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## America's Reply to the Entente.

By Georg (Berlin).

The Note of the United States to England and France categorically rejects the so-called Anglo-French Naval Pact as a basis of further negotiations. That the American Note would be to this effect was obvious after the publication of the secretly concluded Anglo-French agreement. Neither Chamberlain nor Poincaré were so simple as to believe that the Washington Government would agree to a naval programme which in all its details aims at consolidating Great Britain's naval supremacy and France's military power and at the same time runs absolutely counter to the interests of America as a world power. When Paul Boncour and Lord Cushendun, at Geneva, designated the Anglo-French Agreement as the basis of further disarmament negotiations and made the success of the negotiations dependent upon a previous agreement of the naval powers on this basis, it became quite evident from the moment of its announcement that here it was a question of a mere pretext in order to postpone the Geneva disarmament negotiations.

It must be noted that a few weeks after the signing of the Kellogg Pact, in which the imperialist Great Powers pledged themselves to maintain peace and friendship, a change of Notes

takes place which exposes in all their sharpness the imperialist antagonisms between the two main rivals, Great Britain and the United States. The Note of the United States has a twofold significance. On the one hand it deals most unambiguously with the question of Anglo-American naval rivalry. This blunt and brutal treatment of the naval question, which makes the situation perfectly clear both in regard to America's naval plans and the ruthless exposure of England's armament programme, is the formal reply to the Anglo-French Note.

As England and France, in their Note to Washington, refer only to the fleet, the United States, in its reply, also deals only with the naval question. The essence of this reply is that the United States sticks to the proposal which it made during the fruitless Geneva Naval Conference at Geneva last year. It demands the fixing of proportional figures for ships of 10,000 tons and under, that is, for types of ships which are not dealt with in the Washington Naval Agreement, in such a way that every Power will be granted a total tonnage within which it can build various types of modern warships. This proposal on the part of America means the demand for freedom to build without restriction cruisers over 10,000 tons.

The English counter-proposal rested always on the contrary basis, that not the total tonnage, but the tonnage of the individual type of vessel be fixed. By this method England would obtain freedom to build without restriction the smaller types of ship which are suitable to its requirements, and which, from the numerous British naval bases, would threaten American supremacy. At the same time, America would be prevented from building larger cruisers. The unrestricted liberty to build smaller cruisers carrying guns up to six inches calibre, and the prohibition desired by England against this category being equipped with heavier guns would enable England, by making use of merchant vessels as auxiliary cruisers with guns up to six inches, to secure an enormous superiority in mobile, light cruisers. The proportion between England and America of naval units under 10,000 tons is already, without taking into account England's mercantile, that is its auxiliary cruiser fleet, 4:1 against America.

The essence of the Anglo-French naval pact consists in the fact that France, contrary to its former attitude, which in principle approached to that of America, has now adopted England's fundamental principle. Now it is known, however, that the Anglo-French agreement includes much more than the naval pact. England, in return for France's approval of its naval principle, has granted France far-reaching military and political concessions which have led to the resurrection of the Anglo-French Entente. Although there was no mention made of these agreements in the Anglo-French Note to the United States, and although up to the present their existence is denied by both governments, the United States has taken into account this Anglo-French military-political front against it as an existing fact.

The other, less explicit contents of the American Note are to the effect that America replies to the Anglo-French Entente with counter-moves. The United States suggests to France and Italy that they negotiate separately with the Washington government; that they make fresh proposals to it, and promises at the same time to take into consideration the special interests of France and Italy respectively. It is that policy which the United States has constantly employed since the war, of frustrating the formation of a European front against it by playing off the European powers against each other.

The Anglo-French Entente, which has been concluded by England with a view to its war preparations against the Soviet Union but which also takes into account the fierce Anglo-American rivalry, has demanded considerable sacrifices on the part of England, which can be summarised in the recognition of French hegemony on the Continent. The Anglo-American struggle for mastery of the sea is proceeding. At present, however, neither England nor America is interested in aggravating this conflict: England because it has in mind the war against the Soviet Union; the United States because it is not sufficiently armed. Under the cloak of negotiations on the strength of the fleets and general pacifist discussions, the naval rivalry is proceeding on a greater scale. England sees in the political Entente with France the basis for a possible understanding with the United States, as a French support of England's war plans against the Soviet Union and an Anglo-French co-operation in warding off American pressure guarantee to the English government a greater possibility of manoeuvring against the United States.

In their efforts to obtain a free hand against the Soviet Union, to secure their rear in the event of a war against the Workers' State the English imperialists are pursuing a long-sighted policy. They count upon the possibility of an eventual war against the United States, as well as upon the other eventuality, which would be more favourable to them, namely, that the United States will be induced by the combined pressure of a European bloc of States to share power with England and, in the war against the Soviet Union, to observe a benevolent neutrality in the interest of England.

Both prospects are that of war, of the approach of which the unpublished Anglo-French Agreement and the American Note are striking proofs.

## POLITICS

### The 7th October in Austria.

Complete Capitulation of the Social Democratic Party.

By Willi Schlam m (Vienna).

Vienna, 1st October 1928.

Today the social democratic Parade planned for the 7th October, was prohibited by the police authorities of Wiener-Neustadt, who are directly subordinate to the Federal government.

This decision on the part of the Chancellor Seipel is of great significance. It proves beyond all doubt that in future the government will, without any disguise, make common cause with the fascist Heimwehr of Dr. Steidle and Major Pabst of Kapp putch fame. The prohibition of the social democratic labour day has followed on the express decision of the Federal government; it is that which gives it its importance. The object of this thoroughly provocative measure (it must be remembered that the Socialist Party of Austria possesses an absolute majority in the industrial district of Wiener-Neustadt) is clear: to compel the Austrian social democracy — as it will not even fight against the illegal fascist bands let alone against the constitutional government — to capitulate completely.

The prohibition is the provisional conclusion of prolonged negotiations with the respective summoners of the Wiener-Neustadt parades. The reason for the prohibition is stated to be that the social democrats would not alter the plan of march which they had submitted to the authorities, although the police authorities demanded that they should keep away from certain streets in Wiener-Neustadt, which were to be reserved for the fascist demonstration to be held at the same time. At first sight it appears very strange that the S.P. of Austria, which is prepared to abandon the tenants' protection, would not consent to keep away from these streets in Wiener-Neustadt but it is becoming more and more obvious that the social democratic leaders definitely aimed at getting their demonstration prohibited. The social democratic Party Executive had, under the pressure of the masses, convened the "Red Labour Day" against the fascist parade on the 7th of October; on the other hand it is filled with panic fear of eventual collisions, but does not venture to abandon its counter-demonstration on its own account; it has therefore directed its tactics at getting the capitulation legally prescribed by the government.

It is the continuation of that policy which in the previous week led to the social democratic proposal that all parades, including also those of the Republican Defence Corps and of the Workers' Defence, should be prohibited by a special law for the period of one year. The prohibition of the Labour Day is, indeed, a provocation of the working class, but is not a blow on the part of Seipel against the social democratic party, which was secretly longing for such a prohibition.

The situation is at present more tense than before. There is now little doubt that on 7th of October the State power will tolerate only the fascists in Wiener-Neustadt and prevent with all force any demonstration of the workers. As is known, the Communist demonstration has been already prohibited on the 27th of September. Simultaneously with the prohibition of the social democratic demonstration, further details are made known regarding the preparations of all the government forces: the gendarmerie is to be called up in the whole of Austria; several thousand men of the Vienna police with full war equipment, will be dispatched to Wiener-Neustadt; the War Ministry is commanding the whole 5th (Vienna) infantry regiment, which is thoroughly reliable; batteries of howitzers, machine guns and tanks are being held in readiness. The determination of the Seipel government is to be demonstrated by the greatest display of forces.

The social democratic Party Executive has not yet stated what it contemplates doing in face of the prohibition of its demonstration. The bourgeois press closely connected with it, however, publishes "interviews with eminent social democratic leaders" who announce a monstrous crime: the Party Executive will, in view of the official prohibition, "of course not allow the Republican Defence Corps to parade". The working class of the industrial districts of Lower Austria will, however,



probably — against the prohibition and also against the will of the Party — go to Wiener-Neustadt on 7th of October, and the social democracy has to reject all responsibility for anything that may ensue. The social democratic leaders are coquetting with the idea that the Party shall simply leave the working masses to themselves. Although this is only used at present as a means of exerting pressure to obtain a more favourable compromise for the S. P., the crime is not thereby in any way lessened.

