

Naturally, it is not a question of the *persons* of these 86 leaders. It is a question of *principle!* And on this account the Reichenberg case deserves the attention not only of the entire working-class of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, but of the proletariat of all countries. We are dealing here with a highly interesting case in which the *very good principle of no split*, when falsely interpreted, can be turned from a means to the furtherance of labor interests to exactly the opposite.

How does the thing stand here? The union has about 80,000 members. Of these about 13,000 textile workers comprising a number of locals were expelled during the last year on account of their Communist leanings. The entire *Friedland* local union, and also a part of the workers of *Mildenau* out on strike, 2000 workers in all, joined those excluded. In addition 5000 of the Reichenberg textile workers have joined the others recently. This means a membership of at least 20,000 or a quarter of the entire number of textile workers in the Union. The textile workers excluded from the union have not ceased appealing for a rejoining with their fellow-workers still left in the union.

The Reichenberg textile workers themselves demand from the leadership the reorganization of all textile workers within and without the union, that is to say a *rectification of the crime* committed by the split of the textile workers and the exclusion of those among them with a Communist leaning. But the excluded workers, going further than a mere broadening of this split, demand *unity with the Czech organization of textile workers.*

The question then is: Does the activity of these excluded workers and all those who have joined and are joining them fall under the conception of a "split" that is very justly to be avoided at all cost? It is a disconcerting fact that the union chiefs and with them all right-thinking Social Democrats demand the exclusion of those 86 leaders and the unquestioned submission of over 20,000 textile workers to the despotism of the bureaucrats. All in the name of this forbidden split. It is clear that the foregoing case can not be passed by in a stereotyped fashion by a reference to the danger of a split. It is not merely a question of the *entire character* of this "split movement", which is in reality a *fight of 20,000 textile workers for the revival of the fighting ability destroyed by the thoroughly rotten union bureaucracy.* The Reichenberg textile workers are not Communists yet. Nothing would be more foolish than to assert the contrary. Nothing would be more criminal to-day than to lead the Reichenberg textile workers into battle for political Communist aims. The movement against the union leaders which has lasted nine months and which the latter have fought by a systematic exclusion of all rebelling members, was born of the need of improving the workers' condition through *struggle.* The Communists were excluded from the union because they were demanding the struggle which the bureaucrats neither could nor would lead. The Reichenberg textile workers who have joined the excluded comrades and who are about to join them are also impelled thereto by a realization that the methods of struggle must be employed. In the textile trade as in every other the aversion to every struggle, so clearly characteristic of trade-union leadership, is followed by a boundless arrogance and eagerness to exploit on the part of the employer. *The textile workers are among the worst paid workers of the republic, which is not surprising when one recalls that all agreements are not the result of struggle, but of haggling conducted by the bureaucrats behind closed doors. Whatever was done to exercise pressure on the employers and to demand improvement in the lot of the labor was the work of the Communists. The sole agreement made by the Communists alone, that of Gabel, is much more favorable to the workers than all agreements made by the bureaucrats. The workers know that, they have noticed the procedure of the Communists and they understand that the exclusion of the Communists from the union is equivalent to a removal of all those elements that represent the proletariat in its fight against the employer for a better livelihood. That is why the movement against the leadership of the union is so long and bitter! The battle which the Reichenberg textile workers have joined is therefore a fight of the workers against the employers' allies whose leadership the workers refuse henceforth to accept.*

Whether or not is the offer of the union bureaucrats to be accepted? It is from this angle that the question should be viewed. What will the acceptance of their stipulations mean? It will not mean merely the abandonment of 86 leaders; who might be readily sacrificed if it were really possible to create a united front thereby. *It would mean that over 20,000 workers who had come to see in the class-struggle, and in the methods of the International of Red Unions, the only means of their emancipation from starvation and slavery, would be delivered over to the union bureaucrats who are avoiding the class-*

*struggle on principle and who strangle it when they cannot avoid it. The Communists would thereby agree to the principle of being completely excluded from active life in the unions. The Communists would thereby openly assent not only to the exclusion of the 86 Communist leaders, but also that of all other workers leaders that might not please the union leaders. Not only at present but also in the future would everyone preaching the class-struggle be expelled, and the union would become an asylum for all counter-revolutionary chiefs. No obstacle would arise to the election of some manufacturer to the presidency of the union. Not only would the Communists be excluded on principle, but that would happen will the full consent of the Communists themselves, who by their acceptance of the union conditions would recognize as just their own exclusion and the necessity of a united front free from Communists! The workers, and not alone the 20,000 textile workers, would consider the acceptance of the conditions made by the yellow union leadership as open treason.*

