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The Change in the English Tactics in the Near East.

By *Karl Radek*.

The Allied Note to Turkey of the 23rd September differs fundamentally from all the other decisions and notes of the Allies which have been drawn up during the last few years in reference to the Turkish question:—

"The three Allied Governments request the Government of the Great National Assembly to kindly inform them whether it is disposed to send immediately a fully authorized representative to a conference."

"The three Allied Governments take the opportunity of declaring that they endorse the efforts of Turkey again to obtain Thrace up to Marza and Adrianople."

"The three Allied Governments will willingly support the apportionment of the rightful frontiers to Turkey."

They wish to "secure the peaceful and regular restoration of the Turkish Power".

"The three Allied Governments will willingly support the admission of Turkey into the League of Nations."

Finally, "the Allied Governments are convinced that their call will be heard and that they will be able to cooperate with Turkey in the restoration of a peace for which the whole of civilized humanity is longing."

Six weeks ago Lloyd George spoke of Turkey in the most irreconcilable tones. He declared that all promises which have been made to Turkey during the war with regard to the inviolability of her territory have lost their validity owing to the fact that Turkey had gone on with the war until her complete defeat. Turkey must be annihilated, he said, and almost called upon the whole of Christendom to take up the campaign against the Turkish barbarians. Today the Turks are members of cultured humanity, and they will even have the honor conferred upon them of being admitted into the League of Nations.

The Turks are a very polite people and can also appreciate the politeness of others. The amiable note of the Allies was probably read with great pleasure in Turkey. But they draw strange conclusions therefrom, namely, that the cultured people adopt cultured language towards the Eastern peoples precisely at the moment when the barbarian East is holding the butts of its rifles under the nose of the cultured people. The whole of the East, the Middle East as well as the Near East, follow the notes of the Allies with the greatest attention, and will not fail to make use of the lesson as to how Turkey forced the English to politeness.

At the same time the people of the East are calculating politicians. They know from their own experience, that one must discriminate between the amiable form and the contents. And if they had not known this, Lloyd George himself would have assisted them in this respect. After Lord Curzon had already signed this most endearing of the Oriental notes, Lloyd George said the following in an interview: "*Tchanak, however, we will strongly retain in our own hands, and we will send our ships from Gibraltar and Malta to the Dardanelles*". Not satisfied with that, the *Daily Chronicle*, the official organ of Lloyd George prints two articles (by Lloyd George's own special journalist), which clearly lay before British public opinion the ABC of the English Dardanelles policy.

In the first of these two articles he declares that the English hold possession of the Dardanelles on the basis of the armistice conditions of the 30th October, 1918. The first paragraph of the Armistice empowers the Allies to occupy the Bosphorus, and the seventh empowers them to occupy all the important strategic points about the Dardanelles. While he declares that the Allies must therefore keep the Dardanelles, he writes that "the Freedom of the Dardanelles will be best secured by the Treaty of Sèvres, which provides that the Dardanelles are to be continually open and must not be occupied

by anyone without the sanction of the League of Nations". This last sentence reveals the motive of the invitation of Turkey into the League of Nations.

After the victory of the Turkish arms, it is no longer possible for either England or France to grant a mandate on the Dardanelles. One must put the thing somewhat more amiably. Turkey will be accepted into the League of Nations, after which the League of Nations will authorize the English or the French fleet to watch over the Dardanelles. As no other power will have the right to maintain a fleet there, the Dardanelles will thus remain in the hands of England and France. The invitation to Turkey into the League of Nations means the invitation of the ox to the butchers. In most cases it is not usual for the ox to go to the butchers in order to drink tea, but what he usually gets there, is a crack on the head.

The author of this article, however, reveals not only the purpose of the invitation of Turkey into the League of Nations, but also the idea of the whole amiable note of the Allies. In his article: "*Why must we remain in Tchanak?*", he enters into controversy with the French press which reports that according to the opinion of Field Marshall Foch, the Allies require for the defence of the Dardanelles 100,000 soldiers, whilst they only have at their disposal somewhere about 27,000 that is, 12,000 English and 15,000 French troops. French military circles reckon that the Turks can bring 70,000 men against the Dardanelles and that the British fleet in consequence of the geographical situation of the country, could remain neither in the Straits nor in the Black Sea on account of the danger of being cut off. In addition to this the Turks can cause very great damage to the English by means of their artillery. The English journalist replies to this: "The French say: 'do not attempt to retain Tchanak, as this could not prevent the Turks from reaching the Dardanelles, and if they reach the Dardanelles your fleet will not be in a position to fight against them. Therefore abandon Tchanak and allow the Turks to come to the Dardanelles. They can place their guns on the mountains, they can hinder the freedom of movement of our fleet, they can place before us the alternative: either to withdraw the fleet from the Straits or to expose it to the danger of being cut off. If the Turks should retain Tchanak in their hands, they would exclude the English fleet from taking any part in the decision; without the fleet, however, the decision of the question would be in the hands of the land army. Turkey, at present supported by a strong army, would have greater prospects of success.'" That is the underlying motive of the suggestion of a conference and of the amiable tone of the Allies.

If England, who at present only has 12,000 troops at her disposal in the Dardanelles, loses the Asiatic coast of the Dardanelles, the English fleet will no longer be able to dictate the decisions of the international conference. Then the conference may end with the success of Turkey. It is therefore necessary that time is first gained. The Dutch merchants in the 17th century crawled on all fours before the Japanese Shogun and declared on that occasion that if advantage is to be gained from it one must creep on all fours. The English policy is no less real. If it is a question of gaining time in order to send troops to the Dardanelles, and to Thrace, Lord Curzon can be very amiable.

The note of the Allies to Turkey is as similar to the note of the same Lord Curzon to Soviet Russia in April 1920 with regard to Wrangel, as one egg is no another. "The English Government—wrote Lord Curzon at that time—will be happy if they can say to the English people, that the Russian Government is granting an amnesty to Wrangel's soldiers out of humanity." The English Government also offered itself as mediator and played the part of mediator until France could send the technical reinforcements to Wrangel necessary for his attack. And who does not recollect the friendly and humane notes of the Allies from Boulogne when the Red Army stood before Warsaw? And when it was compelled to retreat from Warsaw, comrade Kameniev was obliged to leave London.

