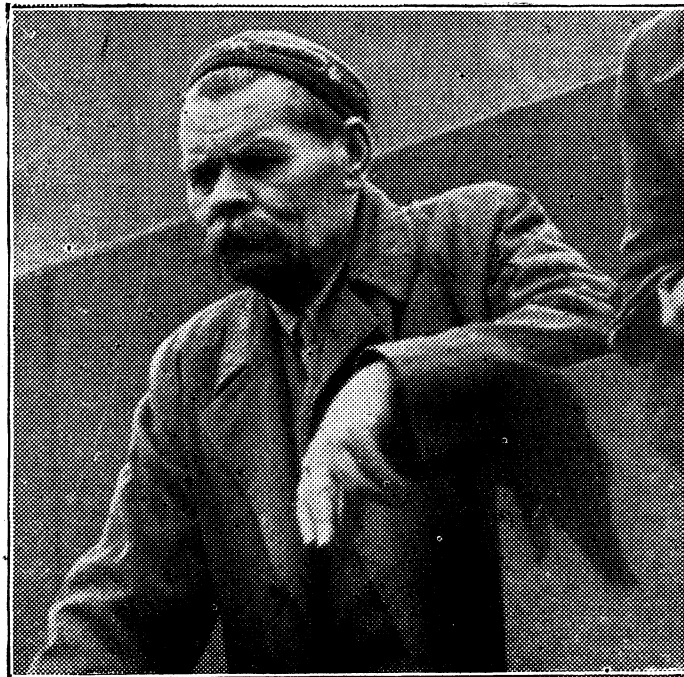
The romantic legend of Danko had its political equivalent. It preceded the "Song of the Falcon"; it met the

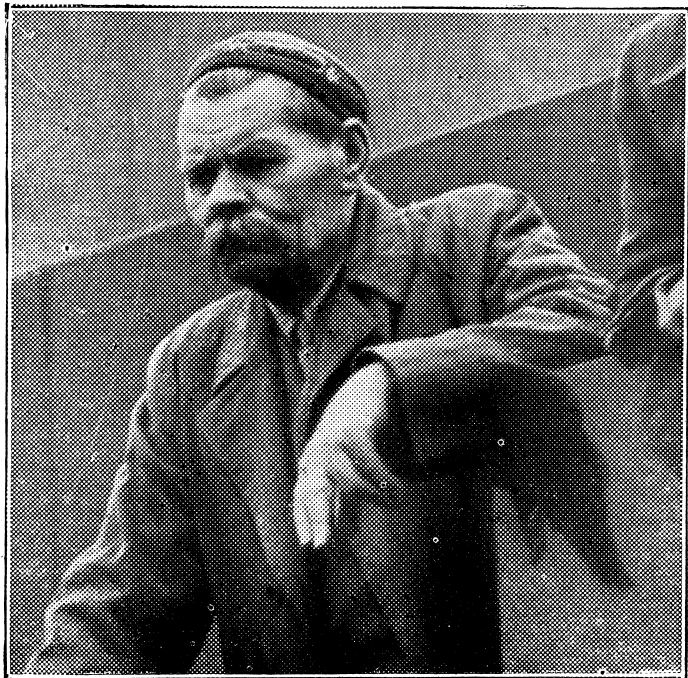
call of the moment, for it called for struggle, for heroic deeds, for that active boldness, that readiness for self-sacrifice for the common cause, for the sake of the oppressed and suffering, without which there is no revolutionary upsurge.

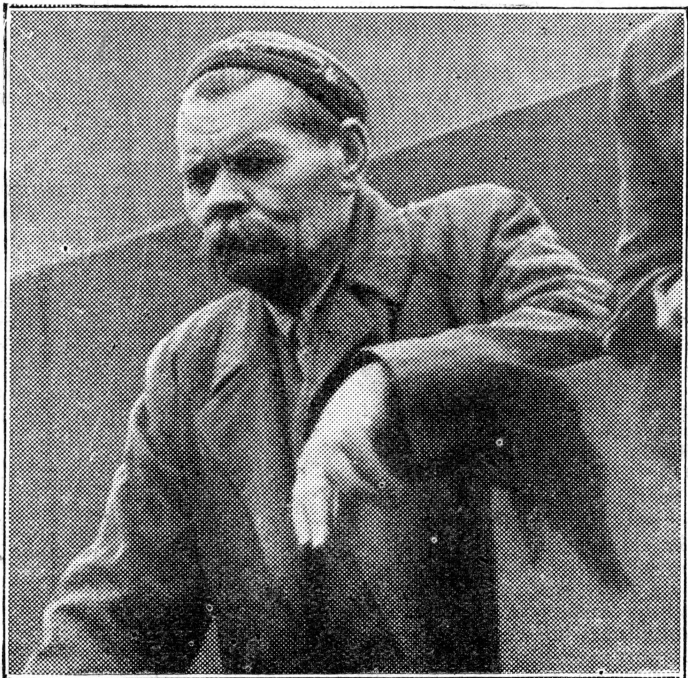
From the very beginning of his forty years of literary work, Gorki dealt clearly and definitely with the question of the antagonism between exploited and exploiters. His earliest slum proletarian stories are filled with hate and contempt for the exploiter. "A man who has always enough to eat is a beast"—says Grandfather Archip to little Lyonka in another of Gorki's tales: "He has never any pity for the starving."

From the days of his first literary activities onwards, Gorki has been the mirror and at the same time the participant in the mighty revolutionary advance in the country, that revolutionary upsurge called forth by the rise of the proletariat to the position of leading force in the revolutionary struggle which was a prelude to the events of 1905.

Gorki's first work on a larger scale was the novel "Foma Gordeyev"—an indictment against the bourgeoisie. Gorki unmasks the bourgeoisie as the source of darkness, of oppression, of dirt and misery. The two novels "Foma Gordeyev" and "The Three" convinced the bourgeois critics that they would not succeed in exploiting Gorki's work for their own ends, and that Gorki had taken his place in the rank and file







of the proletariat as their enemy. Hence the publication of "Foma Gordyev" and "The Three" saw the beginning of the piffle about the "decay" of his talent which accompanied all Gorki's subsequent literary activities. This piffle, too, may now celebrate its thirty fifth anniversary.

The novel "The Three" shows what forces Gorki is now looking to for the re-organisation of the cruel and wretched lives against which he raised the flag of revolt in his first stories. Not the path taken by Ilya, the path of trade and commerce; not the path of the humble and devoted Jacob; but the path of the **proletarian** Pavlov leads through blood and sacrifice, through years of hard struggle, to victory, to the joy and plenitude of socialist conditions and socialist life. And in the play "The Petty Bourgeois", the mechanic Nil is a realistic figure, not only enabling one to previsualise a re-shaping of life in a more or less immediate future, but evidencing Gorki's ability even at this stage, thanks to his creative and active life as a proletarian and revolutionist, to oppose this figure to the drab everyday life of the Philistine of tsarist Russia. The play "The enemies" was designated even by Plechanov as a masterly representation of the "psychology of the labour movement of to-day".