Whatever the case may be, the Austrian social democracy is in a thoroughly precarious situation. The determined policy of Seipel compels it to reveal to the working class that precisely on the tenth anniversary of the democratic Republic not only the Communists, but also the social democratic workers have lost the right of assembly, the right to the streets; that the Austro-Marxist "way to socialism" has, after ten years, brought the workers very near to fascist domination. In view of this situation the social democracy will be prepared to offer more than ever in order to escape complete self-exposure. It will in the few days which separate us from the 7th of October pay any price demanded in order to induce the fascists to abandon their parade. That is in fact their last hope: that fascism, having got all it desires — when the tenants' protection is abolished and all other acute questions are, with the help of the S. P. of Austria, decided against proletariat — the social democracy will be rewarded with the magnanimous abandonment of the 7th October parade.

The attitude of the Communist Party of Austria has not altered in the least. Since the prohibition of its demonstration it has in spite of it called upon the workers of the whole of Austria to prevent by a railway strike the transport of fascists and to appear in huge masses in Wiener-Neustadt on the 7th of October. The prohibition of the social democratic demonstration will render this agitation of the C. P. of Austria still more effective.

\* \* \*

Vienna, 4th October, 1928.

Editor's note: —

As the result of negotiations between the president of the Lower Austrian Diet, Dr. Buresch, and the representatives of the social democratic party, the prohibition of the Labour Day has been withdrawn on the following conditions agreed to by all parties:

The Heimwehr (fascist) demonstration shall take place on Sunday morning. The Heimwehr must not remain in the town hall square, shall be at the disposal of the Labour

After the march of the Heimwehr, the town, including the town hall square, shall be at the disposal of the Labour Day demonstration. The social democrats shall hold a demonstration at the town hall square, and meetings shall be held at several other places in the town.

In order to avoid a collision there shall be an interval of half an hour between the march of the Heimwehr and that of the social democrats.

The acceptance of these conditions means a complete capitulation on the part of the social democracy and a decided victory for the fascists, who thereby obtain what they set out to secure, i. e. an undisturbed and unrestricted parade in the working class town of Wiener-Neustadt, which means a direct provocation and defiance of the workers not only of Wiener-Neustadt, but of the whole of Austria, including "Red Vienna".

## Esthonia's Quest for a New Orientation.

By S. Borissov (Reval).

Esthonia's attempt to form a fresh combination of powers in the Baltic states has ended in failure. This stillborn combination, formed without any reference to Esthonia's foreign political situation, can only have one practical result: to make politicians of Reval realise that the game of "alliances", as an end in itself, can only result in the loss of an independent foreign policy, the leadership of which is bound to pass into the hands of the stronger and more skilful party. The Baltic press frequently reproaches the Soviet press with imagining the concealed influence of "someone" in this or that action of some Baltic diplomat. Therefore we do better not to make any supposition as to the author of this hapless attempt on the part of

Esthonian diplomacy to create a new "bloc", and leave this task to the bourgeois Berlin "Lokalanzeiger", which has certainly no Soviet journalists on its staff.

This newspaper, commenting on the journey taken by the head of the Esthonian state to Stockholm, writes:

"The journeys to Stockholm undertaken by the responsible politicians of the Baltic states are certainly not mere visits; it is very probable that England's influence plays a part here. Should British diplomacy succeed in bringing first Sweden and then Norway under its influence, and in forming with them an open or secret bloc, then the wall separating Soviet Russia from Europe will extend from the Arctic Sea to the Black Sea."

What are we to say to the efforts of the Reval diplomatists to form a bloc so dangerous to the Baltic countries?

Esthonia's foreign political situation is such that these endeavours towards an alliance, the search for a strong protector, are entirely unnecessary. The frontiers between Esthonia and the Soviet Union are established by a peace treaty, and neither party concerned has any intention of revising this treaty; Esthonia's southern neighbour, Latvia, has no aggressive inclinations, so that the question of territorial integrity does not arise. Not even for the sake of policy do even the most irreconcilable Right circles in Reval venture to assert that anybody is intending to attack Esthonia. How matters really stand is well known in Reval. And yet the Esthonian diplomats cannot refrain from playing at alliances only likely to endanger Esthonian independence. The plan of a Baltic alliance under the aegis of Warsaw has sobered them somewhat. And truly this alliance was not so very alluring, when it is remembered that Poland is already busily endeavouring to separate six districts of Lithuanian Illuk from Lithuania. Before the realisation of this "alliance" a young Polish lieutenant, a military attaché, began to issue orders to the Esthonian military staff in Reval as a matter of course, as if he were at home with his own battalion.

Warsaw, whose real intentions having been recognised, was left out of the alliance plans, and Esthonia looked round towards the North.

Sweden enjoys a certain popularity in Esthonia, thanks to historical reminiscences. At the time of Swedish rule the situation of the Esthonian peasantry was ameliorated, and besides this Sweden left behind it some valuable cultural monuments, the Dorpat university, and other educational institutions. At the present juncture Sweden is however concerning itself but little with Esthonia's cultural needs, and has more an eye to a hold on Esthonian industry. The match industry has been completely absorbed by Swedish capital; the fuel oil industry is sharing the same fate, and so on. Sweden's political interest in the affairs of the Baltic countries is extremely small. Esthonian diplomacy has failed to recognise the nature of Swedish interest for Esthonia, and has only aroused surprise in Swedish political circles.

The Esthonian diplomats, having again suffered shipwreck in this direction, decided to conceal their failure by giving the impression that their attempt at political rapprochement to Sweden was only intended to exercise pressure towards a political rapprochement to Finland. In order to wipe out the impression of the Stockholm failure, a Reval newspaper connected with the Ministry for Foreign affairs published an article supposed to reveal the real object of the action.

This article first reproaches Finland with insufficient comprehension of the political situation, and then takes the greatest pains to prove that the interests of Finland, Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, and Poland, are "the same to a great extent, for the Finns" — this newspaper assures us — "have not studied the psychology of that great neighbouring state which is seeking expansion". The paper is however obliged to admit, a few lines further on, that this assertion lacks common sense, and declares that "there is no great danger that Russia will become a threat for the border states, since the destruction of the independence of these states is not in the interest of communist Russia." The special type of logic peculiar to the newspaper however enables it to return presently to the assumption that danger threatens all the same from the "great neighbouring state", and that therefore "the requirements of real life have evoked the endeavour for orientation towards Finland, but that so far very little success has attended this endeavour".

This failure in the orientation towards Finland, says the newspaper, is the explanation of "Esthonia's orientation towards Scandinavia".

Both attempts have ended in failure.

In the old comic operas the characters frequently opened the wrong door whilst looking for another, only to find that neither took them to where they wanted to go. The endeavours of Esthonian diplomacy cannot but give the impression, most disadvantageous for Esthonia, of a complete lack of stability in foreign policy.

## IN THE COLONIES

### The Programme of the Mahmud Dictatorship in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

It is yet less than three months since the coup of **Mohammed Mahmud at Cairo**. The main object of the Mahmud dictatorship, the destruction of the Wafd national party and of its influence, has naturally not yet been realised. But Mahmud has already succeeded in warding off the first counter-attack of the Wafd and is now himself proceeding to attack. For the sake of a clear understanding of the development of events in Egypt, it is necessary that we should enter into the question of the programme set up by the Mahmud dictatorship.

As depicted in a series of official and semi-official announcements and finally in the detailed discourse of Mahmud before the notables of Lantah, the said programme may be said to consist of three items, "moral reconstruction", reform plans, and foreign policy.

As regards the first-named item, Mahmud makes it appear as though he and his Government desired to save Egypt from a slough of unlimited corruption, favoritism, nepotism, and moral depravity, allegedly developed during the Wafd administration. In the place of a "Government in the interest of the governors", he professedly desires to install a "Government in the interest of the governed", and he is willing to have recourse to an "inexorable terrorism" for the purpose of crushing the Wafd clique, which differs from him in no question of political opinions but solely in its care for the public welfare. To this end he has prorogued Parliament and curtailed the freedom of the press and of assemblies. His "moral reconstruction" also entails the exclusion of the students from politics, on the grounds that it is only when they have been purged of "that worst of all passions, the political passion", that they can become useful members of society.

Until political morals have been restored in Egypt, Mahmud desires to devote himself entirely to the welfare of his people. In this connection he has unfolded his plan of reform.

1. Reforms on behalf of the small farmers. Mahmud starts from the admittedly correct presumption that the fellah constitutes the key to the problem of power in the Nile valley. Therefore he promises the fellahs the dividing-up of all the Government domains into small lots of two and a half feddans (one feddan equalling 4400 square metres), the terms being ten per cent. down and the balance in fifteen yearly instalments; provision of a supply of drinking-water for as many Egyptian villages as possible, the water-supply systems of the towns being extended to include all neighbouring villages, whereby about one million fellah families could be provided with drinking-water; improvement of irrigation by the erection of electric power stations; construction of 100 hospitals in the villages, to be effected in the course of five years; a loan of four millions for the fellahs with a view to rendering possible a postponement in the sale of the cotton crop.

