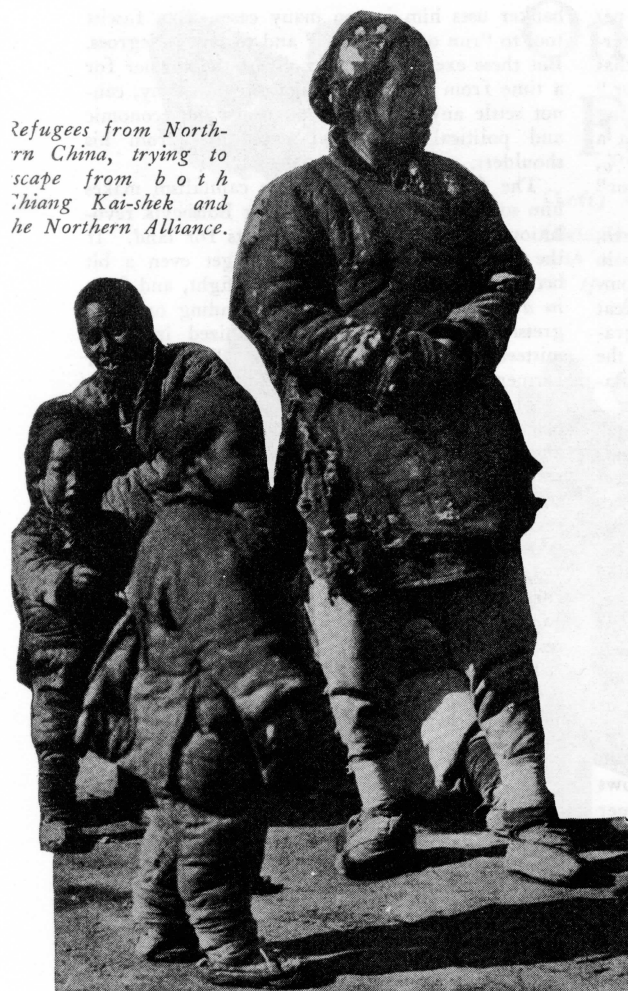


THE STRUGGLE IN CHINA

By MANUEL GOMEZ

Refugees from Northern China, trying to escape from both Chiang Kai-shek and the Northern Alliance.



tionary movement were much more appalled by the privilege-levelling demands of the workers and peasants in their own ranks than they were by the foreign exploiters. They betrayed the movement cynically, came to terms with the imperialists and Chiang Kai Shek's so-called Nationalist Government was set up as a bulwark of the imperialist powers. But this bastard capitalist regime could achieve no stability in China.

The Kuomintang leaders had not made the revolution. They could injure it, they could force it into fresh sacrifices, but they could not stop it. Today it is more apparent than ever that the movement of workers and peasants is unconquerable. A congress of Chinese soviets has just been held, and we read in the New York Times of June 19th that "the Communist menace in the Yangtse Valley overshadows even the challenge to Nanking's authority by the Northerners."

Now India, which for generation has agonized under British oppression, is straining to be free. India and China together make up one-third of the population of the earth. That these teeming millions should be obliged to struggle against colonial and semi-colonial slavery is a commentary on the humanizing claims of Twentieth Century capitalism. The gigantic forces that their struggle bring into play make it a challenge to the entire structure of world imperialism, and an inspiration to the oppressed masses everywhere.

The causes that produced the upheaval in India are: the growing impoverishment of the people, of the peasantry, workers, petty-bourgeoisie. As in China, the revolutionary force was set in motion by a series of labor struggles—primarily the railway and textile workers. The movement is not the creation of Mahatma Gandhi or the Indian National Congress. The upper-caste Congress leaders, Gandhi among them, for many years had refused even to declare themselves in favor of India's independence, and it was only after menacing popular demonstrations in front of the Congress meeting place that it passed the independence resolution in December of last year.

Swept along by the popular movement, Gandhi and his friends have been obliged regretfully to take up a more and more extreme position. Thanks to their talent for adaptability they have managed to retain a high degree of prestige among the Indian masses, which is still further enhanced as a result of their imprisonment by British imperialism. But are these the true leaders of a revolution which must drive the British out of India, and which obviously must confront the British vassals

in India, the native of exploitation?

One does not mention. The Indian National Congress, Gandhi himself, the Indian political scene whose leadership he reaching a culmination will be more dependent on the cooperation of all armed hands of British imperialism revolutions in whose central issue of over as to the meaning of intoxicating liquor, etc.

The British do put him in jail. In a mistakable impression agreement at the protest at Chittagong, as the growing "Red" movement among the and peasants' movement.