Hence it is the more interesting and instructive to note Plechanov's declinatory attitude towards Gorki's famous novel "Comrades". Formally, this novel is based on facts from the workers' movement in Zormovo in 1902. In reality, however, it is a book written under the fresh impressions of the revolution of 1905. The main characters of the story, Pavlov and his mother Pelagia, are social democrats, Bolsheviks. This Bolshevik character of the novel is the reason for Plechanov's condemnatory attitude. And yet, in spite of the opinion of the Mensheviks, this novel "Comrades", read after its publication by the class-conscious readers of the whole world, is—in spite of a few insignificant faults—a successful work of art. To-day it has still the ability to hold the reader spell bound, to-day it is still the favourite book of all proletarian readers. In complete agreement with Marxism, Gorki shows in this book how the working class, treated under capitalism like cattle, living in poverty and ignorance, develops the characteristics of humanity under the influence of the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism; how the process of this struggle awakens in the working class the consciousness of the dignity of humanity, activity, initiative, protest against oppression, exploitation, and injustice, the collective spirit, respect for women, urge after knowledge and culture. Gorki, who had rebelled against the material and mental poverty, against the brutal cruelty of life in tsarist Russia, found real humanity, really human relations, only in the proletariat, which was fighting not only for the overthrow of the monarchy, but for socialism. He found it in the ranks of that Party under whose leadership all the peoples of the earth will shake off capitalism and its brutal morality of the owning class. "Comrades", in spite of an undoubted idealisation of the positive types pictured in the novel, is not based on any preconceived wrong ideas, but points out the right path of realism in art.

Gorki's firm and unalterable faith in the victory of the revolution, his almost reverent attitude towards Party and Party work, came at just the right time. Reaction was just coming forward with its poison gases of discouragement, betrayal, and defeatism. "Comrades" carried on Party work by preparing the readers for fresh struggles, and training them in faithful allegiance to the illegal Party.

The rapprochement and friendship between **Lenin** and **Gorki** is thus easily comprehensible. Lenin had a very high opinion of Gorki's work. "**Comrade Gorki's great writings have created ties between him and the labour movement of Russia and of the whole world**" wrote Lenin, when denying the rumours spread in 1909 by the bourgeois press regarding Gorki's expulsion from the Social Democratic Party. "There is no doubt" repeated Lenin in 1917 "that Gorki possesses great talent, which has done great service to the world proletarian movement, and will continue to do so."

Gorki's memories of Lenin clearly show Lenin's warm and sympathetic feeling for Gorki, and the friendly aid and support given by him to Gorki in furtherance of work so valuable for the cause of proletarian revolution.

Gorki took part in the proletarian revolution not only by the exercise of his literary talents, but performed many other services for the Party, aided their publications, the organisation of Party newspapers, the establishment of illegal contacts, etc.

Gorki, in the course of his long and varied career, has of course committed errors. These errors found expression in his novel "The Confession", written under the influence of the "seekers after God". With perfect communist straightforwardness, Lenin pointed out to Gorki the reactionary nature of any ideas relating to the "Lord God", in whatever subtle form they may be brought forward.

At times Gorki has occupied himself profoundly with the problem of humanity, of human individuality. At times he has been made uneasy by the problem of the estrangement between highly qualified intellectuals—"Children of the Sun" as one of his actors is named—and the masses still on a lower level of culture. Often it has appeared to him that knowledge and culture might suffer under the blind anger of the quite comprehensible and necessary indignation of the masses.

The enemies of the revolution have attempted to seize upon all these details of Gorki's view of life, that they might exploit for their own ends the high prestige of the great writer of the proletariat. But the sincerity of the genius of Gorki, as writer and publicist, placing his whole powers at the service of one aim, the aim of the victory of proletarian socialism, has invariably conquered all obstacles.

These various features of Gorki's former view of life expressed in a rudimentary form, in the form of residue, those difficulties which the best intellects of mankind had to combat before the proletariat had come forward as the strongest power for the overthrow of the exploiters and the liberation of the oppressed. Gorki commenced his activities at a time when the proletariat had already seized the leadership in the revolutionary struggle. He grasped the teachings of the proletarian leadership, made them his own, joined the ranks of the fighters, and merged his light in that blinding ray with which the working class lit up its path, and the path of all the toiling masses, of all races, and all countries, to communism. Gorki's work shows how near humanity is to its emancipation; this it is which makes him a great **proletarian** writer, and therefore Lenin could write of him: "Gorki is **indubitably the greatest representative of proletarian art**; he has done much for it and will be able to do more."

Gorki is a great proletarian author who has done more than write for the class struggle of the proletariat; he has taken an active part in this struggle as publicist. All other definitions of his literary activities, whether emanating from foes or alleged friends, bear witness as a rule to the fractional narrow-mindedness or doctrinaire conceptions of the definer. **Plechanov** wrote: "M. Gorki has digested very badly the truths announced by the proletariat to the world. This explains many of his literary faults. Had he grasped these truths properly, then those heroes of his whom he commissions to proclaim these truths would not utter so many unclear things on every suitable and unsuitable occasion." This wrong and unjust judgment is based, on the one hand, on a scholarly doctrinaire application of Marxism to the creations of art, and on the other hand, on the same reasons which caused Plechanov to reckon Lenin not among the Marxists, but among the Bakunists. Gorki's Bolshevik sympathies were disagreeable to the Menshevik Plechanov. His lack of comprehension for Bolshevism, his hostility towards it, led Plechanov into a declinatory attitude in judging Gorki's literary creations. This could not be otherwise, for as Gorki himself has trenchantly remarked, he was closely bound up with the Bolsheviks, both as writer and as politician.

"I felt the true revolutionary spirit" he writes: "precisely in the 'Bolshevik', in Lenin's articles, in the speeches and work of the intellectuals taking part. I joined them as early as 1903. I did not join the Party; I remained a "partisan" of the great cause of the working class, faithful to it at all times, and I have not the slightest doubt of its final victory over the old world".

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The fortieth anniversary of the commencement of Gorki's literary work finds him in the first ranks of the great socialist construction in the Soviet Union. His colossal epos "Klim Samgin", not yet completed, is an arraignment of all those bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectual strata who have not proved capable of overcoming their class egoism, and who have remained in the ranks of the exploiters and war organisers.

Gorki, in combatting the powers of the old world, has not confined himself to his literary art. He has drawn his sword

as a proletarian publicist, and as such he has sent out his words of appeal and warning for the struggle, his words of courageous confidence in the victory. He has awakened the conscience of the best representatives of the world intelligentsia, now just beginning to realise, beneath the blows of the crisis, on which side right lies and to whom the future belongs.

At the present time, when the imperialist bandits are feverishly preparing for new wars, Gorki's voice is again heard precisely at the right moment, calling for war on imperialist war, for the last and decisive struggle for the triumph of socialism.

During the imperialist war of 1914—1918 Gorki's attitude was defeatist and internationalist. Now Gorki comes forward with fresh powers, with youthful enthusiasm, against the growing war danger. The Dutch Government deprived him of the possibility of taking part in the Anti-War Congress. But Gorki's voice is a force which the tzarist censorship could not silence, and it is not likely that the lackeys of capitalism can silence it. Gorki's appeal will be heard by all who hate war; it will strengthen the conscious enemies of the conditions causing war; it will encourage the wavering and bring them back to the right path; it will arouse many whose consciences are still asleep.