2. Reforms in the interest of the workers, including the elaboration of labour legislation covering both workers' protection and the treatment of labour disputes; construction of 50 hospitals in the cities; establishment of vocational schools.

3. Irrigation works — in the first place the enlargement of the Assuan dam and the construction of a new reservoir on the Jebel-Aulia in Sudan. This is to entail the reclamation of no less than 700,000 additional feddans of ground capable of bearing cotton. The execution of this work, which is to cost several thousand pounds, has been envisaged for the coming winter.

The weakest point in Mahmud's programme appeared to be his foreign policy. The entire Wafd press declared he had sold himself to the British. Now, however, Mahmud has given an affirmative answer to the American invitation to Egypt to join the Kellogg Pact, at the same time declaring that Egypt would not be bound by the reservations of certain Governments under the said agreement, a statement which naturally referred to the British reservations in regard to Egypt. Mahmud therefore professes to be completely independent in his foreign policy too.

This programme, which is naturally garnished with all sorts of demagogic phrases, such as "the Government, the friend of the poor population", "the Government, superior to all class and caste differences", "the Government, in favour of independence", etc., etc., is in the hands of Mahmud a first-class weapon against the Wafd. It represents a clever deception of the people which does not, however, aim merely at "liberating" the fellahs and the urban petty-bourgeois from the influence of the Wafd, but also serves the purpose of guiding the labour movement, which has revived during the last few years, into reformist channels or else of destroying it altogether. Mahmud's position, meanwhile, is strengthened by the fact that the Wafd leaders are incapable of serious revolutionary enterprise. All their attacks on Mahmud have hitherto remained on paper, so that the dictator has even ventured to prohibit the publication of the main Wafd newspapers.

On the other hand, there is an unmistakable inclination on the part of certain Wafd circles to become reconciled to the dictator. The clever programme with which the Mahmud Government veils its alliance with the imperialists and its preparations for a yet more pronounced subjugation of the Egyptian people, cannot be effectively opposed by any of the petty-bourgeois parties existing in Egypt but only by the working class and its party.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Textile Workers' Strike in Northern France.

By J. Berlioz, Paris.

In Halluin, a town on the Belgian-French frontier with a Communist majority on its municipal council, more than 5000 textile workers have resolved to declare a strike. They demand a wage increase of 50 centimes per hour. The movement is extending from day to day to all the factories in the Valley of the Lys and in the industrial district round about Lille and will perhaps embrace the big woollen centre of Roubaix-Tourcoing. Within a week the strike may develop into a general strike and involve hundreds of thousands of workers, if the plan of the unitarian trade-union federation of the textile workers of the district succeeds.

It is a question of an extraordinarily important fight; chiefly because it brings up the question of wage increase in face of the best organised and most belligerent employers' association in the whole of France. The genius of this association is its secretary, a former dyer of the name of Ley, who entered the service of the employers' association and made it his chief object to combat Communism in Northern France.

In the second place, this fight is important, because in the whole of this district the reformist organisations are stronger than ours, especially when one takes into consideration the Christian trade unions, which were founded under the patronage of the employers, and because, thanks to a united front of all workers, the movement may become a general one. For months the revolutionary trade unions have been exerting all their strength upon the development of a united front in the factories.

If the movement is successful the slogan of the C. G. T. U. will be echoed throughout the French proletariat: General increase of wages. All the revolutionary fighters are turning their gaze in the direction of Halluin. The C. G. T. U. has issued the slogan: Back up the textile workers of the North!

Since the year 1920 the cost of living in the northern territory has, according to the official figures, risen by 91 per cent., while wages have gone up only 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. The campaign for an increase of wages began in the month of June and has been spread among the masses by the



unitarian trade union. The reformist trade union was, furthermore, compelled to join in, but its activity was confined to exchanging letters with the official powers and explaining matters to them, although on July 28th, the secretary of the trust categorically replied: "The agitation will make no impression upon us. We shall never enter into a discussion."

The unitarian trade union employed a different method. After the agitation in the factories and in the lower organisations of the workers, it convoked on July 8th a congress of the workers of the textile mills. The reformist leaders, who were invited, did not answer, but sections of the reformist trade unions and delegates belonging to the Belgian trade-union federation — 50,000 Belgian workers cross the frontier every day to go to work in the textile mills of Northern France — were present at the conference. The conference issued the slogan of a general strike as the only method of action and instructed the united trade union to popularise it. The latter carried on the campaign: the pamphlets, placards and factory meetings were very successful. The chief slogan was: 50 centimes per hour wage increase.

When the reformist leaders recognised how attractive the slogan of the general strike was, they did everything they could to frustrate the fight; they put up big placards: "No general strike!", and they requested their members to act like Yellows; they called for a ministerial finding, in order to preserve their influence over the workers.

But the methodical preparation of our comrades led to a second congress of mill delegates on September 2nd in Lille. There were more than 200 delegates, of whom 167 were direct representatives of mills; in addition there were representatives of several trade-union federations and Belgian comrades. A committee of action was elected to intensify the preparation of the general strike, which committee consisted of comrades of all parties. Action was to begin with a mass demonstration on September 23rd in Roubaix; the reformist leaders were invited to participate, but they answered with abuse.

In view of the extent of the movement, embracing 200,000 textile workers of the North, the trust wanted to provoke a general strike before the preparations were complete. For this purpose it picked upon red Halluin, where the fighting spirit of the masses is keenest. When the mechanics who were pestered by the employers called for solidarity from the other workers, the hands of one of the mills left work on September 13th. The committee of action decided, however, that the slogan of a 50 centimes per hour wage increase should be issued immediately. An ultimatum, with one week's grace, was delivered to the trust. On the following day a similar ultimatum was handed in at other places. As the employers did not reply, the workers of Halluin went on strike on September 20th. The workers in other places will follow their example within the next few days until the strike becomes general throughout the industrial district.

On September 23rd, the strikers of Halluin undertook a march of demonstration to Roubaix and Tourcoing in order to get the workers in the woollen centre to organise a solidarity action.

The reformist leaders do not change their attitude. They are against the strike and only recommend intervention on the part of the National Economic Council, on which Jouhaux sits side by side with Poincaré. They are showing more and more clearly that they are actually on the side of the employers.

The stake of the fight, which broke out earlier than our comrades desired, though it is nevertheless thoroughly prepared, is at the same time the defeat of the trust and also of the Yellows of the C. G. T. Excitement in other trade unions of the North is also great, and especially among the metal workers. In a number of places little strikes have already broken out. (Moreover, the dock workers of Bordeaux are also getting a move on.) The weak point is the inadequacy of material support. The united trade union have only very slight funds. For this reason a financial support campaign is to be opened throughout the country by the C. G. T. U.

Since the beginning of the strike strong gendarmerie forces have been concentrated in the district. The police have already begun to molest the foreign workers who are taking an active part in the fight.

The political aspect of the fight will become obvious to the workers. This will alleviate the task of the Communists:

combination of the immediate demands with the fight against the national union and against the war preparations of French imperialism.

\* \* \*

Lille, 30. September 1928.

The textile strike continues and spreads. A meeting of the workers of Lille decided to proclaim a general strike for Tuesday. In Tourcoing an ultimatum has been sent to the employers. When the workers were leaving the meeting at Lille, they were violently attacked by gendarmes in the Rue Molinel. Several persons were injured, and women ridden down. Patrols occupied the streets. The socialist mayor of Lille, Salengré, does not intervene. Great indignation reigns among the population. The fighting strength increases visibly.

## The Struggle of the Textile Workers of Lodz.

By Ost (Warsaw).

The situation of the working class in Poland under the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski, has considerably deteriorated. Apart from complete lack of political rights under the regime of fascist terror, the bourgeoisie has commenced an offensive upon the workers' wages, which are already at starvation level, and upon working conditions. Capitalist rationalisation has found expression in a number of new laws and decrees, as for example, the decree on the "Contracts of the workers" of March 16th 1928, and in other decrees which established the fascist system in the factories. The fascist government conducts this policy with the collaboration of the fascist trade unions, which help the government and the capitalists to force the workers into the frame of the new fascist laws.

The struggle against the new fascist laws has become a vital question for the workers. One of the stages in this struggle is the latest movement in Lodz. The strike in Lodz, which was carried on under the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland, rallied 60,000 workers under the slogans of the Party; it was undoubtedly a political event of the greatest importance. It has shown that in spite of the enormous terror the force of the Polish working class is not broken and that the rising revolutionary wave of the labour movement threatens the existence of the dictatorship of Pilsudski who is now preparing for war against the Soviet Union.