It is evident that the Communists who until the present have been doing all in their power to form one union of all textile workers of the republic, *must not slacken their efforts in the future* to maintain this union. But the Communists cannot let the 86 and many more communist leaders fall, in order that the employers might count upon the submission of the entire union wherever they wish to reduce wages or lengthen hours. Every sacrifice must be made to restore that united front of the proletariat which guarantees the continued fight for the workers' higher standard of living. Every thing must be done to create this united front within the existing union and in co-operation with its leadership. Should it become evident, however, that this leadership will co-operate only for a united front of the bureaucrats and negotiations with the employers on the back of the workers, *then the united front must be restored without the aid of the bureaucrats.*

## POLITICS

### Revolutionary India

by Sadananda Karsan.

The persecution and repression which the English government is ruthlessly employing in India demand the attention of the world. They are an indication of the extent of the movement which is rocking the very foundation of British rule in India.

That the Indian people have made up their minds to defy the suzerainty of the British Crown and its Parliament is evident from the fact that serious disturbances have occurred all over India at the arrival of the Prince of Wales, who is considered as a symbol of imperialism. Though the Indian people gave warning beforehand that the pet prince of England would be quite unwelcome, the Imperial government decided to demonstrate its strength by sending him amongst a people seething with discontent.

The people are organizing *Hartals* (closing of stores and cessation of activities of all kind) in every town and city which the prince is to visit. Before *Hartal* is declared, the public is notified in regard to the ensuing inconveniences. The following proclamation gives an idea as to the nature of the edict:

"The Town Congress Committee of Lucknow wishes to call the attention of the travelling public to the *Hartal* at Lucknow on the 9th inst (Dec.) on the occasion of the arrival of the Prince of Wales. Travellers arriving at Lucknow on that day will find it impossible to secure a conveyance or porter at the station. They are, therefore, respectfully requested to postpone their arrival until the next day."

When the Prince arrived at Bombay, *Hartal* was declared by the Congress Committee and consequently, he received a very cold reception. Very few stores were opened. A dark shadow spread over the beautiful city of Bombay and it seemed as if it had put on a mourning mask.

The Indian government could not tolerate such lack of loyalty. So, on the pretext that the National Volunteer Corps are preventing the store-keepers from expressing their allegiance to the British Crown, the British militia and police were called out. They began to fire upon the unarmed and defenceless people, and several were killed and wounded. The exact number of the casualties is not yet known. The Prince, finding India not a safe place to travel, has taken shelter in the territories of the puppet princes who have arranged an abundance of wine and women for his entertainment.

For the last few days, dispatches after dispatches signal the determination of the English government to destroy the desire of the people for freedom and independence.

Hundreds of people have been arrested and many have been thrown into prison. In Lahore, over 800 Sikhs are on trial. They are accused of conspiracy to collect arms and ammunitions to supply the national army which is being organized. Scores of the Khilafat workers are already rotting in jail. In Calcutta alone over 500 have been arrested. Even women—Mrs. Basanti and Miss Sarala, the wife and sister of Chitta Ranjan Das, president-elect of the Indian National Congress, have not escaped the wrath of the British government. The Congress leaders, the Khilafat workers and members of the Indian National Congress, have not escaped the wrath of the British government. The Congress leaders, the Khilafat workers and members of the *Akhali Dal* (a party in the Sikh community) have become especial targets for persecution. Mahatma Gandhi has not been arrested as yet. It is rumored that the government wants Lord S. P. Sinha, the only Indian Governor in Behar and Orissa, to do Britain's dirty work of arresting the popular leaders. Sinha has therefore, it is said, decided to resign.

Incarceration of prominent men like the Ali Brothers, sirdar Gurudit Singh, Chitta Ranjan Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Jitendra Lal Jancjee, the editors of the Allahabad "Independent" and many others is inciting the whole nation to abandon its pacifistic principles, though the Indian National Congress urges the people to be calm and cool and to assume a non-violent attitude. The British government may be anxious to bring about a premature evolution, but the signs seem to be very clear when we know that there are riots in Bombay, strikes in Calcutta and that the Moplahs are still fighting in a perfect military fashion.

The Indian soldiers have also become very restive. Several regiments of the Galdaut Sikhs have decided to resign from the government's service and to serve instead under the National Volunteer Corps as soon as it is established.