The note of the Allies is no sign of an alteration of their policy towards Turkey; it is only an attempt to postpone their decision until the English reinforcements arrive. Then it will be possible to submit the bill to Turkey: the Dardanelles shall

remain in the hands of the League of Nations, i. e., the English fleet; the disarmament of Turkey; capitulation and indemnity.

Finally, there is a trifle which deserves to be mentioned. The question why Russia is supporting Turkey is answered by the journalist as follows: "Not to speak of other reasons, Russia herself has dreams of Constantinople and believes that one day she will have better prospects of conquering Constantinople, if between her and her old adversary there stands no international law." The author is much too intelligent a man to believe even for a moment in what he writes. He estimates the sagacity of the Turkish people very badly, however, if he hopes to be able to convince the Turks that Lloyd George who pursued the Gladstonian policy of annihilation towards Turkey, will put himself out to defend Constantinople from Soviet Russia after he had (in 1916) promised this Constantinople to Czarist Russia.

The reasons for Soviet Russia's support of Turkey are quite clear to the Turks as well as to the whole world. These reasons do not consist in purely humanitarian and other beautiful things, which wares are only offered in English markets. We say it quite frankly because we can permit ourselves the luxury of this frankness. Soviet Russia is actuated by quite egotistical motives. In the first place everything that strengthens the peoples of the East who are suppressed and exploited by international imperialism also strengthens Soviet Russia which is threatened by the same danger. In the second place, Soviet Russia has a great interest that the grain ships bound for Russia and the ships conveying Naphtha destined for sale in the Western European market are not held up by order of the English Admiralty. These are our egotistical reasons. We hope, however, that the Turkish people will prefer to believe us than give credence to the sublime note of England, who yesterday announced the annihilation of Turkey, who supported Greece with money and arms and who today is playing the part of a friend reaching out the hand to the Turkish soldiers.

POLITICS

Greece between the Revolutions

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

War is a dangerous lottery game for Monarchs, and no less so for the ruling classes. In war the governing men and governing classes are compelled to mobilize the broad masses of the exploited, who must defend with weapons in hand the interests of their masters. A military defeat usually contributes towards destroying the illusions which clouded the minds of the broad masses of the people; and then comes the reckoning. The influence which the defeat of Czarist Russia exercised upon the course of the Russian Revolution is well-known. Napoleon III, Wilhelm II and hundreds of other supreme "War Lords" have had to vacate their thrones when it became evident that they were no longer "Lords" of war, and when the slaves of war began to rebel. This fate has now overtaken the throne in Greece.

Greece is free from its war lord. But the war lords remain. The so-called revolution which brought about the overthrow of Constantine does not signify an insurrection on the part of the working class. It is no uprising of the workers and peasants, it is no revolt of the soldiers against their officers, but it was an inner, domestic affair within the ruling class itself, that caused the disappearance of an all too compromised personality, in order to maintain the more securely its power as such. Indeed, the importance of the Grecian stage rebellion is even less: it is an operation within the military clique which holds the reins of the state in Greece. The mutinies on the Greek warships, the revolt among the troops, the alleged radical proclamations of the patriotic officers, all this is no revolution. The real Greek revolution is yet to come.

Party politics in Greece today, are just as complicated as at the time when Demosthenes thundered forth his orations against Aeschyles. The deciding rôle in Greek politics is played by a small clique of big businessmen and bankers. Industry in Greece is very limited in its development. Large

land ownership prevails in the Northern areas, Thessaly and Macedonia. The broad mass of the peasants, petty bourgeois and workers have up to now willingly let themselves be humbugged by the bourgeoisie and the militarists. Apart from the bourgeoisie it is the Military Party as well as the pack of professional and business politicians who determine the course of modern Hellas. Venizelos, who has again come into prominence in the last few days, is in reality the champion of the Greek great bourgeoisie. King Constantine represents the opposing Military Party.

Venizelos is a native of the Island of Crete, whose peasants and shepherds carried on a century-long war against the Pasha domination, until, thanks to the great powers, they were liberated from Turkey and handed over to Greece. Venizelos began his political career as head of the Cretan peasant and shepherd movement. But he aimed higher. Crete was too small for him, as was Macedonia for Alexander the Great. He transferred his activities to the capital city of his new and greater fatherland: to Athens.

In Greece at that time there was the open division between the ambitious bourgeoisie which supported the policy of conquest, and all little groups of professional politicians who plundered the state and hindered the state machine from functioning as promptly as the dreams of the politician's desirous of making Greece a great power wished it. Greece stood under the influence of the first Young Turkish Revolution in which, apparently, a group of energetic men had succeeded in rejuvenating the rotten state of the Sultan and again making it an effective force in foreign politics.

Supported by the bourgeoisie, Venizelos succeeded to the head of the state. As Prime Minister his chief care was to introduce order, cleanliness and punctuality, of course in the bourgeois sense of the terms. Venizelos deposed the petty politicians and placed the Greek political apparatus at the service of expansion. Through clever diplomacy, he procured the allies necessary to the military successes of Greece. Together with Serbia and Bulgaria, he defeated the Turks and then went arm in arm with Serbia against Bulgaria. The diplomacy of Venizelos celebrated its triumph in the two Balkan wars: the aim,—Great Greece—was accomplished.

But Venizelos and the bourgeoisie were not satisfied with this. They wished to take advantage of the World War in order to get hold of Epirus and Macedonia and still further,—Asia Minor, Thrace, and Constantinople.

