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## MacDonald's Assault on India

### WEEK

### The Labor Party's Message of Peace Comes from the Mouth of Machine Guns

#### Whalen's Forgeries

The crude anti-Soviet forgeries of Mr. Whalen have proved a miserable dud—even in Washington. The New York Graphic exposed their origin by tracing the forgeries to a New York printing shop where the "Comintern" letterheads were turned out. Besides, anyone casually acquainted with the Communist movement could see at first glance that no Communist or Communist organization could possibly have concocted the letters. What stands out quite clearly is that Whalen must have been well aware of the falsity of the "documents" when he first made them public. For his pains he has been virtually laughed out of court by most of the prominent capitalist papers. But that does not mean the end of the matter. There are indications that the roots of the whole dirty business may be uncovered and "men higher up" involved. The Forgers International reaches from Riga and Sofia, through Berlin, through MacDonald and Baldwin, to Whalen. Mathew Woll and Ralph Easley of the Civic Federation, and some "noted individuals" in Washington whose names may yet be known. Nevertheless, Whalen's attempt to put a crimp into the growing U. S.-Soviet trade by an "exposure" of Amtorg has not got very far. American labor, suffering intensely from unemployment, will do well to demand credits to Russia that will enable it to place machinery orders here and alleviate joblessness.

#### Tariff and Trade

The attempt of American capitalism to issue out of its profound crisis is involving it in the sharpest conflict throughout the world. Hoover's soothing syrup is obviously accomplishing nothing. The ill-fated "engineering mind" no sooner says that all is going well than the Stock Market suffers its worst crash, Canada opens a bitter tariff war on the U. S. and a new decrease in New York jobs is immediately reported. The U. S. (which can build capitalism in one country just as little as Stalin can build socialism in one country) can alleviate its body-wracking crisis only by an assault upon the world market, which means primarily an assault upon European capitalism, headed by England. But the anarchy of capitalist production makes it enormously difficult to reorganize American industry for this attack. Bad signs for American industry multiply: steel and iron are stagnant. Foreign trade dropped almost a third of a billion dollars in January-February-March. Canada is hitting back at the Grundy bill by establishing a British-favored tariff that will cut American trade with Canada by 25 percent; France and other countries are also preparing retaliations. America will meet world competition only by lowering costs of production, which means the severest attack on U. S. labor's standards, and the creation of the most profound international social convulsions and upheavals. The American crisis is not only lifting whole sections of the working class out of capitalist-minded swamps, but is blazing the trail for the proletarian revolutions in Europe.

#### The Lynching Bee

The uniformed defenders of law and order in Sherman Texas stood by while the lynching mob burned to death George (Continued on Page 7)

The world of liberal and socialist reformism is deeply stirred with fear and chagrin. All its shabby principles and methods, its "prestige", its "future" are in danger of crashing on the rocks of the class struggle in India. The British Labor Party and its leader, Ramsay MacDonald, are again taking the great dispute between reform and revolution out of the realm of abstract discussion and testing the merits of the former in undisputable realities. And the test has resulted, as was inevitable, in a crushing indictment of MacDonaldism.

Eighteen hundred British troops, the soldiers of His Majesty and His Majesty's loyal servants of the Labor Party, are patrolling the streets of Sholapur. The Indian population is being persuaded of the nobleness of MacDonald's "inevitability of gradualness" by the establishment of martial law. The message of all-hallowing pacifism is pouring out of Labor Party machine guns that point down all the thoroughfares. MacDonald is inserting the sweet spirit of Christ and Laborism into the hearts of the Indian masses at the point of the saber and bayonet.

From 200 to 500 Indians have been

imprisoned in turbulent Bombay and vicinity so that they can reflect in their cells on the Labor Party's passionate desire to "free India". So can the 80 Indians that were arrested in Calcutta. So can the relatives of the Indians massacred at Peshawar when the British troops (with the slogans of MacDonald's pacifism inscribed on their regimental banners) retook the city from the insurgents. The pious Christian Laborites are on a Holy Crusade—to preserve the British Empire.

The international social democracy is worried. Its "prestige" is being hopelessly compromised. The French *Populaire* writes: "Political opinion in England—and in that country every government is obliged to reckon with it—is so attached to what it calls 'the integrity of the empire' that the cabinet which would infringe this integrity, in which India forms the keystone for the English, would be immediately swept away." Nevertheless, these professional slave traders add, "the Labor Party looks upon the Gandhi movement with sympathy". Certainly, for Gandhi who is strangling the movement he is involuntarily arousing but not for the movement itself.

## The «Red» Guerilla War in China

NOTE: This article by one of the leaders of the Chinese Opposition was received after our last issue was off the press. It gives a first hand picture and Marxist analysis of the guerilla warfare now going on in Southern China and serves as a thorough reply to the falsehoods and anti-Marxist nonsense which the official Party press (particularly its Chinese "expert" Doonping) publishes on events in China. Our next issue will contain another letter from comrade Niel-Sih.—Ed.)

#### SHANGHAI—

To have an idea of the real importance of the official Communist Party, it should be noted that according to the official figures the membership in Shanghai does not exceed one thousand. The organization has no active life; all is concentrated in the hands of the apparatus. The situation is still worse in the provinces.