Gorki closes the speech intended for the Anti-War Congress by a call to the proletariat and to the intellectuals, to "exert their utmost powers, their utmost efforts, to organise the last and decisive struggle against the class enemy, who is destroying a culture created by centuries of work on the part of hand and brain workers."

Should the class enemy succeed once more in letting loose the dogs of war—then Gorki is resolved to set the example of the sole right revolutionary action.

"And should war break out against the class through whose powers I am living and working"—declares Gorki—"Then I shall enter the army as a simple soldier. I shall not do this because of my conviction that this class will be victorious, but because the great and just cause of the working class of the Soviet Union is my cause by right, my duty". (Article: "Cynical Inhumanity". 1929.)

For 40 years Maxim Gorki has stood in the foremost ranks of the struggle for socialism, has held his outpost of leader of the cultural revolution of the proletariat. The working class of the whole world, the great toiling masses who see in the proletariat their leader, greet with love and respect their great proletarian writer and wish him many years of fruitful work.

## Gorki Celebrations in Moscow.

Moscow, 26th September 1932.

A great meeting in honour of Maxim Gorki on the occasion of the conclusion of forty years of creative literary labour took place yesterday evening in the Big Theatre in Moscow before a house crowded to its limits. The members of the Soviet government and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were present, including Comrades Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, Kaganovitch, Postichev, Orjonnikiidze and Bubnov. Numerous delegations were present from the Moscow factories, from scientific, literary and other organisations. Henri Barbusse was also present.

When Maxim Gorki appeared at the table of the presidium the whole house rose and gave him a tremendous ovation. Gorki was welcomed by Comrade Kalinin in the name of the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The leader of the culture and propaganda department of the Communist Party Comrade Stetzki delivered a speech in which he dealt with the results of the forty years of Gorki's literary activity. He was followed by the People's Commissar for Education, Comrade Bubnov, who declared that Gorki represented the massive peak of Russian literature. Gorki's struggle for socialist literature had been a part of the struggle of the proletariat for its emancipation. Vsevolod Ivanov greeted Gorki in the name of the young authors of Russia for whom Gorki was a tremendous example. Henri Barbusse was received with tremendous applause when he congratulated Gorki in the name of the workers of France.

The decrees of the government concerning the naming of various institutions after Gorki were then read amidst applause. A theatre in Leningrad will be named Gorki Theatre, as also will a new literary high school in Moscow. A special Gorki fund for the presentation of prizes for literary endeavours is

to be founded. Gorki scholarships at various educational institutions will be founded. Nizhni-Novgorod, the town in which Maxim Gorki was born, will be re-named Gorki-Gorod. The central park for culture and recreation in Moscow will be called the Maxim Gorki Park, and the main thoroughfare of Moscow, the Tverskaya will be re-named the Tverskaya-Gorki.

Maxim Gorki then rose to express his thanks and was unable to speak for several minutes owing to the thunderous applause which greeted him. He declared that he was deeply moved at the unusual honours paid to him and that he would do his best to continue producing good work. Nowhere in the world could an author come to such high honour amongst his people. The working masses appreciated their literary men and in the Soviet Union they had an opportunity of expressing their appreciation unhindered. This appreciation was the greatest incentive to the young authors of the Soviet Union. They must learn all they could and maintain a staunch belief in the cause of the proletariat. In conclusion Gorki called for three cheers for the working class and the Communist Party.

## FROM SOVIET CHINA

### The Advance of the Chinese Red Army.

By Sh. W.

Shanghai, beginning of September.

The fifth "annihilation" campaign of the Kuomintang army against the central Chinese Soviet district, which according to the assurances of Chiang Kai Shek (who this time also took over the supreme command of the army which was said to be 600,000 strong) would clear out the Soviet district in three months, has proved just as unable as the former campaigns to shake the Chinese Soviets. To-day nearly six months since the commencement of the campaign and when many reports regarding the severe defeats and unsuccessful attacks of the Kuomintang army have already found their way into the press, a new turn is to be recorded in this campaign. The Red Army has gone to the counter-attack on nearly all of the numerous fronts and is able to report very considerable successes.

In the South of the province of Kiangsi, the Red Army has occupied the town of Hsing-Föng, Nan-Ngan-Fu and Taju. In the fighting which preceded the capture of these towns, a division commander and two regimental commanders of the Kuomintang troops were wounded, whilst a battalion leader and two sergeants were killed and a battalion disarmed.

Hankow, the capital of Hupeh is now surrounded on all sides with the exception of the approach from the Yangtse-Kiang; the Kuomintang troops cannot cross the river Han and railway traffic between Hankow and Peiping and Wuchang, and Changsha are continually interrupted. On the Hupeh front larger and smaller bodies of troops are continually going over to the Red Army.

The town of Chi-Chöng in West-Fukien had been captured, from which point the advance further to the East is being continued.

In the fighting in Kiangsi the Red Army is advancing in three main directions in order to annihilate the white troops of the Kwangtung army under the command of Chen-Chi-Chang. The main advance was in the direction of Hsin-Föng and Taju in order to drive out the troops of General Chen stationed between Kanchow and Chaokuan. The Left wing marched from Sannang in the direction of Kwangtung, and the right wing from Jenhua immediately to Chaokuan.

The main troops were again divided into three columns, which attacked the enemy simultaneously in order to compel the white troops to divide their forces. The 4th division of the second Kwangtung army, commanded by Chang Mei-shing, which defended Hsin-Föng, was completely annihilated. Whilst Wu-Chin-hun, the commander of the 11th regiment, Lu Chin Yin, the commander of the 12th regiment, a battalion leader and two company leaders were killed in the fighting, Chang-Fu, the commander of the "discipline" regiment (i. e. of the military police) and Chang Mei-shin, the division commander, sustained serious wounds. The third division, 10,000 strong commanded by Li Han Fen, was repulsed by a detachment of the Red Army numbering 2000. Hsin-Föng was occupied in the evening of July 12. On the



Left wing the Red Army captured Lung-Nanhsien on July 24 and then proceeded to attack Tungkiang.

The news of the rebellion of the 30th division of the Kuomintang army commanded by Chang-Yin-Hsiang and of the 31st division commanded by Li Min Chun, which were stationed in Ma-Chöng, was already reported some time ago in the foreign press. These two divisions were reorganised on August 2nd into a corps of the Red Army. The 33rd division, stationed only 12 miles west of Hankow, commanded by Ko Yun Lun, and the 88th division, commanded by Yu Chi Se and stationed 45 miles North-West of Hankow, as well as other troops on various sectors of the front, refused to fight against the Red Army, and small detachments of these divisions went over to the Red Army. In the province of Hupeh, which constitutes the weakest sector of the front of the Kuomintang army, the Red Army was able to gain possession of the town of Changtsefu, situated 23 miles North-East of Hankow, as well as Chatin and Yennin situated West and South of Hankow respectively.