This, of course, was only to be achieved by siding with the Entente, which policy was self-evident to the Greek capitalists. There existed for decades the most intimate connections between the most prominent Greek firms and the banks and business houses in London and Paris. But Venizelos met with an unexpected resistance. The wars of the Venizelos period had vested the deplorable Greek army, with authority. The Officers Corps had not only become numerically great, but had also become endowed with the necessary conceit. And the incarnation of this new Greek militarism was King Constantine. He persuaded himself that he was a highly gifted strategist, because in the two Balkan wars he was able to pluck the laurels that others had won for him. Constantine possessed an elegant guardsman's figure and he wore with dignity the uniform of a Prussian Field Marshall which his brother-in-law, Wilhelm II, had bestowed upon him. This brother-in-law became Constantine's fate. He convinced himself that he could transplant Wilhelm's militarism to Athens, and the Military Party began to go its own way and no longer permitted itself to be led by the nose by the bourgeois politicians. When the Greek capitalists wished to play their strongest trump card in the World War they were opposed by King Constantine who was friendly to the Germans on account of the glory of his brother-in-law and in remembrance of the Potsdam parades. Venizelos wished to enter into the war on the side of the Allies; Constantine however, was for neutrality.

Constantine's policy of neutrality procured for him the great popularity of the broad masses of the people who had no desire to enter into the slaughter house of the World War. It is still fresh in the memory how Venizelos with the aid of the Entente chased the King out of Athens, how Greece officially entered the World War, and in 1919, received the desired

gratuity. Venizelos then instituted the war in Asia Minor in the service of British capital. The King's Party however, then delivered a counter-stroke. They again took advantage of the longing for peace on the part of the masses, and brought about the fall of Venizelos. Constantine came back. He brought no peace with him, but prosecuted the war in Asia Minor still further. The Prussian Field Marshall had become the Captain of the mercenaries of English capital.

The military collapse of Greece had made the supporters of pro-English tendencies in Athens very dubious. They believed that the only possible means of escaping from the wreck at all was through a reconciliation with France. But for Constantine, the brother-in-law of Wilhelm, and for the neutralists it would have been useless to attempt a rapprochement with Paris. The only statesman to whom such a task could be entrusted was Venizelos. The latter enjoyed to the full the revenge which the situation afforded. He declared that he could not move a finger so long as Constantine was allowed to act as King in Athens. The overthrow of Constantine was thereby assured. The return of the Venizelos Party to power, however, would have meant the discharge of all the generals who had played at politics together with King Constantine and had allowed themselves to be beaten by the Turks. The Greek military clique then attempted a stroke of genius: they forestalled the approaching Venizelos "Revolution" and made the insurrection themselves. The generals played the part of the finest revolutionaries, they sacrificed Constantine to the anger of the people and issued the proclamation of a military government which should fight for the possession of the province of Thrace.

For the masses of the Greek people it is a matter of indifference, whether King Constantine or any other militarist governs, or even Mr. Venizelos himself. The only thing which can concern the Greek peasants and workers is the destruction of the entire corrupt clique of generals and bankers, of ministers and big business people who remorselessly drove hundreds and thousands of Greek proletarians and peasants to the shambles. It is in this sense that the Communist Party of Greece, together with the Greek Trade Union Federation, recently addressed itself to the masses in a manifesto.

Mr. Venizelos holds himself in readiness in Paris to play the part of the saviour of the fatherland, if the appeal is once again sent to him. But times have changed. In pre-war times, when the line of development of imperialism still led upwards, the Greek bourgeoisie could hope to be drawn in the wake of the great capitalist powers of Western Europe. Venizelos could have successfully led this movement. But today, in the Balkans and in the Orient, the whole capitalist policy has broken down. Where Lloyd George has been wrecked, Venizelos will be unable to save anything. The political chaos which for the time being prevails in Greece—and it appears no different in Bulgaria—will bring forth a new order of things. The struggle for the liberation of the Oriental peoples will be maintained by the workers and small peasants of the Balkans. The "revolution" of the Greek generals which we have witnessed in the last few days had only a sword of insult, but the revolution of the Greek workers and peasants which is coming, will wield a stern sword of execution.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Movement of the French Seamen

By *Marcel Ollivier* (Paris).

The French Proletariat appears at last to have awakened out of the long lethargy into which it had fallen after the defeat of the great strike of 1920 and in consequence of the treachery of the reformist leaders who have preferred to split the French trade union movement rather than renounce their "leadership". The French working class is caught up in a mighty movement which is seizing one important branch of industry after the other. Yesterday it was the textile and metal workers, today it is the seamen, and tomorrow it will be the

railway workers and miners. After two years of comparative calm the struggle between the French proletariat and the bourgeoisie has broken out in full fury.

The real cause of the movement is the *economic crisis* which, if not soon overcome, threatens to paralyze the whole of the economic life of France in a short time. The French bourgeoisie which at the first moment was affected by the economic difficulties resulting from the imperialist war, very quickly recovered. The transposition of war industry to peace production was rapidly carried out. They were also able to surmount the first difficulties arising out of the impossibility of immediately providing employment for the masses of demobilized soldiers.

The revolutionary movement of the years 1919 and 1920, lacking a capable leading organization, have been easily crushed. On the other hand, the exceedingly good harvests of the years 1920 and 1921 rendered possible a considerable limitation of imports, thereby establishing a favorable balance of trade. The annexation of the rich industrial provinces of Alsace Lorraine and the Saar district, the importation of German coal, the considerable increase in the tonnage of the merchant fleet after the war, the numerous economic advantages derived from the Versailles Treaty,—all these enabled French industry to recover rapidly from the consequences of the war and to experience a mighty expansion. The relatively low standard of the French franc as compared with the American dollar, the English pound and the Swiss franc, enabled French industry easily to dispose of its products abroad. The enrichment of the peasants during and after the war rendered them profitable customers for the products of industry at home. There was no unemployment. The fall of the franc ceased, a certain lowering of the cost of living was to be noted, strike movements became rarer and more rare. It seemed for the moment as if France was exempted from the economic crisis which was shaking Europe and the whole world. When all the European countries, seized by the crisis, were desirous of resuming economic relations with Russia, it was France alone who set herself against any sort of relationships whatever. While Lloyd George with two million English unemployed behind him demanded peace with Russia and a conciliatory policy towards Germany, President Poincaré, supported by a flourishing industry and agriculture, by the 800,000 bayonets of the French Army, the mighty fleets of air-ships and submarines, represented the brutal victor who is determined to oppose every concession, and to take every advantage of his victory.