The immediate occasion for the outbreak of the strike was the attitude of the employers of Lodz, who began to carry out a decree of the President and thereby increased the discontent of the workers. The decree of the President breathes the fascist spirit and enables the capitalists, under the pretext of rationalisation, to carry through a number of severe measures which convert the worker into a slave and deprive him of all political rights. The VII. section of this decree contains a "Regulation for workers" which also provides for "lists of punishment".

These lists which the employers published and commenced to put into effect, in accordance with article 43 of the President's decree, contain provisions which aroused the indignation of the workers. The organisation of Lodz mobilised the workers for the fight against these and for increase of wages. In accordance with the slogans of our Party, some factories struck work on the 17th September. On the 19th September already 43,000 workers were on strike, and on the 21st of September the reformist and nationalist trade unions were compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to declare themselves "for" the strike. At the meeting of the factory delegates the Communist resolution was adopted with 70 against 10 votes.

On the next day the government withdrew these lists. All three social fascist trade unions proclaimed the termination of the strike, and at the same time the most severe government terror set in against the workers. The streets and factories of Lodz were literally converted into a police and army camp. The workers, it is true, resumed work, but the struggle has not thereby been ended. The negotiations between the employers and the representatives of the workers regarding the increase of wages proved abortive and the workers have decided to down tools again. The date of the new strike will be fixed in a few days.

## The Congress of the Spanish Federation of Trade Unions.

By P. Noel (Barcelona).

As was to be expected, the Congress of the Spanish Federation of Trade Unions (U.G.T.), which was terminated on September 15th after five days' duration, failed to produce any of the obvious "surprises". Like all other reports submitted to the Congress, the report of the executive committee was passed by an overwhelming majority. Men like Largo Caballero, Besteiro, Saborit, and other reformists, were again commissioned to continue their policy of class peace and of subordination to the regime of Primo de Rivera.

It is a characteristic fact that throughout the discussions the name of the dictator and the dictatorial regime which oppresses the Spanish proletariat were not even mentioned, and that at a moment when the Spanish bourgeoisie is celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Fascist coup and the dictatorial Government is instituting, under the pretext of a fictitious plot, a vigorous campaign of persecution against all its enemies. In the last few days, more than 10,000 people were arrested, particularly in Barcelona, Bilbao, and Valencia. For the majority of the delegates present at this Congress, the fact that Spain is governed by a dictator constituted no particular problem, apart from the consequent necessity of adapting themselves as well as possible to such circumstances and profiting thereby, naturally at the expense of the workers and peasants.

Thus the voice of the small revolutionary minority attending this congress was altogether inaudible. Thus, too, it can be understood that no practical resolutions were passed on the problems with which the Spanish working class is faced in an economic regard, viz. unemployment, wages, working hours, working methods, and the like. On none of these matters did the congress assume a practical attitude, contenting itself with leaving their solution to the goodwill (!) of the dictator. For the same reason all demands for the formation of a united front, for trade-union unity and a trade-union delegation to Russia were refused, since the last-named claim would only have led to a refutation of the calumnies spread abroad by the reformist leaders in regard to the Soviet Union. For the same reason, again, an attempt was made to make a matter of principle of the parietic organisation, which is the very symbol of submission to the dictatorship on the part of the workers and regarding the introduction of which the Government enjoys the full support of the reformist leaders of the U. G. T.

It is comprehensible that under such circumstances Primo de Rivera has guaranteed a degree of legality to the U. G. T. and the Socialist Party, under whose protection it stands, such as is denied to other workers' organisations. The dictator, however, is mistaken in his calculations. The advance guard of our working class, the workers in the big industrial centres, such as Catalonia, Biscaya, Seville, and Asturia, and the great bulk of the agricultural workers, will have nothing to do with the menials of the dictator. They prefer to tread other paths. The great strike movements which have taken place of late show that, in spite of all efforts on the part of the Socialists to prove worthy to collaborate with Primo de Rivera, the broad masses of the Spanish workers have not yet forfeited their class-consciousness.

## Split in the Right Wing of Irish Labour.

By Jack Carney.

A split has taken place in the ranks of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress arising out of the action of the Irish Transport Union in scabbing upon the Bakers' Union in a recent dispute. The rank and file of the Transport Union forced their leaders to resort to strike action. Due to the Executive of the Transport Union keeping the "inside" men working in the bakeries while the distributors of the bread were striking the strike petered out. During the strike the bakers refused to bake extra bread rather than allow one firm to filch the trade of another and thus deprive bakers of their jobs at the conclusion of the strike. The Transport Union, in an attempt to

curry favour with one of the employers, brought in men from the country. The latter returned home when they were acquainted with the facts. Scabs were brought in, but due to the combined action of the Bakers Union and the Workers Union of Ireland they had to be withdrawn.

The action of the Transport Union came before the Dublin Workers' Council. The organiser of the Bakers Union, Bennis Cullen, openly accused W. O'Brien, leader of the Transport Union, of scabbing upon the Bakers. Cullen refused to withdraw his accusations and so his Union was expelled from the Council. Cullen is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. In support of Cullen there were Hynes of the Bricklayers' Union and Irwin of Plasterers' Union. These three men had openly supported O'Brien and Johnson in their attacks upon the Left. Now the Right is split into two parts and at a time when the Irish Labour Party is finding it wellnigh impossible to keep going.

The Irish Labour Party receives approximately £ 800 from its affiliated organisations, being on the basis of 94,000 members. The salaries of the Secretary, Thomas Johnson, and R. J. P. Mortished, the assistant secretary, amount to £ 950. The Transport Union has been paying most of the expenses of the Irish Labour Party. Its leader O'Brien, also Johnson, are aiming to enter the Senate in the next elections and thus make themselves secure against the collapse of their respective organisational positions.

This split will mean the strengthening of the Irish Labour Movement. The slanderous propaganda against Larkin, which even found echo in some Communist parties, has collapsed and labour leaders now confess they were mistaken and that "Larkin is the straightest man in the Irish labour movement". There will be a new alignment of forces.

The railwaymen in Ireland will shortly be asked to accept a reduction in wages agreed to by J. H. Thomas. Adding these circumstances together it can be safely assumed that the Irish labour movement is on the highroad to greater unity and the restoration of its old fighting spirit. As a result of the split the indoor mass meetings of the Workers' Union have been a tremendous success and the Irish Worker League is holding large open air mass meetings with great attention being paid to its speakers.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Members of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Comrades,

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is experiencing an internal crisis, the immediate cause of which is the collapse of the Red Day. It would, however, be a mistake to consider this the only, or even the principal, reason of the crisis and to ignore the underlying factors which gave rise to it. Without a revelation of these deeper causes of the crisis, it is impossible to recognise its extent, its depth, and its actual import.

During the last three years the C. P. Cz. has been successful in combating deviations to the Right and in undermining the influence of Right Wing elements at those points where it was most pronounced (Prague, Brünn, etc.). The Party has most decidedly overcome the Trotzkyist tendencies in its midst and has put an end to them. Both by this ideological fight and by the institution of factory nuclei have the fundamental pre-conditions for the Bolshevisation of the Party been provided.

The Party has strengthened its contact with the masses and has undertaken the conduct of the economic and political activity of certain sections of the working class, in which connection it has succeeded in gaining the support not only of the indifferent but also of numerous Social Democratic workers. There can be no doubt but that the influence of the Party on the working masses has increased and taken firmer root.

In regard to ideological training, however, there are still very serious shortcomings apparent in the Party. The struggle against opportunist deviations has not been treated sufficiently



as a matter of principle, nor yet accurately or systematically enough. There was a lack of true Bolshevik self-criticism both in the Party administration and in the lower organisations. The reconstruction of the Party remained to a great part purely formal; the factory nuclei remained inactive and were not included in the political life of the Party. In spite of the partial successes of the Party in its struggle against the Right deviations, the opportunist elements retained strong positions, particularly in the extra-parliamentary mass organisations. In the conduct of the economic fight and of trade-union activity, Social Democratic methods remained predominant, which fact constitutes a very significant obstacle in the way of the extension and intensification of mass-strikes and their exploitation for political ends.

Among the other shortcomings of the Party, which are all connected with its Social Democratic traditions, we may mention the inactivity in the struggle against the danger of war and of Fascism, the exaggeratedly legal attitude in practical work, and the lack of attention paid to the national and peasant questions.

A series of opportunist errors on the part of the Party had already met with condemnation at the hands of the E. C. C. I. These referred to the draft of the factory councils law, the attitude assumed in connection with the Presidential elections, and the inactivity at the time of the Vienna rising and the Sacco-Vanzetti campaign.

In the organisation of mass campaigns, both the central administration and the local administration were guilty of inactivity in the past twelvemonth.

In these campaigns and also in various wage conflicts (of the railwaymen, the East Bohemian textile workers, and the timber-workers), there was apparently a wrong estimation of Social Democracy as a class-war party, leading to an opportunist conception of united-front tactics as an alliance between the leaders of the Red trade unions and the reformist leaders.