The Red Army is at present concentrating in the first place on drawing closer the circle round Hankow-Wuchang. This action is being undertaken from the following towns and localities occupied by the Red Army: Changchöng and Kushi in the province of Honan; Huangmai, Huangchow, Huanggan and Huangkan and Machenghs in the province of Hupeh; Chinshan, Faujung, Susung and Taihuhs in the province of Anwei etc. On August 4 the Red Army, under the command of Ho Lung, began to cross the river Han and to attack Chienmen, Faujang and Yuanan from Tienmöng and Yingchöng.

The Red troops have occupied the town of Luyuen in the province of Anwei and the town of Hwapu in the province of Chekiang.

These successes of the Red Army mean that the immediate linking up of the Soviet districts in the province of Hupeh North of the Yangtsekiang and in the provinces of Anwei and Fukien with the central Soviet district, whose centre is on the frontiers of the provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien, will soon be realised.

## INTERNATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST WAR AND INTERVENTION

### The Permanent World Committee for the Fight against Imperialist War.

The Amsterdam Congress decided to set up a permanent world committee, the task of which is to continue and extend the work commenced by the Congress. The first task of this committee is to popularise the results of the Congress to the greatest possible extent and to rally all its supporters in the anti-war front.

The Committee consists of representatives of all countries and representatives of groups and organisations which actively take part in the fight against imperialist war.

The tasks of the World Committee for the fight against the imperialist war are as follows:

1. Broadest popularisation of the Manifesto and of the results of the Congress.
2. Organisation of constant mutual information on the war preparations and the concrete counter-actions against these preparations and against imperialist war.
3. Systematic and timely exposure and combating of chauvinist and nationalist incitement and calumnies in the newspapers and in public against the anti-war movement and the Soviet Union, as well as against all attempts to split the united anti-war front.
4. Collaboration in the rallying of all forces of the toiling masses and all fighters against imperialist war, no matter to what party and organisations they belong, in the anti-war front.
5. The Committee shall as far as possible get into contact with all countries which had no representatives at the Congress or whose representatives were prevented from attending the Congress, and also assist the campaign against imperialist war in these countries.
6. Collaboration in the organisation and carrying out of anti-war meetings and demonstrations on a national scale and

in the consolidation and extension of anti-war committees which already exist in the various countries.

7. The Committee, in particular its members who are organised in the trade unions, must devote the greatest attention to the initiating of a broad anti-war work in the trade unions of the workers and employees as the most important mass organisations.

8. In the event of a further intensification of the danger of war the Committee shall seize the initiative, in agreement with the anti-war committees of the various countries, to convene a new World anti-war Congress.

The composition of the World Committee, consisting of 141 members, which was elected at the final session of the World Congress, is as follows:

#### Composition of the World Committee.

##### I. France:

1. Henri Barbusse,
2. Romain Rolland,
3. Félicien Challaye,
4. Paul Langevin,
5. Paul Signac,
6. Victor Marguerite,
7. Francis Jourdain,
8. Gaston Bergery,
9. Julien Racamond (red trade unionist),
10. Tillon (red trade unionist),
11. Lapiere (reformist trade unionist),
12. Robert Laplange (reform. trade unionist),
13. Augustin Hamon,
14. Poupy (Socialist. Action),
15. Vassailles (Peasant),
16. Guy Jerrame (A.R.A.C.),
17. Senac (Combattant Rep.),
18. Marcel Cachin,
19. Mme. Duchesne,
20. Camille Dahlet (Autonomist, Alsace).
21. Serret (I.T.E. Educational Worker),
22. Maurice Serre (Student),
23. Paul Vaillant-Couturier (Author),
24. Bernard Leache.

##### II. Germany:

25. Prof. Albert Einstein,
26. Heinrich Mann,
27. Clara Zetkin,
28. Willi Münzenberg,
29. Dr. Helene Stoecker,
30. General a. D. v. Schoenaich,
31. Henschke (B.V.G., Berlin),
32. Kurt Müller (Builders Union),
33. H. Schiermacher (Engine Driver),
34. Katharina Riemenschmidt (socialdem. factory councillor),
35. Johannes Nau (Peasant),
36. Paul Peshke (Red Trade Union Opposition).

### How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.

#### The Munition Workers Strike and the Trade Unions.

"The trade unions must reject all responsibility for the outbreak of the strike and for its extension despite the zealous efforts of certain circles to place the responsibility upon them. **The trade unions do not want to endanger the defence of the country; their whole attitude since the outbreak of the war is an earnest of this.** Let those circles who in reality bear the responsibility for the destruction of our internal peace alter their attitude in view of the fruits of their action and let them place the interests of the German people as a whole over their own ambitious and arrogant aims, and let a clear-sighted government ensure that solely the interests of the German people as a whole be aimed at. If that is done then this first mass strike in Germany will be the last. Should this not be done then the future will be overcast for us all."

("Correspondence of the General Commission of the Trade Unions" of Germany on the 2nd February 1918.)

**III. Soviet Union:**

- 37. Maxim Gorki,
- 38. J. Schwernik,
- 39. Hertha Stassowa.

**IV. England:**

- 40. Tom Mann,
- 41. Alex Gossip,
- 42. Reginald Bridgeman,
- 43. F. T. Woodroffe (Railway worker),
- 44. Murphy (Seaman),
- 45. A. B. Moffat (red miner),
- 46. Havelock Ellis,
- 47. Bertrand Russell.

**V. U.S.A.:**

- 48. Theodore Dreiser,
- 49. John Dos Passos,
- 50. Prof. Dana,
- 51. Sherwood Anderson,
- 52. Fr. Borich (Red Miners' Union),
- 53. Gardner (Negro),
- 54. Mother Bloor,
- 55. Emanuel Levin (Veteran),
- 56. Upton Sinclair,
- 57. William Simons.

**VI. Ireland:**

- 58. Peadar O'Donnell,
- 59. Mrs. Charlotte Despard,
- 60. J. Larkin jun.

**VII. Belgium:**

- 61. Frans Masereel,
- 62. Jaquemotte,
- 63. . . . . (reform. Miner),
- 64. . . . . (christian worker),
- 65. Grimonpont (Fleming).

**VIII. Holland:**

- 66. De Visser,
- 67. Jan Keessen,
- 68. Van Dalsum,
- 69. Jansen (reformist trade unionist),
- 70. Neter,
- 71. Henriette Roland-Holst.

**IX. Norway:**

- 72. Egede Nissen (Postal official),
- 73. Eugen Johansen (reformist trade unionist).

**X. Sweden:**

- 74. Karin Hermelin (Editor),
- 75. Engelbrekt Anderson (Dock worker).

**XI. Denmark:**

- 76. Martin Andersen-Nexö,
- 77. Borgland (Seamen's Union).

**XII. Poland:**

- 78. Senator Boguszewski,
- 79. Frankowski,
- 80. Nesterenko (West Ukrainia),
- 81. Krimski (West White Russia).

**XIII. Italy:**

- 82. Guido Miglioli,
- 83. Germanetto,
- 84. Camioli (Socialist).

**XIV. Austria:**

- 85. Karl Kraus,
- 86. . . . .

**XV. Hungary:**

- 87. Michael Karolyi,
- 88. . . . .

**XVI. Luxemburg:**

- 89. Jean Kill (Teacher).

**XVII. Switzerland:**

- 90. Cadalbert (Railwayman),
- 91. Léon Nicole (Socialist),
- 92. . . . .