But things were soon to be otherwise. The economic crisis which French industry appeared to have overcome for good, could only be delayed for a time. In spite of the exceedingly favorable position, France was soon to experience all the difficulties attending the crisis. Foreign competition, particularly that of England and Germany, made its appearance not only on the world market in general, but in the French market. The English textile and mining industry after overcoming the crisis which had long crippled them, again acquired their old positions on the world market. The prematurely developed French metal industry was soon unable to dispose of its products. The merchant fleet was confronted with a universal shrinkage of transport, the competition of the English merchant ships, the raising of the American tariff. All these circumstances have contributed to the crisis. The railways have been working for some years with a constant deficit.

After this condition of things became evident the French bourgeoisie immediately adopted the necessary measures. The crisis was to be overcome *at the expense of the proletariat*, upon whom is to be forced a general reduction of wages and longer working hours. The economies achieved in this manner were to help French industry out of its difficult situation. The conditions appeared to be favorable. The proletariat, divided politically and industrially would be incapable of offering resistance. They hoped to be able to assume the offensive.

Unfortunately for them, the French capitalists had an exaggerated notion of the weakness of the French proletariat. And in their haste to gain an early victory they have all too clearly exposed their plans. The French proletariat, rightly grasping the importance of the conflict menacing it, made ready for resistance. The general strike of Le Havre and the movement for solidarity possessing the whole working class as a protest

against the policy of the employers, who called up the armed troops against the strikers, was only a precursor, a signal of a deep-rooted movement which has seized hold of the working masses. After the metal workers, the seamen, decided to oppose the insolent employers and to resist the abolition of the eight hour day in the merchant marine. After a twenty four hours protest strike they declared their refusal to work on all ships upon which the Rio-Decree is in force, which aims at the abolition of the eight hour day. They put their threats into execution. In numerous ports transport is completely at a standstill. A great number of ships were unable to leave port before their owners promised to observe the eight hour day. The ship officers and doctors have shown their solidarity with the sailors. The captains have refused to set out with ships manned by newly engaged strike breakers. The resistance movement is so powerful that even ship owners are demanding the withdrawal of the decree.

According to the latest reports the seamen and dock laborers in Havre and Algiers have proclaimed a general strike without any time limit. In the other harbors the seamen have disconnected the machinery on those ships, the owners of which wanted to carry out the government decree. The government finds itself for the time being compelled to do away with the transport monopoly to North Africa. The owners are determined on a fight. The seamen likewise. The argument of the owners regarding the competition of the English merchant ships upon which there is no eight hour day is refuted by the seamen with the declaration that this cannot apply to those vessels which enjoy the advantage of a monopoly, and as regards the other ships they are prepared to forego the eight hour day if the owners will pay them in *English pounds* instead of in francs.

Everything points to the fact that the fight will be a long one and that the seamen will use every effort to compel the government and shipowners to retreat. The movement of the seamen, however, will not remain isolated. On the 15th of October, the *miners* will enter on their fight against the employers. Then will come the turn of the *railwaymen*. The class war in France is entering upon a *new phase*. In this fight the proletariat can only be victorious by organizing a united front against the bourgeoisie. The lessons of the fight will inevitably lead the French workers in this direction.

The French Unity Labor Federation (C. G. T. U.)

By E. Dondicol.

By the will of the reformist leaders, there exist in France two labor organizations whose common goal, at least apparently, is the emancipation of the working class.

The organization of Rue Lafayette may still boast theoretically of revolutionary syndicalism, of class war, but in reality, it has been in complete contradiction with these during and after the war. Since 1914 we see a return to the trade conception, more precisely, to a syndicalism for the interests of the "public", which is the very negation of the class interest. Such syndicalism is bound to sink into collaboration and social peace.

All militants who remember 1906, the tireless enthusiasm which existed then in the C.G.T., all those who have seen at the time of the frightful catastrophe the working class ready to throw off the yoke of capitalism, these comrades understand that the men who have denied 1906 and its ardent, virile attacks against the capitalist system, then later, the formidable spirit of revolt of 1918-1919 that was betrayed and crushed, these men carry responsibilities too heavy for their miserable persons.

It is doubtlessly after 1920, after the surrender to the bourgeoisie, that the reformists, fearing the reproaches of their comrades who have remained true to revolutionary syndicalism, prepared the split. From that time on, it was inevitable, and the *gorilla* behaviour at the Lille Congress proves that some of the most notorious reformists shrank from nothing to achieve their ends.

Moreover, the bourgeoisie with whom they had formed an alliance, could not be satisfied with its victory of 1920. The financial and economic status of the country menaces ruin,

and the war profiteers do not intend to make any sacrifices to remedy this situation. They demand from their present allies that they totally disorganize the forces of the proletariat because they can never expect to force the burden of the economic restoration of the country upon the working class as long as this working class has not lost all confidence in revolutionary syndicalism, which for many years was its hope for emancipation.

The C.G.T.U. is the child of the *Union Sacrée*, personified by Jouhaux—Almette—Griuelles, and of the minimum post-war program dear to big business, the syndicalist-reformists, and the bourgeois government. It found from the start a considerable task before it, the essential part of which was the reorganization of thousands upon thousands of syndicalists discouraged by the countless betrayals of the leaders of the C.G.T. to the lords of capitalist exploitation.

To break their discouragement and their indifference, a great deal of propaganda was necessary. Half a year has passed since the split, and the C.G.T.U. already numbers about 350,000 members. This number which still seems small to us, and which we will increase, has made a strong impression upon capital and forced it to uncover earlier than it wished, its plan of offensive against the eight hour day and the present wages.