The change in the international situation, the growing danger of a new war, and the accentuation of the class struggle found expression in the fact that the bourgeoisie employed increasingly dictatorial methods and at the same time strengthened its Fascist reserves (peasant yeomanry, rifle corps, and Fascist formations in the works). Hand in hand with these preparations the Social Democrats, in an open alliance with the State apparatus and the bourgeoisie, initiated an offensive aiming at splitting all the mass organisations.

This period, in which the activity of the proletariat rapidly increased and found utterance in spontaneous strikes and spontaneous protests of the workers at the diminution of real wages, the deterioration of their position by reason of the new tenants' protection law, and the decline of social insurance legislation — demanded greater activity on the part of the Party than it had developed during the preceding peaceful era.

Under these circumstances, the wrong conception of the consequences of capitalist stabilisation led to tendencies which wholly ignored the contradictions arising on the basis of stabilisation and the aggravation of class differences. The Party remained in the background in relation to the increasing class struggle and to the growing danger of war, and this inactivity gradually assumed a drastically opportunist character. The Party proved unprepared to effect any rapid mobilisation and re-formation of its ranks and incapable of organising an active resistance of the masses to the offensive of the bourgeoisie or to conduct any spontaneous action on the part of the former. The Party consequently committed in the course of last year a series of very significant errors, which caused the sympathies it enjoyed among the working masses to wane considerably, so that on the Red Day the Party found itself completely isolated from the masses.

In passing from one sheltered position to another, the Party was unable to maintain its position at the head of the constantly growing and increasingly turbulent movement of the masses. And this was the chief cause of the present crisis in the Party. The separation from the active movement of the working masses, which defended their class interests, is so great a convulsion for a Communist Party, that an internal crisis is not only bound to ensue but cannot fail to prove serious and far-reaching.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia must now make every effort to issue from the crisis strengthened and ready

to meet the new tasks awaiting it in its new position. Therefore, every attempt to underestimate the importance of the present crisis and thereby to lull the vigilance of the members and to weaken their will to as speedy as possible a solution, is quite impermissible.

What were the greatest mistakes made by the Party during the last few months and what the reasons of the failure of the Red Day? On the occasion of the demonstrations on March 29th and April 3rd, which embodied a protest against the decline of social insurance legislation, the working class of Czechoslovakia appeared in great numbers. The workers indignantly protested against the alteration of the insurance law and showed every determination to see the matter through.

On April 3rd, the Czechoslovakian working class was duped by the mendacious promises of the Government and the reformists. Instead of exposing the imposture on the spot and pointing the way towards a continuation of the campaign of the masses, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party allowed itself to be gained for the idea of an agreement with the reformists, actually withdraw the slogan of a general protest-strike and of the convocation of a congress of factory councils, and made the rest of the campaign dependent on parliamentary combinations and manoeuvres. It is therefore not in the least surprising if the working masses see no difference between the tactics of the Social Democrats and those of the Communists. "The Communist Party is just as opportunist and just as vacillating as the Social Democratic Party." Such was the inference of the masses after the abortive demonstrations of March 29th and April 3rd.

At that time the C. P. Cz. had every opportunity of placing itself at the head of a powerful action of the masses, promoting its further development, and pitting its revolutionary determination against the vacillation and treachery of the Social Democrats. It failed to do so. It failed to act and permitted itself to be confused by the militant determination of the masses. It allowed the tremendous energy of the masses to be deflected into the complicated system of parliamentary channels, where it disappeared without leaving a trace behind it.

Besides these grave errors in connection with the social insurance campaign, importance attaches to the inactivity of the Party in regard to wage disputes. In spite of the successful development of the North Bohemian miners' struggle serious shortcomings were apparent even in this connection (e. g. at Kladno and in relation to the East Bohemian textile workers). and together with the wrong tactics adopted in subsequent wage questions, these led to a serious defeat of the Party and of the Red trade unions in the politically significant struggle of the metal workers, a defeat which greatly influenced the activity of the Red Day.

The same opportunistic lethargy was also apparent on May 16th, on the occasion of the demonstration of the agrarian party supporting the Government. This demonstration was a direct response of the bourgeois bloc to the demonstrations of workers on March 29th, April 3rd, and May 1st, and was held with the intention of showing the workers that the streets of Prague could be occupied by yeoman cavalry. Besides the landowners and big farmers, tens of thousands of middle-sized and small farmers took part in this demonstration, in which the Government of the bourgeois bloc was thus able to confront the workers with the entire peasantry.

How did our Party react to this demonstration? Did it endeavour to make the workers understand the danger threatening the proletariat in a united front of the middle and poor peasants with the big peasants and big landowners? Did it raise an alarm. Did it call upon the working class to make a counter-demonstration? Did it call upon the workers to frustrate the agrarian demonstration and to express in full detail our agrarian demands in the presence of the small and middle-sized peasants assembled in Prague? It did nothing of the sort. It passively watched the preparation for a demonstration, as though it were of opinion that all parties have the same right to demonstrate in the streets.

Thanks to their class instinct, the Czechoslovakian workers could not but recognise the danger represented by the demonstration of the agrarians and could not help considering the attitude of our Party weak and opportunist. "The Party has gone into hiding", was the only inference the workers could draw.

The fundamental political error of the Red Day consisted in the fact that this powerful action of the masses was planned and prepared without the consent of the masses themselves. The working masses were simply not asked whether they were ready for action; the mood of the masses was not examined; no sufficient agitation was carried on among the masses in general and in the factories in particular. The whole idea of organising a Red Day was started without any direct contact with the masses. The reason for the organisation of a Red Day (i. e. the prohibition of the Spartakiad) was of insufficient importance in the eyes of the working masses. There was a constant change of slogans, in the following sequence 1. "The Spartakiad must take place at all costs". 2. "The Red Day in the place of the Spartakiad." 3. "The Red Day is a day of fighting for the legality of the Party and of the revolutionary organisations." Only two weeks before the Red Day, i. e. when it was already too late, did the Party issue adequate platforms for the masses, referring to the defence of the interests of the working class and the peasantry. Even the question as to the character of the demonstration (whether it was to be a legal demonstration, permitted by the police, or an illegal demonstration incurring a fight) was left undecided until the very last moment.

It can therefore not be considered surprising that the working class was ignorant as to the actual object of the demonstration of July 6th and arrived at the conclusion that the Red Day had been organised by the Communists partly in protest against the prohibition of the Spartakiad and partly as a measure in the fight for the legality of the Party. "That is not our concern; that is the concern of the Communists", said the masses in reply to the belated, undecided, and vague summons of the Party.

The failure of the Red Day was completed by the fact that not the least attempt was made to realise the demonstration and that the 6000 revolutionary workers who assembled in the streets of Prague (half their number hailing from the provinces) were as a troop deserted by its leaders. Among the 6000 revolutionary workers, and particularly among their leading functionaries, there were no comrades sufficiently bold to take the initiative and organise the demonstration on their own account.

Such was the inglorious outcome of this measure, which had been started on so broad a footing but had been arranged apart from the masses themselves.

In all the instances here mentioned, viz. the mass protest against the deterioration of social insurance legislation, the demonstration of the agrarian Government party, and the Red Day, the false political directives of the Party were apparent. In addition, both the central and the leading provincial organs have committed errors in the organisation and conduct of mass actions, which quite clearly show how greatly the Party has become isolated from the masses. For this reason, if for no other, these particular errors are the most serious the Party has ever committed. All attempts to change, mitigate, or restrict this fundamental inference or to assert that the Party is not isolated from the masses, as many Czechoslovakian comrades have asserted, must be most severely condemned, as must also the attempt to explain this isolation and the consequent failures, as part of the general situation.

The main task now confronting the C. P. Cz. is the immediate re-establishment of the forfeited contact with the working masses.

The Party must most attentively examine the question as to how the contact with the masses is to be re-established. Without a thorough investigation of the errors committed this task cannot be fulfilled. The Party must concentrate its entire attention on this fundamental task and most energetically shelve for the present the problems of secondary importance the discussion of which in the Party has already begun. It cannot be permitted that the attention of the Party be deflected at such a critical moment from the most fundamentally important questions.

The resolutions of the latest congress of the Red International of Labour Unions must be subjected to a most detailed discussion in all nuclei and organisations of the Party. Particularly detailed attention must be paid to the question of strategy and tactics in the economic struggle for the purpose of showing up the difference between our strategy and tactics and those of the Social Democrats and particularly of making the masses aware of those fundamental changes in the ob-

jective situation — such as the accentuation of class differences, turning to the Right on the part of the reformists, increased incursions of State authority, and rising political importance of the economic struggle — as make a change in the methods of the economic struggle urgently necessary.