**XVIII. Spain:**

- 93. Francisco Galan,
- 94. Valle Inclan,
- 95. Commandant Franco.

**XIX. Czechoslovakia:**

- 96. Prof. Nejedly,
- 97. Krejcar,
- 98. Dr. Smeral,
- 99. Kaplitzky (Legionär),
- 100. Hadek (Red Trade Union),
- 101. Dudka (Red Trade Union),
- 102. Lutowski (reformist trade unionist),
- 103. J. Maltocha (Peasant, Slovakia),
- 104. Chaluz (Peasant, Carpatho Ukraine),
- 105. Dr. Hugo Hecht.

**XX. Turkey:**

- 106. Ferdi,
- 107. Karim Sadi.

**XXI. Yugoslavia:**

- 108. Dr. Kesmann (Croat),
- 109. . . . .

**XXII. Rumania:**

- 110. Dobrogeanu Gherea,
- 111. Cosat Foru,
- 112. . . . .

**XXIII. Macedonia:**

- 113. Prof. Vlachow.

**XXIV. Bulgaria:**

- 114. . . . .
- 115. . . . .

**XXV. Greece:**

- 116. . . . .

**XXVI. China:**

- 117. Madame Sun Yat Sen,
- 118. Koyen.

**XXVII. India:**

- 119. Patel,
- 120. Rata Singh (Hindustan Gardar Party),
- 121. Saklatvala.

**XXVIII. Japan:**

- 122. Sen Katayama,
- 123. Mido (Seamen).

**XXIX. Africa:**

- 124. Koujaté (Negro).

## **How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.**

### **The Ruling Class Also Has Changed Fundamentally.**

"It is true, this great tussle of the peoples of Europe has changed also the ruling class fundamentally. Who would have expected of Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, who appeared normally as the embodiment of bureaucratic one-sidedness and limitation, that he would praise the freedom of the people as the highest treasure and see in it the moral idea of the State policy of our day? The man of the 'God-given realities', the man who regarded the world of dominance and exploitation on the one hand and suppression on the other as the order of things ordained by Providence, the man who regarded any attempt to shake the pillars of this order as a revolt against an authority set up by God! And now in a passionate indictment of Great Britain this man has delivered the flaming words: The cause of the freedom of the peoples of Europe is now defended by the German sword!

The German Prime Minister is absolutely in the right in his indictment of Great Britain."

(The "Arbeiter-Zeitung", the central organ of the Social-Democratic Party of Austria, on the 18th September 1914.)

**XXX. Indonesia:**

125. Asis.

**XXXI. Latin America:**

126. General Sandino.

**XXXII. Australia:**

127. Jean Devanny.

**XXXIII. Representatives of Women and Youth, of munition factories and international organisations:**

128. Karin Michaelis (Women),
129. Traute Hölz (Women),
130. Elsa Paulsen (Women),
131. Hahn (Youth),
132. Ondrias (Youth),
133. Pritzel (Sport),
134. Dr. Boenheim (Physicians),
135. Hugo Gräf (International of Ex-Servicemen),
136. Albert Walter (International Seamen and Harbour Workers),
137. A representative of the workers of the Krupp firm (Essen, Germany),
138. A representative of the workers of the Kuhlmann works, Paris,
139. A representative of the workers of the Skoda works, Pilsen (Czechoslovakia),
140. A representative of the workers of Vickers Ltd., London.
141. A representative of the workers of a Polish munition firm.

The representatives of Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece, as well as the representatives of the above-mentioned five munition works, shall be nominated according to the proposals of the national committees of these countries, which proposals are to be submitted to the Bureau of the World Committee.

The World Committee held its inaugural session in Amsterdam after the conclusion of the World Congress and decided to set up a permanent Secretariat with its seat in Paris. In addition, the World Committee decided to set up a Bureau consisting of 22 members representing the most important countries and meeting from time to time.

## **How the Social Democracy Fought Against War.**

### **"Military Authority—a Part of the Sacred Order of Things."**

"Our children and our children's children will tell of how the supposedly soulless mechanism of military authority proved to be nothing but a part of that sacred order of things which Friedrich Schiller called the daughter of Heaven. Authority alone is not enough, but without authority there can be no victory. The maintenance of order alone is not enough, but without it everything would be lost . . .

And another thing makes those who have remained at home happy and light-hearted: Now we can see on the streets to what purpose the millions and milliards demanded year after year in the military budget of the government have been used. Flesh of our flesh and blood of our blood, our sons are marching through the streets, well clothed, well booted, and well equipped. And those who in the past let fall many a sharp word against the ever-insatiable wants of militarism are now secretly thanking God that everything was granted by the Reichstag even against their will, for otherwise where should we be now?"

(Fendrich, social democratic deputy in the Prussian Diet, published in the journal "Der Krieg". Compare also Heyde: "The German Socialist Workers in the World War", page 13.)

## BOOK REVIEWS

### **Theodor Plivier: "The Kaiser Went, the Generals Remained."**

By W. N. Clark (Berlin).

Theodor Plivier, one of the young proletarian writers of Germany, is already known to English readers through the translation of his war novel "Kaiser's Coolies". In his latest work "Der Kaiser ging, die Generale blieben" (The Kaiser Went, the Generals Remained), published by the Malik Verlag, Berlin, he vividly portrays in the form of a novel the events from the beginning of October to the 9th November 1918, those critical days which determined the fate of the German revolution.

The German West Front is crumbling up, the country is at the end of its resources. Prince Max von Baden has taken over the chancellorship in order to liquidate the war on the best possible terms and, with the loyal support of the social democracy, to save what can still be saved of the Hohenzollern regime.

Plivier gives us some remarkable pictures showing the situation prevailing in Germany at that time: the war-weariness of the population and their hopes of a speedy peace, the unending queues at the shops and markets, the influenza epidemic, the frightful mortality, the discussions among the workers in the factories and workshops. And the Social Democratic Party, when even the generals realise that the war is hopelessly lost, still calling upon the workers to hold out, to subscribe to the war loans, and doing everything to hold back the masses from revolutionary action.

As was the case in the Russian revolution of 1905, the signal for revolt comes from the fleet. When the German Admiralty, as a last desperate gamble, order the High Seas Fleet to put to sea to attack the British Fleet, the lower ratings mutiny, the stokers extinguish the furnaces, and the huge fighting monsters, deprived of steam, become helpless masses of drifting scrap iron. The revolutionary movement in the fleet develops as a dialectical process as described by Lenin. The Naval authorities resort to repressive measures, which in turn serve to release greater revolutionary energy. The mutinous sailors are brought on shore and conveyed to the already overcrowded prisons. Their comrades organise demonstrations calling for their release and putting forward other demands. They are shot down by officers disguised as a naval patrol. This is the signal for a general revolt. In Kiel the sailors seize possession of the ships, disarm the officers and take over power. Noske, the future bloodhound, arrives hurriedly from Berlin in order to "lead" the movement, i. e., to keep it from spreading and if possible to throttle and betray it. He does everything to spread a spirit of defeatism among the insurgent sailors, to paint a gloomy picture of their "isolated position", and, as agent of the bourgeoisie, to obtain their capitulation on the cheapest possible terms. The sailors, for the most part without any political experience and guided solely by their proletarian instinct, perceive the absolute necessity of spreading the movement to the other naval stations and also to the workers and soldiers. In contrast to the pessimistic talk of Noske, who is all the while in secret negotiation with the authorities, the sailors declared: "We have the ships and big guns in our hands and can smash to pulp anything sent against us". Others suggest steaming to Kronstadt to join the Bolsheviks, taking with them some of the big Hamburg American liners, and coming back with an army.