Our propaganda has not been simple directed on the defence of immediate interests, however necessary this may be. We have also exposed to the comrades who attend our meetings, our conception of the social change, and the careful attention of our audiences lets us hope that the number of our propagandists will be greatly increased. The C.G.T.U. will then dispose of a large group of devoted militants, well instructed and orientated, capable of discussing with their comrades in the shops the most complex national and international problems.

The C.G.T.U. which has taken from the weak hands of the men in Rue Lafayette, the torch which should lead the working class to its emancipation, possesses a great authority in the working world, in spite of its short existence. Its energetic action during the last strikes, especially in Le Havre, has secured it numerous sympathies which will manifest themselves later in the form of new members to its adhering unions.

In the recent movement for a 24 hour general strike as a public protest against the murders and imprisonments in Le Havre, those centers which like Paris had been notified, responded to the action. The building workers, the metal workers, the carpenters, etc. went on strike. Even the employees of the public service responded to the appeal of the C.G.T.U., especially the postmen. All the bourgeois newspapers try to ridicule the movement, while the Minister unwillingly acknowledged its importance by disciplining over 2000 employees.

Its first battle is over, and it has acquired a prestige with the working masses which is growing every day. Let Communist workers remember their duty towards the C.G.T.U.

The Necessity for United Action of the French and German Miners

By A. Dubois (Metz).

The French miners are following with increasing attention the fight of the Ruhr and other German miners against the overtime shifts which capital is trying to force upon them with the help of the cooperating trade union bureaucracy. Why is the interest of the French miners so great? Because overtime work in the Ruhr mines will mean the continued pauperization of the whole French mining working class. The import of reparation coal from the Ruhr in accordance with the Versailles Treaty lightens the attempts of French capital to increase working hours and to reduce the already insufficient wages. Add to this that French mining capital is importing a great number of Polish workers, who already constitute 10% of the mining forces and who work under conditions unworthy of man, and thereby help reduce the standard of living of the French miners.

In spite of the destruction of the mines in the North of France, France is still suffering from a continued overproduction. Work has been made up already quite frequently in the individual mines, and the closure of whole mining shafts is not rare. The temporary betterment cannot last; it is a

result of the American miners' strike which diverted English coal to America, which otherwise was flooding the French market.

How is it then, since, in spite of the destruction of the Northern mines, France is still suffering from a slight overproduction of coal, that the Government insists upon a strict delivery of the German coal, provided for by the Versailles Treaty, and now even demands an increased delivery? H. Warcy, president of the *Comité des houillères*, a member of the notorious French financial oligarchy gave a clear answer to this. The *Progrès Civique* published its view of Mr. Warcy's declaration in a series of articles from which we take the following data.

France's pre-war consumption of coal, in 1913, was sixty million tons. After the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, this consumption rose to about 75 million tons. If we then consider that as a result of the destruction of the mines in Northern France, France's coal production was reduced to 25 million tons, there was then present a deficit of 50 million tons. This deficit was to be covered by the surrender of the Saar mines to France, and by the monthly coal delivery of 2,200,000 tons of Ruhr coal. But the total consumption of coal in France during 1921 was only 48,600,000 tons; that is, 20% less than before the war, instead of the 25% increase which had been calculated. In spite of an export of 2,300,000 tons during that year, 1,300,000 tons of coal piled up during March 1921. The Saar coal, which would not totally be used in the newly annexed Lorraine, was sent further into France, where it exercised a destructive competition. Another market had to be found for the Saar coal, so as not to ruin the home mines. Of 7,684,000 tons of Saar coal, 3,448,000 went to France; the rest, 4,200,000, went to Germany where it sold at a price of 10-15 francs a ton less than in France.

As to why there still are so many adherents of the Versailles Treaty in France, becomes apparent from this same article in the *Progrès Civique*. We read there:

"According to official French statistics Germany delivered, from the armistice to the 28th of February 1922, 28,751,000 tons of coal. These were sold to French industry at a total price of 2,623,263,000 francs, that is, on an average 91.20 francs per ton. Germany, however, only received on the average 51.70 francs per ton, so that the Reparations Commission actually cashed in only 1,489,228,000 francs. We have then, a surplus of 1,134,035,000 francs which were repaid to the French industrials in the form of reimbursements."

The French coal barons have thus pocketed over 1 billion francs, with no work on their part. This is the way French capital understands reparations. It does not want a rapid restoration of the destroyed territory, but rather a strengthening of the capitalist system as a whole. The eighty to ninety billion francs thrown out by the French Government for reconstruction purposes, while 98% of the destroyed houses still remain unbuilt is a further proof of this policy of big business.

During the past weeks, the price of German coal has been nearing more and more the prices of the world market. The French coal barons want to make up the profits they have lost from the reparations coal by an increased exploitation of the miners. They hope to destroy English competition by a further reduction of wages and increased working hours. The price of coal is to be reduced at the expense of the miners, although the index of the cost of living has been rising during the past few months, and the coal mines, including the restored ones, have been showing enormous profits.

The reduction of wages to take place in the French mining industry must not be allowed under any circumstances. But a successful resistance is possible only by a union of French and German miners. The acceptance of the overtime agreement by the Ruhr miners would mean that a greater amount of coal would be brought into France, to paralyze every strike movement of the French workers. The standards of living of the German, French, Saar and Belgian miners would be further lowered; international capital will have won a further victory.

The continued pauperization of the proletariat of all countries can be met only by a common fight on an international basis, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Red International of Labor Unions.

ECONOMICS

The Economic Crisis in Hungary and Horthy-Fascism

By *Georg* (Vienna).

The first session of the new Horthy Parliament is hardly over, the Parliament which should have heralded a period of consolidation, and we already see signs of coming sharpened economic and social crises. We see then that this regroupement of forces which took place before the elections to Parliament, is not sufficient to guarantee the safety of the counter-revolution and with it of the capitalist system in Hungary.