The recent congress of the Party at Dazhan-Sus proclaimed that the revolutionary situation was "ripe" and appealed for the general strike and the armed uprising in the cities, and for the development of the guerilla war in the country.

Certain strikes imposed from above were terminated either with a lockout by the bourgeoisie or with bloodshed; in the best case, by the economic defeat of the workers. A spirit of passivity prevails within the textile industry which is the principal industry in Shanghai. The bourgeoisie conducts a systematic offensive against the workers, replacing men in textiles by women and children.

Two or three Communist workers can sometimes be found in the most important industrial enterprises. For a long time nobody took the trouble to keep in contact with them. But the First of August saw the beginning of a period of artificial explosions: the Party organized demonstrations, one after the other. Outside of the kernel proper of the membership, the demonstration only attracted some chance passers-by. For the most part they proceeded as follows:

In a busy street, with many passers-by, small merchants, buyers and idlers, a bunch

of Communists arrive and begin to shout: "Down with the Kuo Min Tang! Long live the Communist International!" and distribute leaflets. But this method gives no serious results: the leaflets fall on the sidewalk and street and are swept up with the dirt by the municipal street cleaners. A dozen demonstrators are led to the station house. Next day, the Party organ proclaims that the demonstration was magnificent, with thousands of participants, when only about one or two hundred Party members could be seen. Such demonstrations were frequently launched for the most futile motives.

On the other hand, Communists are sent to the Left Kuo Min Tang generals in order to help them in the constitution of new troops. It is even said that the Communists sent a delegate to the conference for a bloc against Chiang Kai Shek. This conference was recently held in Hong Kong. It goes without saying that while it maintains its collaboration with the Left Kuo Min Tang, the official Party and its organ, *The Red Flag*, conducts a rabid campaign against the Left Opposition.

The situation is still worse among the provincial Party forces. No campaign has been conducted against the Kuo Min Tang for a long time, on the belief that was a finished phase and that after their disillusionment with the Kuo Min Tang the workers would rejoin the Communist ranks of their own accord.

In reality they did nothing of the kind. The Left Kuo Min Tang showed considerable flexibility, even taking the lead in nu-

(Continued on Page 2)

Norman Thomas, the spokesman for American "socialism" who is also a man of God and piety, expresses the worried "hope that the (Labor) Party will find some honorable (!) way out of the tragically difficult situation which it has inherited (?) in India." To be sure, Mr. Thomas, who has such ardent hopes of building a replica of the British Labor Party in the United States so that he may himself become a MacDonald, is more than a little embarrassed by the difficulties created for him in advance by his brother-in-Christ, MacDonald. Thomas is wiser than MacDonald only because he has not the chance to exercise power—and may Thomas' God help the Filipinos and Cubans if he ever gets the chance. There is no reason in the world to believe that Mr. Thomas will act any better in Havana or Manila than Zoergiebel in Berlin or MacDonald in Sholapur or Cairo.

#### Puzzled and Powerless!

Thomas is not the only apologetic and embarrassed socialist. His colleague, James Oneal cables the Labor Party: "American workers puzzled regarding Labor Party's attitude toward India." The evangel of timid "progressivism" Muste, declares that MacDonald has done things "which leave his friends powerless to say a word in his defense". We know of no better characterization of these two men than the ones they themselves employ: Oneal is puzzled about how to defend the scoundrelly record of his fellows in India (he is puzzled in general, by any important question), and Muste is as powerless to defend it as he is careful not to attack it.

But what Muste is careful not to do, Lovestone does. He is, as he will explain, an enemy of British imperialism and Laborism. So that on May 10, he called a mass meeting at Columbus Circle to "DEMAND FREEDOM FOR GANDHI!!". Lovestone is bitter at MacDonald too. He wants to "restore" Gandhi to the Indian masses! Lovestone is the most violent opponent of the "permanent revolution" in India. He does not want to "skip any stages of development". Gandhi has not yet had the opportunity to massacre the Indian masses like Chiang Kai-Shek did in China. The "only" thing he has done so far is to betray them in his own way, hand the militants over to the British jailors by disowning their "violence". Consistent Lovestone! For the alliance with Chiang Kai-Shek in the Chinese revolution in 1925-27 and for the defense of the strangler of the Indian revolution, for "the freedom of Gandhi", in 1930!

As for the Daily Worker, and the rest of the Stalinist press, it is as puzzled as Oneal and as speechless as Muste—from another point of view. It has an unusual opportunity to draw pointed lessons from the Indian revolts and the attitude of Laborite reformism. But it is strangely silent. Its Indian news is buried somewhere on an insignificant page. It fears to speak of a genuine revolutionary movement in India because there is no Communist Party there. AND THERE IS NO COMMUNIST PARTY BECAUSE STALIN HAS BEEN TOO BUSY PLAYING WITH INDIAN NATIONALISM AND PETTY BOURGEOIS "WORKERS AND PEASANT PARTIES" TO BUILD THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. The Indian masses are paying heavily for the crimes of Stalinism.

—MAX SHACHTMAN