In Kiel Noske succeeds in "keeping the movement in hand", and in order the better to do so, gets himself appointed Governor of the Kiel Fortress. But the movement spreads. Soldiers councils are set up in Lübeck, Bremen, Cuxhaven and other towns. Everywhere the sailors are the harbingers of the revolution. Brunswick is typical of other places. Here everything is ripe for the revolution and the seizure of power; the workers are only waiting for the order from Berlin—an order which never comes. Five sailors who have arrived, after waiting impatiently for a few days, determine to wake things up a bit. The five of them, accompanied by their friend Agnes, a cafe singer, start marching through the streets with linked arms, singing a popular war time song. They are soon joined by a number of workers and soldiers. In ten minutes the little

group has grown to a big crowd making its way to the centre of the town. The crowd becomes a huge "demonstration which within half an hour frees the prisoners, before which the police capitulate, to which the soldiers go over and before which the Duke of Brunswick yields up his crown".

In **Berlin**, in the meantime, the situation is rapidly developing. Reports of the successes of the revolutionary movement in the provinces are coming in from all sides; trainloads of insurgent soldiers and sailors are arriving. The Social Democratic Party insists on the Kaiser's abdication as the only means of saving the monarchy and staving off a workers' revolution. As the rearguard of the bourgeoisie it is conducting a desperate struggle and resorting to every manoeuvre in order to keep the masses behind it and retain control of the movement. In the "Vorwärts" printing works two sets of leaflets are being held ready: one calling upon the workers to come out on the streets, and the other telling them to remain at work.

"The signal to action is given not by the trade unions, not by the social democracy nor the Independent Socialists, but it is left to the little illegal group of revolutionary "Obleute" (shop stewards) supported by the Spartacus people, to summon the Berlin workers to the fight." Everywhere the forces of the State give way before the insurgent proletariat; the troops go over to the workers, the newspaper offices are occupied and placed under workers control, the red flag floats over the government buildings. The Kaiser's abdication arrives, but this gesture is no longer able to save the situation. At the critical moment **Scheidemann**, in order to forestall **Karl Liebknecht**, who is reported to be proceeding to the Kaiser's Palace in order there to proclaim the German Soviet Republic, proclaims the German (bourgeois democratic) Republic from the balcony of the Reichstag. The announcement is received with the wildest enthusiasm by the masses; the four years of unsurpassed treachery and betrayal are forgotten; the credit of the social democracy is restored and capitalist Germany is saved.

The book concludes with a description of a secret telephone conversation between **Ebert**, who has succeeded Prince Max von Baden as Chancellor, and General **Groener**, at which it arranged that "the Army, which needs the Social Democratic Party in order to restore the lost authority, shall support the new government with its guns and bayonets". Provision is thus made for the subsequent bloody crushing of the Soviet Republic in Bavaria and of the workers and soldiers councils.

In an afterword, **Plivier** writes that "the attitude of the German people and especially of the Youth to the question of the lost war and the rise of the German Republic proves that the historically so important events of the autumn of 1918 have remained unknown to broad circles". This applies to a still greater extent to the English public, especially to the generation which has grown up since the war and to whom **Noske**, **Scheidemann** and **Ebert** are mere names. A knowledge of the events of 1918 is necessary however to a proper understanding of the present situation in Germany and the phenomenal growth of national socialism in the past few years. The treachery and crimes of the social democratic leaders then and since have provided a fruitful soil for the social demagoguery of the national socialists and their denunciation of "Marxism". It is to be hoped therefore that **Plivier's** work will soon appear in an English edition.

There has been much speculation as to the causes of the failure of the workers' revolution in Germany in 1918 when there existed all the objective conditions for the establishment of the workers power. In **Plivier's** account of the events in Berlin, of the confusion and lack of coordination of the revolutionary forces, there is plainly evidenced the fatal lack of a centralised revolutionary leadership such as only a firmly established and organised revolutionary party, closely connected with the masses, could give. During the war **Lenin** pointed out that it was the tragedy of the German labour movement that the split in the social democracy had not been effected before the war. When the war broke out there was no organisational basis for the anti-militarist and revolutionary elements, whilst the whole of the social democratic party apparatus became part of the war machine. The revolutionary spontaneity of the masses, in which **Rosa Luxemburg** placed her faith and of which the German revolution furnished so many glorious examples, could not in the very nature of things make up for the lack of a revolutionary bolshevik party. This is one of the chief lessons which the international working class has to draw from the "German October".

## COMMEMORATION DAYS

**Emile Zola.**

(On the Thirtieth Anniversary of his Death.)

By Paul Friedländer.

In the night of September 28, 1902, the great writer **Emile Zola** died at the age of 63. His life was cut short just when he was working on a new series of social novels, in which there should ripen the fruit of his development into a critic and accuser of bourgeois society, into a champion of Socialism.

**Zola**, who was born in Paris on April 2, 1840, after a care-free childhood spent in the South of France, had to fight hard for years for his profession and his bread. When he was 25 years old, he decided to devote his life to a great literary work: to write the epos of the bourgeois society of his time. He carried out his plan with tenacious energy. The sensational success of his novels brought him also material security, so that he could devote himself wholly to this work. After the conclusion of a 20-volume series of novels, the "**Rougon-Marcquart**", he came to be regarded as the representative epic writer of bourgeois France.

It was the **Dreyfus** case which made him from an artist into a fighter, from an observer into an accuser. His famous Open Letter to the President of the French Republic, "J'accuse", had the effect of a bombshell. It was an indictment of the French Republic and of its military and judicial apparatus. **Zola** was aware of the tremendous effect his letter would have. He himself declared at the conclusion of his indictment: "The act which I accomplish is a revolutionary means in order to accelerate the explosion of Truth and Justice". The effect of his action was enormous. There set in an unsurpassed incitement against **Zola** and his fellow-champions. He was sentenced to imprisonment and had to go into exile. Then the Supreme Court, which could no longer withstand the exposures and proofs, cancelled the verdict against **Zola**. **Zola** himself, who during his earlier creative period refrained from any statement of political views and, together with the so-called naturalist school, had condemned the **political** writer, now became a conscious critic of society! He drew the **consequences** from his already completed work, in which were described the conditions of bourgeois society. Death prevented him from completing his second great work.

In his recently published book on **Emile Zola**, **Henri Barbusse** sets himself the task of examining the life work of **Zola** in regard to his importance for our time and making clear to the present generation: "the plain appeal which **Zola's** life speaks".\*)

**Zola's** life synchronised with the flourishing period of the capitalist social order. He was witness to the "joie de vie" and orgies of the prosperous bourgeoisie, and he saw at the same time how there was germinating in its womb the seeds of its disintegration. **Zola** came to realise bourgeois society not from the social classes and their struggle, but from the **individual**, from the **family** and their fate. Thus he lacked the **key** to the historical meaning of the time in which he lived and which he portrayed. Nevertheless he was able to produce in rich colours and in epic breadth a colossal work dealing with the life and fate of a family, which rounded off into a picture of society.