The strongest pillar of the regrouped counter-revolution, the United Government Party, is being split up by inner conflicts. The working class as an organized power is offering ever stronger resistance to the attacks of capital. Even the conciliatory tricks of the Social Democracy are failing.

The situation is best characterized by the setting in of a new Fascisti movement. After the last elections, the united agrarian and industrial bourgeoisie tried to legalize the counter-revolution, to hide the white terror from the outside. For this purpose the most radical Christian elements, the anti-semitic, petty bourgeoisie, the vanguard of the counter-revolution, had to be held in check. Peace was necessary to assure capitalist development. But it soon became apparent that the capitalist counter-revolution neither could nor wished to legalize their governmental system. The spirit they had themselves created, could not be destroyed so simply, and the bourgeoisie did not want to surrender the weapon of terrorism against the rising working class. The Fascisti movement in Horthy Hungary arose in the United Government Party as a reaction against the "liberal and pro-Jewish" policy of the Government. The Fascisti movement was probably started by the declaration of the Hungarian Foreign Minister before the League of Nations, that Hungary renounces all plans of territorial aggrandizement, when these dreams of conquest were the last salvation of this beggar bourgeoisie which could not exist in its puny country. The Fascisti group are the propagators of all adventurous policies which will make much difficulty for the large capitalist countries. They organize bandit attacks in Burgenland, bloody pogroms in Budapest, they cling tenaciously to the Habsburg monarchistic traditions, they attack every "liberal" move of the Government. This prevents the peaceful amalgamation of Hungary in the system of European counter-revolution, causes conflicts with its neighbors, and prevents the inner consolidation of capitalism by rousing the opposition of the industrial and banking capital to the anti-semitic movements.

However, the new Fascisti movement is not wholly undesired by the government. It had given up its dream of monarchistic restoration and territorial expansion only on the surface, for opportunistic grounds. The Fascisti movement is also a good counter-weight to the present increasing economic crisis, rising prices and the consequent wave of unemployment.

The industrial and financial bourgeoisie had no opportunity to reap any great profits during the counter-revolution. It had to share its booty with the beggar proletariat. Naturally, it now threw itself with all the more greed upon every chance for making profits. Profiteering prices and hunger wages, these are the mottos of capital. Foreign capital acts according to the same policy; it had invested its money in Hungary in the hope of high returns. But the inner crisis of Hungarian industry continued. The purchasing power of the crown at home is falling, the crown is sinking along with the mark, prices are rising. Unemployment is growing.

The working masses are fighting against their misery, for higher wages. But political demands are continually being introduced in greater number. The Social Democratic Party is forced by the pressure of the masses to set up political demands besides the economic demands of the trade unions. Naturally, they do not think of organizing real resistance. But the working class is forced by the hunger lash of the united bourgeoisie to seek the way of its defence. The tremendously swollen state apparatus, with a gigantic bureaucracy, its army, its police, its

countless officers,—all of which were set up on the basis of a larger Hungary and not reduced for fear of the petty bourgeoisie,—swallows up billions which must be made up in increased taxes. The various bourgeois groups in Parliament compete with each other to throw off the burden of taxation from their own shoulders and bring up these billions with the help of the Swiss banknote presses, and by taxation of the working class.

Since the trade unions usually betrayed the working class in all negotiations for higher wages, and can see no higher goal than a union with the bourgeoisie, (which the bourgeoisie refuses), since the Social Democracy outside of petitions and wordy, lame resolutions undertakes nothing against the enslavement of the proletariat, the discontent of the working class with the Social Democracy is also growing. The opposition of the discontented has as yet no class aims and no clear program, which is often nothing but a mixture of radical-syndicalist, independent, peasant-revolutionary, and sometimes Communist demands. This opposition is growing within the masses, and formulates in the course of its struggle its aims and its program of class struggle.

Hated, denounced, and persecuted by the Social Democracy this workers' opposition is the object of the most cruel persecution of the white terror. The latest news of the arrest of such opposition groups within the trade unions and the Social Democracy give the Social Democracy once again the opportunity to wash itself clean of any suspicion of revolutionary spirit, to deliver the arrested into the hands of the white terror; the counter-revolution used the occasion to paint the terrors of Bolshevism, to invent Communist plots, to maintain the working class in its misery by new persecution, and to legalize the new Fascisti terror.

The fact that a year after the bloody defeat of the proletarian revolution, a true class war movement has developed, which has shown the way to the masses, proves the courage and determination of the revolutionary proletariat, and will convince the working class of Horthy Hungary that their progress along the line of the class war cannot be blocked even with mass arrests, white terror and Social Democratic betrayal.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

The Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress

After the report of Comrade Lozovsky, the Fifth Trade Union Congress adopted the following decision regarding the international tasks of the proletariat.

1. The Fifth All-Russian Trade Union Congress approves the tactics of the R.I.L.U. which at the moment sets itself the task of organizing the united front of the proletariat against the attacks of the capitalists, and authorizes its representatives at the Second International Congress of the R.I.L.U. to work for the realization of the prescribed theses for the purpose of organizing the masses upon the basis of practical work.

2. The Congress approves the proposal repeatedly made to the Amsterdam International to conduct the struggle unitedly, and affirms that it is solely the fault of the Amsterdam International which prefers unity with the bourgeoisie to unity with the revolutionary workers, that a common struggle and a common action on the part of the working class of all tendencies was not realized in the last years.

3. The Congress affirms, that the last year marked a year of offensive not only on the part of capital, but also a strong offensive by the Amsterdammers against the revolutionary trade union movement. This activity of the Amsterdammers expressed itself in systematic exclusions of unions possessing an overwhelming majority of revolutionists, (as the refusal to admit the Russians into the international organizations), in the non-admission of revolutionary unions to international trade congresses and in the refusal of the Amsterdam International Trade Union Federation to form a united front with the revolutionary workers of Russia.

4. This systematic exclusion of the Russian trade unions and the non-admission of the same to trade union congresses and

the efforts to isolate them from the working class of Western Europe and America must be energetically resisted. For this purpose, the most important international Propaganda Committees, which since the First International Congress have worked solely in agitation and propaganda work, must take up organization work and systematically effect the formation of international trade federations in the most important branches of industry.