The magre news which filters through the strict censorship gives us only a clue as to the sensational and startling events which are happening in India. Every bit of bureaucratic action nites all the parties of India. There is not a single man or woman whose blood does not boil at learning of the suffocation of 12 Moplah prisoners in a closed railway carriage on Nov. 19th. Over 147 Moplah military prisoners were sandwiched into a small closed carriage without having any passage for ventilation and transported through the extreme heat of Southern India. Naturally, as the Surgeon-General states, death was "due to suffocation together with heat exhaustion". They were military prisoners, and as such could expect treatment in accordance with international usage. In no page of history, can such deliberate massacre be found. The Black Hole tragedy in the 18th century pales into insignificance in comparison with such atrocities which add fuel to the fire already kindled by the Amritsar massacre and the Khilafat wrongs.

In order to understand the events in India, we must have peep into the inside workings of the Indian National Congress. Up to the present the Congress has been more or less a sort of debating society which presented grievances to the British government and cried for the crumbs of reforms. But since 1905, when the present renaissance and revolutionnary movement was born, a group of people forced the Congress to abandon its endicant policy. The revolutionaries became very active, threw bombs and killed a few English officials. This opened the eyes of the people and a new chapter began in the history of the struggle for independence. The Congress leaders realized that the establishment of a government of the people, by the people, the people and for the people should be the goal. The old group which wanted reforms and shuddered at the bombs and dynets found the Congress camp too hot for them. To-day the Congress is undoubtedly controlled by those who identify themselves with the rank and file. Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and the revolutionaries on the other have contributed in a very large measure to bring about a new lease of life in the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi in co-operation with the Ali brothers have united the various elements, and revolutionaries have gathered their forces and pushed forward a definite program of action.

The National Volunteer Corps have been organized, and a National Treasury known as the Tilap Swarajya Fund established. Every village and hamlet has come within the sphere of the activities of the Congress. The plan of boycotting the British courts, schools and colleges, and British goods was adopted in the last Congress. As a result, many national schools and universities exclusively under national control have been

established. Recently it is reported that 51 per cent of the Manchester cotton-mills have been closed due largely to the non-co-operation movement in India.

The Congress has also laid down its own foreign policy. It has notified the neighbouring governments that hereafter any treaty of commerce or association made by the British government on behalf of India will not be recognized by the people. The Congress Volunteers have organized six million laborers and have helped to establish the Kishan Sabhas (peasants' associations).

The All-India Congress Committee has lately declared "civil disobedience" and "non-payment of taxes" to the British government. In other words it has been decided, not only as a matter of political speculation, but also as a plan of action, not to recognize the political and administrative rights of the English government in India. The leaders of the various parties are also determined to declare the complete independence of India at the next session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedhabad at the end of December.

These activities and open defiance of the Prince of Wales have been as red rags to Jahn Bull. The British government is pursuing the policy of persecution, so that the people through their only elected representatives may not have an opportunity of declaring independence. The struggle has just begun and the test of strength can only be made in the field of action.

The vanguards of Revolutionary India are the common workers and peasants who constitute 90 % of the huge population, no less than one-fifth of the whole human race. These people are not going to give their lives for abstract theories. They want land, they want bread, they want their rights. A plan of action is therefore, being mapped so that the real revolutionaries may know how to use their forces for the inevitable social and economic revolution which is bound up with the political revolution.

Now is the auspicious moment for all the peoples of the world to study the significance of India's fight for complete independence. They may find that India may bring about the collapse of the imperialistic-capitalistic system. India's movement cannot but be a movement of the masses for the masses. The privileged and propertied classes are enjoying the blessings of life under the British and many of them have been created by the British government. It is the common people who are suffering and it is they who will lead the movement to success. The recognition of these facts may throw a new light on what part India may play in the adjustment of the world's economic, social and political order.

## ECONOMICS

### The Crisis in Poland and Unemployment

by L. Domski (Warsaw).

The crisis crashed down upon the Polish working-class like lightning out of a clear sky. Even two months ago, there were no signs of the impending crisis. Poland, with its constantly sinking mark was one of the cheapest countries in the world. No matter how high the cost of production was, Poland was still a cheap source of imports for foreign countries which even caused something like an industrial boom. The prospects of gaining access to the Russian market also had a living effect. Many manufacturers were stocking up. There was a downright scarcity of goods in the textile trade of Lodz. Even in August and September, a buyer who did not know the ropes in Lodz could buy goods for cash only if had he had good connections or if he paid graft.

In the enterprises affiliated to the Polish National Association of the Textile Industry, the number of employed workers was as follows:

	Cotton Mills	Woolen Mills
April 1920	24,170	6,064
January 1, 1921	30,873	11,271
October 1, 1921	49,790	14,606

The figures refer only to the organized large factories. All Polish patriots gave the assurance that as soon as the Polish mark would rise, real prosperity would set in. And in October the Polish mark rose by leaps and bounds, chiefly because of the Upper Silesian decision. But the effect of this delightful occurrence was most distressing.