The epoch-making, in fact in many respects revolutionary, importance of **Zola's** novels arises, as we can so rightly recognise to-day, less out of the form than out of the **content**. The substance, that was that enthralling and stirring "enquiry", in the form of a novel, into the natural and social history of a family in the second Empire, a family which **branched off into all classes and strata of society**. Thus the great series of novels became a rousing document that discovered the new land of social literature. The substance, therefore, gave the historical value to his work; it determined also the artistic presentation and not vice versa.

This statement that **Zola's** breaking through the conventions of the novel resulted from the substance of his work, is most convincingly confirmed by the fact that precisely those novels of his dealing with the **Rougon-Marcquart** family had a rousing, in fact sensational, effect, they tore aside the

\*) "Zola" by **Henry Barbusse**, Paris 1932, Librairie Gallimard.

curtains from certain conditions in bourgeois society which up to then had remained hidden. It was the novel "**L'assommoir**" (Drink) which made Zola famous at one stroke. Zola's success, however, was not a case of luck. It was much rather the merited success of a discoverer. In "**L'assommoir**" he discovered the **working class**, their environment, their life, their cares and sorrows. It is **not** of decisive importance that Zola only succeeded in penetrating the slum quarters and the haunts of drunkenness, and passed over the class conscious and fighting workers. It was not until much later that there dawned on him the problem of class society. Nevertheless, and this is the important thing, Zola's description of the misery and collapse of the worker Coupeau and his wife Gervais had a stirring effect on broad masses and led them first to an **understanding** of the social struggles of the present.

Zola's novel of the life of the miners, "**Germinal**", was a further and bold advance into the social new land. Even if here also he went to work with painful reserve in order not to write as a moralist and politician but only as an epic writer, he could not do otherwise than lay his finger on the frightful social wounds and involuntarily—in describing the strike—wrote as a moralist, in fact as a socialist.

Zola reached the pinnacle of his fame with his novel "**Nana**". On the day it appeared 55,000 copies were sold. This success also is not surprising. In scarcely any other work does Zola describe so drastically the rottenness and commencing disintegration of bourgeois circles as in this book. This novel had above all a disintegrating effect on the whole of bour-

geois society and shook the self-confidence of the bourgeoisie, whilst it inspired its grave-diggers with courage.

Zola's series of novels on the Rougeon-Marquart family and his later works, "**Three cities**", "**Lourdes**", "**Rome**" and "**Paris**", already permeated with social criticism, are in spite of Zola's lack of Marxist perception a **piece of historical materialism in the form of art**. This perception came to Zola himself at the time when the fight against naturalism became the slogan of the French literary world, and when he was abandoned by his fellow-writers. "**Fight against naturalism**" was, of course, only a concealing slogan; behind it there was hidden **reaction**. The clinging to bourgeois society, the defence of the Church, barracks and exploitation, led to the fight against naturalism, behind which there was rightly scented, socialism and **revolution**. Zola did not give way here. The Dreyfus affair, in which the corrupt system of the bourgeois State produced a blossom of a special kind, converted Zola into a socialist and fighter.

At the end of his life Zola had advanced so far that he declared: "After a long portrayal of reality it is now necessary to work for the **morrow**." In his novel "**Work**", he shows the aim: the organised socialist society. He wanted, however, to point the way. He declared: "On the one side the Conservatives, the people of the past, on the other side the people of the future, the **Revolutionaries**." He wished to throw in his lot with the revolutionaries. The book on which he was engaged when death took the pen from his fingers was to help to open a new period of the fight of the working people.

## ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

# **The Situation of the Working Class in Austria.**

By **Guido Z a m í s** (Vienna).

### **1. Starvation in the Heart of Europe.**

For years beggars have been a characteristic feature of Vienna. To-day, however, there is added something which is reminiscent of the traditional misery in Spain, South Italy or the Balkans: more and more children, often quite small, accompany the groups of beggars. Frequently in the same street one sees two or three women, each with a baby in arms, with humble glances beseeching the passers-by for that aid which the State refuses them. In addition, one sees children of school age and below school age helping their parents in their alms-seeking efforts. They collect the money or add their piping child's treble to the voices of their parents.

Among the children prostitution is not a privilege of the female sex. In the outer districts of Vienna, boys who have just left school and find no work, are quite aware that their bodies can fetch a price.

This is the "city of the child", the pride of the II. International, of which its social democratic burgomaster **Seitz** once boasted that it did not allow a single school child to go hungry. 12,000 children are provided with a meal each day by the schools...

One has only to go to the markets in the proletarian districts and see the children picking the rotten food up out of the gutter and from under the stalls of the fruit sellers, in order to get an idea how "well-fed" they are; or to see how they gather apricot stones in order to break them open and eat the kernel.

In a park in Simmering, in East Vienna, some children fixed up a "circus". Price for admittance, 2 Groschen (about half a farthing). They performed what they described as a "drama from life". The father is unemployed, the children hungry. The father brings home food, but the joy of the family is short-lived. A policeman immediately appears and arrests the father; he has stolen the food. When the children were asked what they did with the proceeds from the "circus", they replied: we buy fruit.

Food, food, food—that is the content of all the wish-dreams of this generation of children. A little while ago a school teacher, as an exercise in composition, told the class to write an answer to the question: What would I do if I had a shilling? The overwhelming majority of the replies were to the following effect: I would buy something to eat.

One of the recent numbers of the "Illustrated Red Week" published a letter from children living in a district in the neighbourhood of Vienna, asking for the gift of a football. The children, the letter stated, had had the intention of buying one themselves, and for this purpose had formed a "savings club". They wrote however:

"Unfortunately here in Strashof the parents of most of the young pioneers are so poor that on many days there is not even a bite of bread in the house, so nothing came of our savings club."

The consequences of this hunger, of this systematic under-feeding of children are obvious even to the layman. In the streets of the working class districts of Vienna, or even in the provincial districts, in which nearly 100 per cent, of the population are unemployed, we see the same pale, hollow faces of the children, which bring back the bad memories of the war years. There are, however, also medical investigations which confirm this comparison.

A group of social-democratic doctors visited six industrial districts in Lower Austria in order to examine the children there. Their reports are a collection of documents on the progressive starvation of the industrial population of this country.

The report on **Götzendorf** states:

"Most of the children are underfed. A quarter of the children have bad teeth. Most of the babies were not fed at the breast. We saw strikingly undersized and weak babies, but no serious cases of rickets, tuberculosis or scrofula.

The doctor who investigated conditions in the neighbouring village of **Mittendorf** stated:

"Almost all the small children have rickets; nearly 50 per cent. have very bad teeth. A striking feature is the number of cases of diseases resulting from dirt. The greater part of the children are insufficiently clothed."

This is what the doctor records in Summer. What will become of these children in Winter, if their clothes are not sufficient even for the warm season of the year?