5. In those branches of industry in which the revolutionary trade unions in general, and the Russians in particular can be members of international federations, it is necessary to support the work of the International Propaganda Committee for the purpose of uniting the revolutionary wing of the workers' movement in the respective trades. Where, however, the international congresses of the federations affiliated to the Amsterdam International have already declared against the admission of the revolutionary trade unions, the Congress advises the respective Russian Federation no longer to make application for affiliation to the leaders of the Amsterdam Federation, but to bring up for discussion at the international congresses the question of the creation of international federations of revolutionary trade unions to which all the federations of the respective industry will have access without regard to their tendency.

6. The Congress declares that the organized Russian proletariat does not demand from the sister unions of other countries that they shall fight against their bourgeoisie with the same means and methods with which the Russian workers have fought, i. e. to make Revolution in the Russian manner. The only thing the Russian trade unions are aiming at is that the workers of other countries who fight against their exploiters and who in their own way promote the revolution, take advantage of the rich revolutionary experience of the Russian proletariat in the same way as the Russian proletariat and its trade unions are learning from the experiences of other countries.

7. While welcoming the resolutions of the St. Etienne Congress of the French revolutionary trade unions, which signify the beginning of an approach by the French trade unions to the R.I.L.U., the Congress empowers its representatives at the approaching Second International Congress of the revolutionary trade unions to do everything to form a basis of unity with those revolutionary syndicalists who have drawn the right conclusion from the experiences of the War and of the Revolution.

The congress considers as of great necessity the gathering of all revolutionary elements of the international workers' movement into one, single International, and therefore authorizes its delegation to the Second International Congress of the R.I.L.U. to do everything in order to achieve the final affiliation of the revolutionary syndicalist organizations and groups standing outside the R.I.L.U.

8. The congress considers the efforts of some anarcho-syndicalist groups to form a new International as a criminal attempt to split the united front of the proletariat. It appeals to all revolutionary workers who for some reason or other are still outside the R.I.L.U. to enter into the same and to abandon the formation of their sectarian International which is doomed to futility and to ruin.

9. The congress considers it necessary to point out particularly the fact that some anarchist groups active in the trade union movement, by their attacks against the R.I.L.U. often form a united front with the reformists and bourgeoisie against the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and against the Russian Revolution.

The Congress is convinced that neither the Amsterdamers nor the anarchists will be able to stop the process of revolutionizing the working class of all countries and the concentration of all revolutionary forces around the natural central point of the international revolutionary trade union movement—the R.I.L.U. In its fight for unity of the international revolutionary movement against capital and its agents in the working class organizations, the Red International of Labor Unions may continue to count upon the most far-reaching support of the Russian Trade Unions. Hand in hand with the Soviet Power, and under the leadership of the Communist Party they will proceed further and uninterruptedly until the world victory of Communism is achieved.

Conference of the Revolutionary Miners at Essen

On the 25th and 26th September the representatives of the revolutionary miners met for the first time in order to lay down on an international scale the basis of their further activity in regard to all questions of struggle and of organization. The seriousness of the situation, the attack of the capitalists in all countries directly against the miners, one of the most tried and proved sections of the proletarian army, and the economic situation as a whole made such a conference urgently necessary.

The conference was very well attended if one takes into consideration the difficulties connected with such an international conference and particularly of a first conference. The German miners were represented by ten delegates, five from the Union and five from the opposition of the Miners' Union, among them being a representative of the Lower Silesian district and one from the left Rhine coal area. The French Unity Federation was represented by its general secretary and by the secretary of the Alsace Union; the Russian Union by two members of the Central Committee; the Belgian miners, the Dutch, the Czechish and the English sent a representative each. In addition to these, were represented the French Communist Party, the Communist Party of the Rhineland, the German Trade Union Central Committee and the Central European Bureau of the R.I.L.U., so that the total number of those taking part in the conference amounted to 23.

The agenda was as follows:

1. The approaching struggle of the Miners.
2. The Frankfort Congress and the tasks of the International.
3. The program of action of the revolutionary miners.

The first item on the agenda was dealt with by comrades Delfosse for France, Sobotka and Hammer for Germany and their reports were fully supplemented by the English and Czecho-Slovakian delegates. The central point of the discussion in which many delegates took part was the position in France where a strike of the miners for the defence of the eight hour day and for the rejection of a reduction in wages was approaching. All possible means of rendering help to the French comrades through international solidarity were carefully considered but without any self-illusion. A resolution was adopted which assured the French miners of solidarity in every respect, so far as the revolutionary Miners' Federation and the minorities were concerned.

The German revolutionary miners were called upon to continue every campaign against the lengthening of the shifts. The French and Germans shall keep each other mutually informed as to the position in their respective countries by means of leaflets. Before all, however, the revolutionary miners shall display the greatest activity in order to set up the united front in this fight on a national and an international scale among the miners and transport workers. The conference directed an appeal to the R.I.L.U. to approach the Amsterdam International, in order that the very important defensive struggle of the miners shall be carried out unitedly and effectively. There is not the least doubt that the decisions of the conference will greatly influence the attitude of the miners and their organizations in the various countries.

The conference received a report from a participant in the Frankfort Congress, on the proceedings of this Miners' International which is under the leadership of Amsterdam, and embodied its decisions in a resolution in which the principle of the international class war was emphasized as opposed to the policy of civil peace of the Amsterdamers. Active solidarity in struggle, general strike in the event of war, fight against reaction and for the defence of Soviet Russia, international struggle for the improvement of the position of the miners and for the control of coal production, propaganda for the social revolution, these are the tasks of a real International.

The conference declared it to be necessary that the revolutionary Miners' Federation and the revolutionary minorities in the reformist unions should create an international working union for the purpose of mutual information and support as

well as for propaganda. This decision has become necessary through the splitting activities of the Amsterdammers who refuse affiliation to the Russian Union and doubtless also to the French Unity Federation.