In the same way, the resolutions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern must be discussed, with special reference to the question of the war danger. In this discussion all experiences of mass action against the war must be taken into consideration, which other Communist parties have had of late.

The aggravation of the class differences and of the war danger, the increasing activity of Fascism and the measures of an ideological and practical fight against the Fascist danger must be discussed in detail.

In close connection with the question of an organisation of mass action, the Party must treat the problem of our struggle against the Social Democrats and of confronting our policy with the treacherous policy of the reformists.

Just in the case of the C. P. Cz., which at the time of its foundation was endowed with a considerable Social Democratic inheritance and which was at no time steeled by a revolutionary fight of the masses, the elaboration of Bolshevik and revolutionary policy of its own, altogether opposed to the policy of the reformists, cannot but be among difficult tasks.

Not only in the realm of economic struggles, but also in its political activity of the masses, the Party was — as may be seen by an analysis of its recent errors — incapable of ridding itself of Social Democratic remnants which still firmly adhere to it. The danger from the Right is not so much external as internal. Although the Party has waged a not unsuccessful fight against Right deviations, the danger from the Right continues to be a serious menace to the Party, a menace which is increasing at present, in connection with the internal party crisis.

The danger from the Right is at present to be seen particularly in the conception that the Party has advanced too far ahead of the masses, in the attempt at seeking the reason of the failure of the Red Day in the passivity of the masses, in an underestimation of the significance of the persecutive measures of the bourgeoisie, and finally in the "cunning" idea that the legality of the Party might be ensured by a mitigation of the revolutionary character of our propaganda.

The alliance of all party forces in the interest of a determined fight against the danger from the Right at present constitutes the fundamental presumption for the task of overcoming the opportunist inactivity in the Party and its administration and thus also for the re-establishment of the contact between the Party and the working masses.

Alongside these questions, that group of problems must also immediately be discussed which refer to an improvement in the composition of the leading organs. However great the difficulties to be encountered in this connection, the Party must attach all importance to introducing into the central and leading local organs of the mass organisations young workers who are free of Social Democratic traditions, have acquired revolutionary ideas, and have some practical experience of the subordinate Party and trade-union organs.

This question, as also that of the maximum increase of work in the Young Communist League must immediately be discussed throughout the Party and in all Party organisations.

Finally, the number of problems to be discussed as soon as possible may be supplemented by the question of a re-organisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei, the question of a development of the nuclei into organs of active political party work, the question of a speedy reorganisation of the international trade-union federation, and the problem of illegal work.

These questions must form the fundamental contents of the discussions which the E. C. C. I., in concert with the Czechoslovakian delegation to the VI. World Congress of the Comintern, considers necessary in the interest of a speedy solution of the crisis. It is not by action amongst the leaders and not by manoeuvres among the fractions that the crisis in the Party can be eliminated, but solely by a comprehensive discussion of all above-mentioned political and organisational questions.

This discussion must be organised in such wise that all Party members are included in it and are given occasion to speak freely on all the errors and problems with which the



Party is faced. Whatever hinders the free development of the discussion must be energetically eliminated.

An adequate development of the discussion may be particularly harmed and endangered by attempts to drive the Party to disagreements among its groups and fractions by unjustified, superficial, and highly exaggerated mutual accusations. The first steps taken in the discussion already indicate some such danger. The E. C. C. I. most emphatically condemns both the accusation of the Carlsbad district committee to the effect that the C. C. is anti-Leninist and the consequent demand for its removal, and also the counter-accusation of Trotskyism raised by part of the C. C. against the Opposition. A careless abuse of such methods at a moment of such grave portent for the Party borders on crime against the Party. The E. C. C. I. pronouncedly condemns the occurrences in the Bratislava organisation (attempts to confront the elected organs of the Party with a new district committee), which are of a nature liable to undermine the Party.

The discussions must be conducted by the elected organs of the Party under the lead of the C. C. of the C. P. Cz.

In the course of a comprehensive discussion, new elections of all leading functionaries must be organised, from the nucleus to the district administration. At the new elections it is particularly young and truly revolutionary comrades, in intimate touch with the masses, that must be recruited for the most important work in the Party and for work in the mass organisations, starting with the very lowest functionaries. All that hinder the activity of the C. P. Cz. and have not yet got the better of their Social Democratic traditions, must be eliminated. The discussions are to terminate in the convocation of a Party Congress.

The C. P. Cz. is experiencing hard times. It would be a highly harmful deception to reckon on a mitigation in the persecution of the Party by the Government. Now that the Government has succeeded in mobilising its forces and to review them on May 16th, while on July 6th the failure of the Red Day revealed the isolation of the Party from the working masses, an increase of the repressive measures against the Party has become inevitable. The bourgeois bloc Government cannot yet decide on a public dissolution of the Communist Party, but it has adopted a course of action which will render its legal existence impossible.

The one possibility of an actual fight against the repressive measures of the Government lies in as speedy as possible a re-establishment and confirmation of the contact between the Party and the working masses.

On the occasion of the approaching festivities to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovakian Republic and on the occasion of the next elections for the self-administrative bodies of the individual districts, the Party will be able to ascertain to what degree its connection with the masses has improved.

From opportunist inactivity to Bolshevik activity is a step the Party will be obliged to take during the next few months. All forces of the Party must be employed to achieve this aim. this aim.

The E. C. C. I. gives utterance to the firm conviction that the really revolutionary part of the Party will succeed in saving it from the present crisis and in turning it into a party of the masses, which will be able to place itself at the head of the working class of Czechoslovakia in the approaching revolutionary struggle.

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Prague, 1st October 1928.

The Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia was held from 18th to 30th September, and was attended by the Czechoslovakian delegates returning from the VI. World Congress. The Conference dealt with the decisions of the World Congress, especially with those referring to the Czech Party. It passed a resolution welcoming the decisions of the VI. World Congress, and agreeing with the Open Letter sent by the E. C. C. I. to the members of the Czech Party. The Plenum further resolved to draw up instructions for carrying out an open inner Party discussion, to convene the Party Congress at Christmas, and to issue a manifesto to the workers on the impending struggles and actions.

## PROLETARIAN DEFENCE

### Congress of the Austrian Workers' Defence Corps.

By W. Sch.

Wiener-Neustadt, Sept. 23rd, 1928.

The Foundation Congress of the Lower Austrian and Styrian Workers' Defence Corps was held here to-day. It was an impressive prelude of the mass movement against the Fascist march of October 7th. The bourgeois Press, which understands full well that the danger to the Fascist offensive is not to be expected from the S. P. of Austria and its Defence League, who would readily capitulate, but from the Communist Party and the anti-Fascist workers' defence corps, started a furious agitation against to-day's congress. The result was the completely illegal measures of restriction, which were enacted against the congress, and a positively sensational mobilisation of the armed forces of the State.

Wiener-Neustadt was to-day completely characterised, on the one hand, by the congress, on the other, by a truly unparalleled mobilisation of the armed forces of the State. There was actually a state of siege in the town. The action began in Vienna against the delegations of the Vienna workers' defence corps. A huge body of police occupied the station from which the deputations of the Vienna workers' defence corps were to leave by a special train. All the passengers were searched for weapons. It was only the excellent discipline of the Vienna workers' defence corps that prevented serious collisions even before the start from Vienna.

At Wiener-Neustadt station the Vienna section met the delegations of the Lower Austrian and Styrian workers' defence corps, which are in course of foundation. When the delegates had lined up and left the station the following spectacle presented itself to their eyes: The streets which lead to the congress hall had been cleared and lined throughout their length with police. All the side streets had been cut off and barricaded with motor lorries — furnished by the Social-Democratic municipal council.

The congress hall had hardly been entered when police officials appeared and made the following communication to the congress executive: The authorities insist that representatives of the police are to be present in the hall; the congress must be brought to a close punctually at 1 p. m.; if these instructions are not complied with, the police troops concentrated in the court yard and in the side streets have orders at the word of the commander to enter the hall by force and clear it. As evidence of their readiness to act, the police ran a couple of armoured cars into the courtyard of the congress hall. It was only with the greatest difficulty that the congress executive could hold its own against the passionate indignation of the delegates and persuade them that it would be senseless to involve themselves in an uneven fight, when isolated from the working masses; it was much better to join in the march of October 7th in Wiener-Neustadt, where the right answer would be given.

In the course of the congress there was a demonstration of a courageous fighting spirit. 200 delegates from Lower Austria and Styria were a proof of the extent of the Austrian workers' defence corps; numerous Social-Democratic and non-party delegates proved that the workers' defence corps is a super-party organisation, which, however, is fulfilling its tasks in closest relations with the only revolutionary party of the Austrian proletariat, the Communist Party of Austria.