In **Marienthal** no cases of diseases due to uncleanness were found, but on the other hand there were very many cases of glandular disease and the danger of progressive tuberculosis. The teeth of 64 children out of a hundred were unsound.

In **Wilhelmsburg**, another part of Lower Austria, it was

found that 51 per cent. of the children showed symptoms of tuberculosis; 21 per cent. had curvature of the spine. In Trumau it was found that the greater number of the children showed physical defects: serious cases of rickets, pronounced danger of tuberculosis, orthopedic faults, while more than 53 per cent. of them had bad teeth. In Güntzelsdorf-Schönau, 50 per cent. of the children examined showed symptoms of rickets.

The diversity of the results of the investigations in the six localities in question is very easily explained. They correspond to the different periods which have elapsed since the works situated in the locality were closed down. That is to say, the children in the industrial districts of Austria are all undergoing the same development, but they are not all at the same stage. But all of them have the same prospect of reaching before long that terrible state of starvation which during the war and shortly afterwards decimated the rising generation with scurvy, tuberculosis and rickets. The starvation, which is expressed in decay of the teeth, renders the child's body incapable of resisting infantile ailments and tuberculosis.

At this investigation it was found that 60 to 83 per cent. of the children were underweight owing to under-nourishment. Even at the end of the war the percentage was only a few points higher. At that time, out of 50,000 school children examined in Vienna it was found that 91 per cent. were underfed. How long will it be before this figure is again reached?

That is capitalist civilisation, which calmly allows children to starve, in whose name, however, preparations for war are being made against that State which not only does not know the barbarity of the starving child, but whose achievements in the sphere of care for the child has had to be recognised even by its most bitter opponents.

## 2. How the Unemployed Live in Austria.

As the official statistics embrace only that small number of unemployed who are in receipt of unemployment benefit or old age pensions, or who at least voluntarily sign on at the Labour Exchange every week, they do not give us a correct picture either of the absolute number of unemployed or of their relative increase or decrease. The unemployed who have run out of benefit, the unemployed agricultural workers and the large army of the youth, increasing from year to year, who have left school at a time when capitalist economy has no need of them, are not included in the statistics.

This fact has to be borne in mind when examining the official returns on the development of unemployment in Austria. At the end of May, the number of unemployed in receipt of benefit was 271,481; at the end of June 265,040 and at the end of July 266,365. Thus in the middle of Summer, during the building season and the tourist season, the number of unemployed has begun to increase. The actual number of unemployed can be put at nearly 600,000, i. e., one tenth of the whole population of Austria.

Social democratic sources give the number of young unemployed workers under 21 years at 40,000 to 50,000, of whom only 27,400 are drawing benefit.

The scales of benefit are terribly low. A skilled worker, provided he can prove that he has uninterruptedly paid the prescribed occupation tax, receives unemployment benefit for 12 weeks. This amounts, for married workers to 20.30 shillings (an Austrian shilling is about 8 pence) a week and 40 Groschen for each child. In addition, he receives once a month a so-called rent relief, amounting to one day's benefit, i. e. about 3 shillings. A single man receives considerably less, namely 12 shillings a week. Unskilled workers, women and especially young workers, often come under a lower wage category and receive correspondingly lower amounts of benefit.

After receiving ordinary benefit for 12 weeks the unemployed worker is transferred to emergency benefit I., and after a further 18 weeks to emergency benefit II., with considerably reduced scales of benefit. Thus a married man in receipt of emergency benefits gets 14.45 shillings, and a single man 9 shillings a week.

In estimating the purchasing power of these few shillings it must be remembered that Austria, thanks to the

high protective duties on food stuffs, and other impositions, is the dearest country in Europe.

Some of the calculations made by the Vienna Arbeiterkammer, which were published some time ago in the press, give us a glance at the household budget of an unemployed worker drawing benefit.

We take the following as an example of the family budget of an unemployed skilled worker. A.G., a locksmith's assistant, 40 years old, has a wife and a five year old child to support. In addition to unemployment benefit, he, along with his wife, manage to do occasional work, so that the total family income amounts on an average to 90 shillings a month. His income, therefore, is not far short of a fully employed worker, that is to say it constitutes one of the most favourable cases of an unemployed worker. He pays 17 shillings a month for rent, 14.80 shillings for light and heating, 5.35 shillings for washing and for cleaning, on "personal requirements" he spends perhaps 1.10 shillings. His expenditure of 8.44 shillings on tramway fares is unusually high, but is explained by the fact that the man has not yet lost hope that, by continually hunting about, he will be able to find a job. Thus before this family has bought a piece of bread, 36.70 shillings out of the month's income have gone.

With the remainder he purchases the following in the course of a month: 2½ kg of flour, 5 loaves of bread, 7 rolls, 11½ litres of milk, 1 kg. of lard, 1½ kg. of sugar, 8 eggs, 20 dekagrammes of butter, 1 kg of meat (horse flesh of course). Further, 15 kg of potatoes, half a kg of coffee, and other trifles. In spite of the income of 90 shillings a month, the diet of this family is so poor that the child shows all the signs of undernourishment.

Another case, published by the "Arbeiterwille", the social democratic paper in Graz: an iron smelting worker, who has to maintain a family of eight (six children), receives emergency relief amounting to 18.40 shillings every 14 days. This case, however, is more favourable than the average, as the man is in receipt of a pension of 50 shillings a month. Nevertheless, when one has to maintain such a big family on 86 shillings a month, flour and hominy must form the chief articles of diet. Now and again they manage to purchase a little horse flesh.

With all their efforts the daily diet of this family does not contain more than 7,570 calories. The most cautious calculations will show, however, that the family needs 15,686 calories a day in order to maintain their strength even when not working. The deficiency in nourishment of 8,116 calories a day exceeds the amount of calories consumed! In addition, there is a lack of vitamine-containing foods, such as fresh vegetables, eggs, meat.

One should not assume that it is the married unemployed who suffer the greatest hunger and privation! The unmarried unemployed suffer no less, for the above-mentioned fixed outgoings for lodgings, washing, street car fares etc., have also to be met by the unmarried unemployed who is not living with his family. In his case they will probably be higher, although he draws considerably less benefit. A furnished room in Vienna costs at least 30 shillings a month, and for the use of a bed alone 5 shillings a week is demanded. The cost of food, of course, also works out dearer. The only warm meal the great majority of the unemployed have is in most cases the early morning coffee in a coffee house, which costs, not including bread, 35 groschen. If, however, the unemployed workers eats only two rolls at breakfast, then breakfast alone will cost him 15.30 shillings a month. There remains over for dinner and supper about 20 shillings for the whole month. With this there can be purchased six kilogrammes of inferior sausage and 7½ loaves of bread, nothing more. That is 200 grammes of sausage and a quarter of a loaf a day.

What must be the plight of the young unemployed drawing only 7 to 9 shillings a week, whose parents are also unemployed and are therefore unable to give them any support? What must be the lot of the unemployed who come under the lower rates of benefit and have to maintain a family? They belong, together with those unemployed who have run out of benefit, to the great army of starving who wander about the streets of our towns, to that ever increasing number of unemployed who never know any day whether they will manage to get something to eat for themselves and their families by the evening.