The conference elected an international committee of seven members (2 from Germany and one each from Russia, France, Belgium, England and Czecho-Slovakia). The conduct of business is to be centred in Moscow until after the Congress of the R.I.L.U., when it shall be transferred to a Western European country if possible. The conference pledged the revolutionary unions to support in the most energetic and fraternal manner the revolutionary minorities in the reformist unions of their respective countries.

The international program of action which the conference worked out is the result of the reports from the various countries. These reports show with unmistakable clearness how similar the tasks of the near future are for the miners of all countries. Everywhere, although in different forms, the real wages of the miners are being slashed, the working hours lengthened and the feeble beginnings of control by the workers set aside. A higher real wage, six hour shifts, control of production, and the annullment of the Spaa Agreement,—these are the demands which naturally arise out of the present situation of the miners. The Conference has not only formulated these demands, but has also shown the miners that they must work in the sense of the United Front and of international cooperation if they are to achieve success. They decided to create an international fighting fund.

No doubt, the energetic struggle for the demands formulated, must lead to an attack upon capitalist society and to a powerful political struggle for power.

In two days of serious and concrete discussions the representatives of the revolutionary miners have for the first time indulged in exchange of ideas and given expression to their decisions. Several mass meetings in the coal area which were attended by the conference delegates had shown that the ideas and decisions of this conference are meeting with an enthusiastic response from the mining masses of the Ruhr District. The newly elected committee has already begun its work. It will be the business of the revolutionary Miners' Federation and organizations to transform the decisions into deeds and to lead the mining proletariat continually nearer to the desired goal, the fighting united front of the workers of all countries.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The Fight Against Compulsory Motherhood in Austria

By *Isa Strasser* (Vienna).

As in other states, there exists in Austria a law which threatens with punishment the interruption of pregnancy. According to paragraphs 144-148 of the Austrian penal code "women who are guilty of the crime of procuring abortions will be liable to punishment by imprisonment up to five years". Of course the law, as everywhere else, has not had the effect of restraining the women from the "Crime" mentioned in the act. On the contrary, the number of artificial interruptions of pregnancy has increased in Austria from year to year. Thus a Viennese doctor, Professor Haberda has established, that in the last 20 years the number of miscarriages dealt with in the hospitals of Vienna has mounted from 400 to 4500 a year. He calculates, however, that out of every 100 miscarriages, on an average 74 are cases of artificial abortion.

How great has been the growth since the war, of the practice made punishable under these clauses has not yet been ascertained statistically. Observations and experience, reports from midwives and doctors show however, that it must be enormous. All this is intelligible enough when one considers how terrible the living conditions of the Austrian working class

have been since the war, how thoroughly incapable the democratic republic has proved itself to prevent the misery of women and children.

Already before the war, Vienna had the sad reputation of being known as the "City of Tuberculosis". In the year 1920, however, double the number of women (4057) died from this malady and the number of death cases from tuberculosis has doubled since 1912. Thus in 1920, 1024 young persons died of tuberculosis. In 1920, out of the school children who were examined 90,000 were greatly undernourished. Out of 56,000 children under school age only ten percent were not undernourished. Rickets and Tuberculosis among little children have not diminished, but increased since 1920 in spite of the activities of foreign relief.

In March 1921, the Social Democratic women introduced a motion demanding the abolition of paragraphs 144-148. They demanded immunity for the woman who interrupted pregnancy if she did so before the expiration of the third month and with the help of a physician. The proposal should have come up for discussion in April but was put off by the party conference on account of pressing taxation, measures, and up to the present it has not been carried through. Today there is little prospect of it being accepted by Parliament as the Christian Socialists have introduced a fervent agitation against the proposal in which they pretend to see an attempt against the sacredness of the family and other "superior" virtues.

The manner in which the agitation for the abolition of "enforced motherhood" is conducted, is characteristic of the nature of the present Social Democratic women's movement. They most anxiously avoid raising at big meetings, at Municipal Councils and in Parliament, the problem of abortions along with the questions of mother and child protection and the reform of midwifery which are inseparable from it. And with good reasons; the ruthless exposure of the complete failure of "democracy" in this sphere of vital importance to the proletariat is not at all compatible with political aims of Social Democracy. They are also much too tactful to demand today, from a state which is in such a plight as Austria, any serious relief against the sufferings of mothers and children.

Moreover, is there not the "League against enforced Motherhood" which has made it its task to fight against the abortion paragraphs? This League is a bourgeois organization; it repudiates the class struggle. "If only the offending paragraphs which rob the woman of the right of independent control of her own body were removed", so runs the fable of the "theorist" of the League, the author Ferch, "then the child would be the love bond of the sexes, the woman would become a mother, but according to her own will and under conditions which would cause happiness and love and the child to thrive and blossom". Now the Social Democratic Party as such is theoretically supposed to be in favor of the class struggle, and repudiates in theory, birth limitation as a means of relief. But since such opinions as expect the liberation of humanity through conception preventatives and abortions are very apt to divert the workers from the class struggle and to hamper their revolutionary independent activity, and as this is actually the first concern of the Social Democrats they express the warmest sympathy for the *League against Compulsory Motherhood*. They do everything in order to bring Social Democratic women into its ranks as members, and support its propaganda in the press and at meetings. All that is achieved by this, however, is that while on the one hand, the *League against Compulsory Motherhood*, this harmless pacifist union, grows and flourishes, on the other hand, the Christian Social Women's Movement is gathering in members, who, disappointed with Social Democracy are streaming to it. In diverting the women from the political struggle one only succeeds in strengthening reaction. Nothing whatever is accomplished which could lead to the abolition of the paragraphs. Only those powers are consolidated thereby, which see in the abolition of enforced motherhood an attack upon bourgeois order and who at the same time regard as luxuries, and refuse the most modest measure of state care for mothers and children, which, if it could not prevent, could at least mitigate the fear of child birth.