The conference was greeted amidst loud applause by representatives of the R. F. B. (Red Front Fighters) of Germany, the Czech workers' defence corps, the Communist Party of Austria, Red Relief, the I. W. H. and of the Unity Committee. A number of delegates of individual works — of the Zillingdorf mine and of several large Vienna factories — gave expression to the sympathy of revolutionary factory workers towards the thought of the Red Front. (It is worthy of note that the trade-union executive issued a special circular expressly forbidding shop stewards to take part in the conference and threatening "violators of discipline" with the Shop Steward Law!)

The secretary, Comrade Schmidt, described in his comprehensive speech the tasks of the workers' defence corps. In the sense of this speech the conference resolved to issue a proc-

clamation to all workers and especially to the members of the Social-Democratic Defence Corps requesting, in the first place, that the Fascist march should be prevented under the leadership of the Communist Party of Austria and of the workers' defence corps. The proclamation discussed the most recent capitulation of the S. P. of Austria, by which the working class is to be legally deprived of its right to the street, and declared that the workers' defence corps would defend this right under all circumstances and by any means. The slogan must not be: "Internal disarmament" but "Armed defeat of Fascism." The congress unanimously accepted the proclamation with great enthusiasm. It was also resolved to expedite during the next 14 days — up to October 7th — the inauguration of new formations of the workers' defence corps throughout the industrial territory of Lower Austria and Styria, which is being provoked by the Fascists. An executive was unanimously elected for the Lower Austrian-Styrian workers' defence corps.

One of the most impressive incidents of the congress was the mounting of the platform by a soldier of the Federal Army who declared, in the name of the revolutionary worker-soldiers, solidarity with the proletariat in the fight against Fascism.

At the conclusion of the congress the delegations marched in close order to the station. In the meanwhile the police had been reinforced: along the whole of the march route there were in addition to the police formations, gendarmerie troops with carbines and fixed bayonets. Although in Vienna, too, there was an unusually strong body of police awaiting the Vienna workers' defence corps deputations, the delegates fell in and marched through the working quarters adjoining the station amidst the sympathetic attention of the workers.

To-day has seen a demonstrative mobilisation of the armed forces of the State, intended to intimidate the proletariat by the proof of the strength, which will be mustered for the protection of the Fascists on October 7th. It will not succeed. For, on the other hand, to-day's congress is a prelude of great promise for the mobilisation of the broad working masses against Fascism and against the Social-Democratic policy of cowardly surrender. The Austrian workers' defence corps, which in conjunction with the C. P. A. is beginning to make its way among the masses, in spite of the short time it has existed, will be on the spot on October 7th.

## WORKERS' SPORT MOVEMENT

### Wholesale Expulsions from Worker's Sport Organisations in Germany.

Common Cause with the Bourgeoisie.

By Fritz Wiest (Berlin).

The agitation carried on against the Opposition by Social Democratic leaders in the German workers' sport organisations has led to mass expulsions from associations in Berlin.

At its session of September 19th, the committee of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Union (A. T. S. B.) decreed the exclusion of 85 of the 120 Berlin associations of the union, among those excluded being the "Fichte" sport association, which numbers 10,000 members. Though bound by their signatures to accept the resolutions of the union sessions and the statutes it promulgated, the said associations would not submit to the dictates of the central committee in regard to a recognition of the cartel formed by the latter. At the same time they declared their readiness to recognise such a cartel if it were based on the right of the associations to self-determination. The committee considered this declaration "insufficient" and thought the moment had come to bring about a split, at any rate in Berlin; it therefore excluded the said associations without in a single instance hearing what their representatives had to say. Among the 35 Berlin associations not reported to have been excluded on September 19th, there are, however, also some which had answered the questions of the committee in exactly the same way as did the 85 expelled associations. Either this is to be explained as a manoeuvre to make the number of loyal clubs appear as large as possible, or else the German Socialist Party hopes that in these associations, in which the number of organised Communists is infinitesimal but the bulk of the non-party members side with

the opposition, they may still gain a majority with the aid of the organised Social Democrats and thus succeed in separating the club from the "old cartel" in which the oppositional clubs are still united.

Furthermore, the "Märkische Spielvereinigung" (M. S. V.), comprising the footballers of the first circuit of the A. T. S. B., with 8000 members, has been dissolved. By the termination of the time prescribed by the committee, 33 out of the 150 sections of the M. S. V. — so says the "Vorwärts" — had accepted the conditions of the committee. The final split was accomplished, although the organisations had done all they could to preserve their unity and to deprive the reformist leaders of every pretext for effecting a split.

At the same time, 26 members who had taken part in the Moscow "Spartakiad" were expelled by the committee without any arbitration proceedings.

A very cynical threat was launched by the committee against such associations as take part in the plebiscite campaign against the construction of armoured cruisers. The relative resolution states that the A. T. S. B. "is decidedly opposed to all imperialist Powers and therefore also to the construction of armoured cruisers, but the fight against them is a matter purely concerning the Party".

The "Vorwärts" rejoices, "At last the air is clear in Berlin. The Committee has stood firm. The enemies of the Union have been expelled". The reformist leaders have made their choice with their eyes open. They are engaged in realising the threat uttered by the reformist Koppisch "We shall adhere to our resolution, though 50,000 should leave us".

The slighting activity of the G. S. P. in the workers' sport organisations has not been terminated. On September 20th, the "Vorwärts" published fresh directives in this connection:

"Similar steps will be taken in the other associations of the central Commission."

Wherever it rules in the workers' organisations, the G. S. P. desires to be undisturbed. No opposition is to interfere with the development of its armoured-cruiser and "Reichsbanner" policy.

The Workers' Samaritan Union set the example by dissolving five oppositional detachments of Berlin columns. The "poisonous" attacks of the oppositional members, directed against the working union concluded by the Workers' Samaritan Union behind the backs of its members with the authorities and with the reactionary Red Cross, shall no longer disturb the reformist leaders.

This working union has already assumed concrete forms and concrete political importance. The Prussian Welfare Ministry is establishing a provincial working community in each province, if possible under the guidance of the Chief President, to comprise all circles connected with first aid, such as the municipalities, the provincial authorities, the fire brigades, the Red Cross, workers' samaritan columns, automobile voluntary aid service, and the like. A practical example was furnished by the "first-aid drill" held near Hanover on June 10th in which the army, the postal service, the police, the Red Cross, the Workers' Samaritan Union, and others took part. The spirit of co-operation among the workers is cultivated, so that on the occasion of the next imperialist war the organisations of the working class may immediately be employed in the service of the imperialists. In the struggles of the working class, the Workers' Samaritans are to be ranged on the side of the firing and charging police detachments, simply because the reformist leaders like to sit in working unions with members of the nobility and of the old and new military castes.

To such lengths have the plans of the reformists developed in the Samaritan Union. The members, however, will most decidedly oppose this policy. The Opposition will hasten to open the eyes of the Samaritans and of the entire working class and will continue to strive to keep the Workers' Samaritan Union what it was meant to be, the first-aid service of the working class. The Opposition will redouble its efforts to prevent the Samaritan Union from developing into an accessory of the bourgeoisie and of the new German imperialism.

The provocation practised by the G. S. P. and the reformist leaders of the sport organisations with a view to eliminating revolutionary sections of the workers' sport movement goes hand in hand with their increasing bourgeois tendencies. The reformist leaders wish to destroy the class basis of the workers' sport movement, because they want to co-operate with the "Reichsbanner" and to recruit new masses of patriots for the republic



of Hindenburg and of the trusts and monopolies, both with an eye to new imperialist wars and for use against the Soviet Union.

Wherever there are workers' sport organisations, therefore, the fight must be taken up against these splitting tendencies and the masses of the workers must be mobilised against the bourgeois tendencies of reformist leaders. This must be done parallel with a campaign of enlightenment for the purpose of recruiting more workers for the workers' sport movement and winning the members of the sport organisations for the revolutionary opposition.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### The Fifth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

Continuation of 20th Session.

Comrade Kossarov (Leninist Young Communist League of S. U.):

The programme signifies the welding together of all our forces. Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice. The programme points out the path for continued communist activities among young people. Our programme means a death sentence for the old world. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Comrade Helmut (Germany):

spoke on behalf of Communist Youth in the capitalist countries: The programme shows that we have already for nine years, been carrying on an uninterrupted struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat. It shows us the path to capturing the youth, the path to world Communism. (Applause.)

Comrade Fentinmin (China):

spoke on behalf of the colonial and semi-colonial countries: The programme corresponds to the needs of the present situation. It is a step forward in the development of the revolutionary movement in the colonies.

The programme draft was then unanimously accepted by the Congress, and the Executive Committee of the Y. C. I. commissioned with the task of final editorship. (Enthusiastic singing of the "Young Guard".)

Comrade Blenkle (Germany):

gave the report of the Political Commission: The political Commission had drawn up the political resolution. It has made some alterations, stressing the increase of unemployment among juvenile workers under rationalisation and the crisis in the children's movement. It clearly explains the rôle of the centrists. The resolution emphasises that it is the duty of the Youth League of the United States to put an end to the fractional struggle, and joins the Comintern Congress in condemning the fractional struggle in the Polish Party. The resolution emphasises that the participation of the Polish Youth League in the fractional struggle, at a time when the League is faced with such urgent tasks and the war danger is so great, is a grave error and must be replaced by the greatest possible unity.

(The political resolution was passed unanimously.)

Comrade Billoux, in the name of the Senior Convent, moved the election of 25 members and 32 candidates to the new Executive; passed unanimously. The 7 members of the Revision Commission were also elected unanimously.

Comrade Rust (Great Britain),

on behalf of the Senior Convent, proposed the enrolment of Australia, Persia, Palestine, Brazil, Korea, and Syria as sections of the Y. C. I., and the people's revolutionary youth league of Tanatuwa as a sympathising organisation; passed unanimously.

Comrade Chitarov then called for speeches from various comrades now leaving the Y. C. I., after giving valuable aid to its development and activities.

The first of these speakers was

Comrade Schueller,

who has participated in all five congresses of the Y. C. I. He said that he had been only a very small force in that group of comrades of which comrades Münzenberg and Schatzkin were members.

Comrade Schatzkin:

I brought the first congress the greetings of the Russian revolution. Since that time the organisations of the Young Communist International have grown tremendously. We should like to see the enthusiasm of the first Congress maintained in the Y. C. I. We stand shoulder to shoulder in the Parties. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Comrade Gypner:

I began my activities in the youth movement in 1916, under the difficult conditions of the military dictatorship. The time I spent in prison was an excellent schooling for me, and showed me the way. The V. World Congress leads the whole Youth International forward to the victorious revolution.

Comrade Young:

I was among the first English comrades to take up international youth work. Our aim is to become even more international and more united. The Y. C. I. will pass the revolutionary test.

Comrade Hrs!:

In the Y. C. I. we have learnt to be good Communists, and we shall fulfil our duty in the Comintern.

Comrade Ferrat:

We have given a number of good comrades to the French Party and have helped to establish this Party more firmly. We shall continue our practical help of the C. P. in the future.

A Polish youth comrade now leaving the League said: The ovation with which you greet me is for the Polish youth League, which did its duty, during its brief existence, in bringing masses of young workers into the revolutionary struggle. In spite of all difficulties, the League will continue its revolutionary work.

Closing Speech of Comrade Chitarov.

We take joyful farewell of the comrades leaving us, for they are passing forward to work in the Communist Parties. We nominate them honorary Komsomolzes. (The delegates applaud.)

This World Congress is only second to the Second Congress in importance and achievement. It has shown the path by which the great masses of working youth are to be won over. We are working in a situation in which the impending war is threatening the proletariat of the whole world. We are resolved to fight against imperialist war to the uttermost, and to give our all for the defence of the Soviet Union. We shall reply to imperialist war with civil war. We are resolved not to lay down our weapons until we have defeated our opponents in every country. The Congress has wrought weapons for the youth workers in the capitalist countries. We close the Congress with firm belief in our victory. Though the enemy may triumph today, though the bravest of our fighters are thrown into prison, the young guard of Communism is marching forward in spite of everything. The future belongs to us. (Enthusiastic applause. Singing of the "International". The delegates left the hall, singing revolutionary songs.)

This ended the V. World Congress of the Y. C. I.

The First Full Meeting of the New E. C. Y. C. I.

Moscow, 20th September, 1928.

The new Executive of the Y. C. I. held its first full meeting yesterday. The presidium consisting of 17 members and 7 candidates was elected, as also the secretariat, consisting of 5 members and 3 candidates.

In the evening the delegates of the V. Congress of the Y. C. I. and the Moscow functionaries of the Leninist Communist Youth League held a celebration, attended by great numbers of Comsomolzes, in the beautifully decorated colon-

nade hall of the trade union buildings. The opening speech was delivered by Comrade Kossarev, secretary of the Youth League of the Soviet Union. The members of the Congress presidium and of the Moscow Bureau were elected to the presidium amidst great applause.

Comrade Chitarov (E. C. of the Y. C. I.) gave an address on the results of the Youth Congress. The meeting unanimously passed a resolution approving the decisions of the Congress.

Comrade Kossarev made an appropriate speech on behalf of the Moscow Young Communist League, accompanying their presentation of a flag, which was received by Comrades Galopin (France), Helmut (Germany), Chitarov (Youth League S. U.), Massie (Great Britain), Adam (Czechoslovakia), and a Chinese comrade. Comrade Galopin and a Chinese representative expressed thanks for the flag on behalf of the foreign delegates.

After the receipt of greetings of a delegation of juvenile workers from the "Krassnaya Presnya", Comrade Schueller made a speech which was received with enthusiastic applause.

## PROLETARIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Working Women in the U. S. A.

By Phyllis Neal.

The number of women wage-earners in the U. S. today is probably over 10 million, of whom in 1920 nearly 200,000 were married women; and as in other industrialised countries, there is going on a decrease in agriculture and traditional women's occupations, outweighed by the increase in manufacturing industries and commerce.

Women's wages are in general much lower than men's. Of the 2,310,000 women engaged in industrial manual work, 90% are classified as semi-skilled. The average for women workers usually falls below the average for the lowest-paid group of men in the same industry. The "medium wage" in the highest paid state (Rhode Island) is 16.85 dollars a week; in the lowest (Mississippi) it is 8.60. But half the workers in all states receive less than the medium wage. The Southern States are the low-paid States, where there are large numbers of Negro workers.

The greater exploitation of the Negro workers is issued as a weapon against the standards of workers in the North. Great numbers of Negro women are employed on the cotton plantations and in the cotton factories of the South, and in laundries, garment factories, food-packing factories, etc., in the North, as well as in hotels, domestic work, and so on.

Investigations into the working hours of women in 18 States showed that more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  worked longer than 48 hours a week. More than half worked nine hours a day and over. Again the worst conditions are in the Southern States, where the great majority work 10 hours and more.

Of the five million unemployed in the U. S. A. at least a million are women.

Social insurance (unemployment, sickness, old age, maternity) is practically non-existent. Such protective legislation as exists is made a farce by the ability of the judicial power to nullify it, as has been done with minimum wage legislation and child labour regulations.

Trade union organisation has as yet hardly touched the working women of the U. S. A. Only 200,000 (2%) are in unions. The A. F. L. not only neglects their organisation, but actually combines with employers and police in attempt to smash the unions (such as furriers, mill-workers, embroiderers, and white goods workers) who take a militant stand. In such strikes as the New York boxmakers' (3000), Passaic textile workers' (16,000), New Bedford (28,000), the A. F. L. and the Right wing in the unions have used all their endeavours to force surrender. The leadership and support for these struggles

came entirely from the Workers' Party and the Left wing. Yet the courage and tenacity shown by the women, both in their own struggles and in their support of their men-folk (as in the great mine-strikes) proves them to be a tremendous potential force against American capitalism.

Apart from trade unions, another 2% of the women are organised along two lines — into language groups, consisting of clubs of working women of similar nationality, and into various specialised types of organisation, such as mothers' leagues, housewives councils, rent leagues, trade union auxiliaries, etc. In the case of Finnish and Lithuanian women the language clubs are federated nationally; and district federations of the general organisation have been formed under Party leadership in New York, Boston, Detroit and Chicago.

In its preparations for war, the U. S. Government can rely upon the services of many bourgeois and reformist women's organisations, all striving either to win actual support for imperialist aggression under the guise of "self-defence", or to spread the illusion that the American Government (by its Kellogg Pact, etc.) is leading a crusade for peace.

In the light of these facts, what is the foremost task in our work among the women of the U. S. A.? Undoubtedly the penetration of the masses of unorganised women. And first among them, the women in industry must be roused and organised for struggle against this brutal exploitation (upon demands for higher wages, shorter hours, social insurance, proper protection for women workers, etc.) and in preparation to resist imperialist war.

To the Negro women very special and sympathetic attention must be given, for they have learned by bitter experience of ostracism and betrayals to distrust the white workers as well as the boss.

The task before the proletariat of the U. S. A. is anything but light. It is faced with one of the strongest, most ruthless and unscrupulous ruling classes in the history of the world. If neglected, the millions of working women will prove a tower of strength to American capitalism and a fatal hindrance to the emancipation of the workers. But under the banner of revolution, they will make their masters tremble.

#### NOTICE.

The report by Comrade Bukharin on the Results of the VI. World Congress of the C. I., the first part of which appeared in our last regular number (No. 67), will, together with a report by Comrade Molotov, be published as a whole in a Special Number which will appear within the next few days.

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The Business Manager.