It must be admitted revolutionary upsurge misses a certain unity the line of advance revolution must be looked relatively short, violence in due course. That is not discredited and is plainly necessary, I

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FIVE years ago, following the May 30th massacre at Shanghai, the weight of imperialist oppression in China was shaken by a revolutionary thunderstorm that focussed the attention of the whole world. Imperialism tried to meet this terrific storm head on, and failed. Proud resistance gave way to maneuvering. The Koumintang generals and bourgeois leaders—the Chiang Kai Sheks, Feng Yu Hsiangs, Wang Ching Weis, Sun Fos and T. V. Soongs—who had put themselves forward as the heads of the revolu-

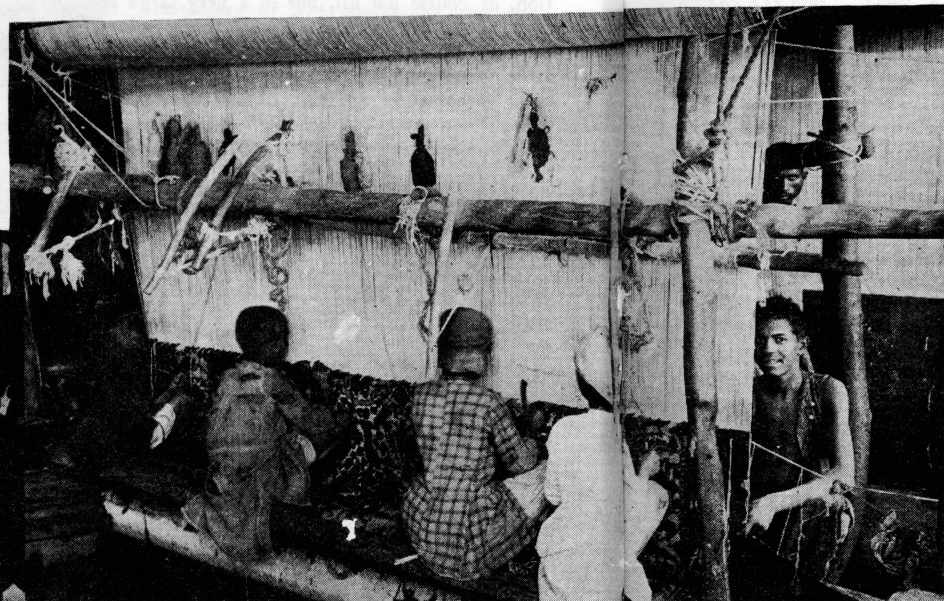
Labor Imperialist,
Ramsay
MacDonald



British police removing
barricades from a main
street in Calcutta, India.

Child weavers at Sholapur, India. They get from 10 to 20 cents a day.

Photo: Ewing Galloway



STRUGGLE IN CHINA AND INDIA

By MANUEL

GOMEZ

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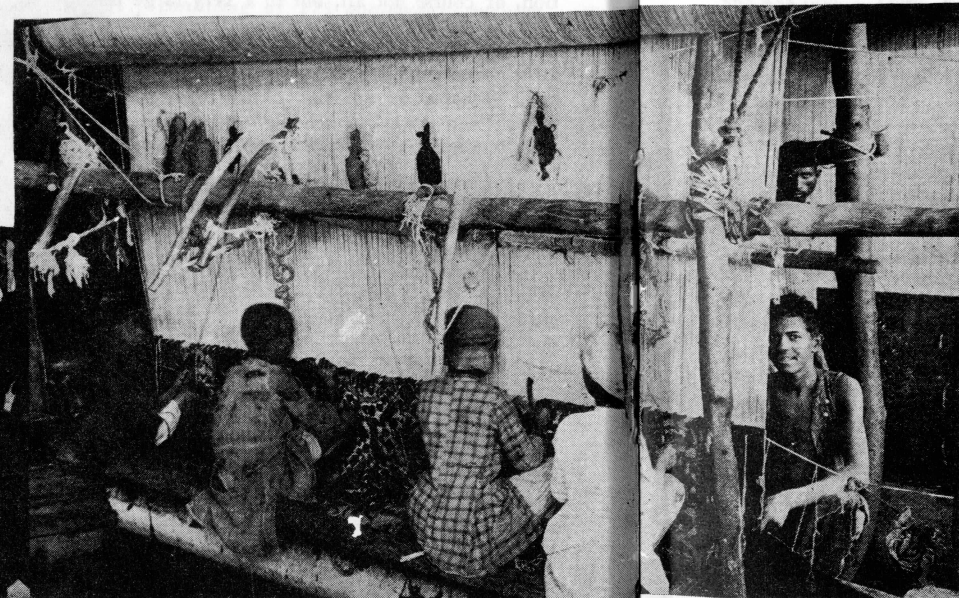


Photo: Ewing Galloway

in India, the native princes, the big landowners, the usurers and all the beneficiaries of exploitation?

One does not need the dread lesson of the Chinese events to answer that question. The Indian National Congress has a long record of betrayal behind it. As for Gandhi himself, this is not the first time that he has appeared prominently on the Indian political scene. In 1921 he turned suddenly upon a promising movement in whose leadership he had figured, and helped to demoralize it precisely when it was reaching a culmination. His present attitude does not inspire confidence that he will be more dependable in the future. What is the effect of his repeated denunciation of all armed movements against the British? Quite simply to play into the hands of British imperialism. He strives to prevent the development of the very revolutions in whose name he speaks. Meantime, he diverts attention from the central issue of overthrowing British rule, by suggesting obscurantist interpretations as to the meaning of Civil Disobedience, by raising the question of prohibition of intoxicating liquor, etc.

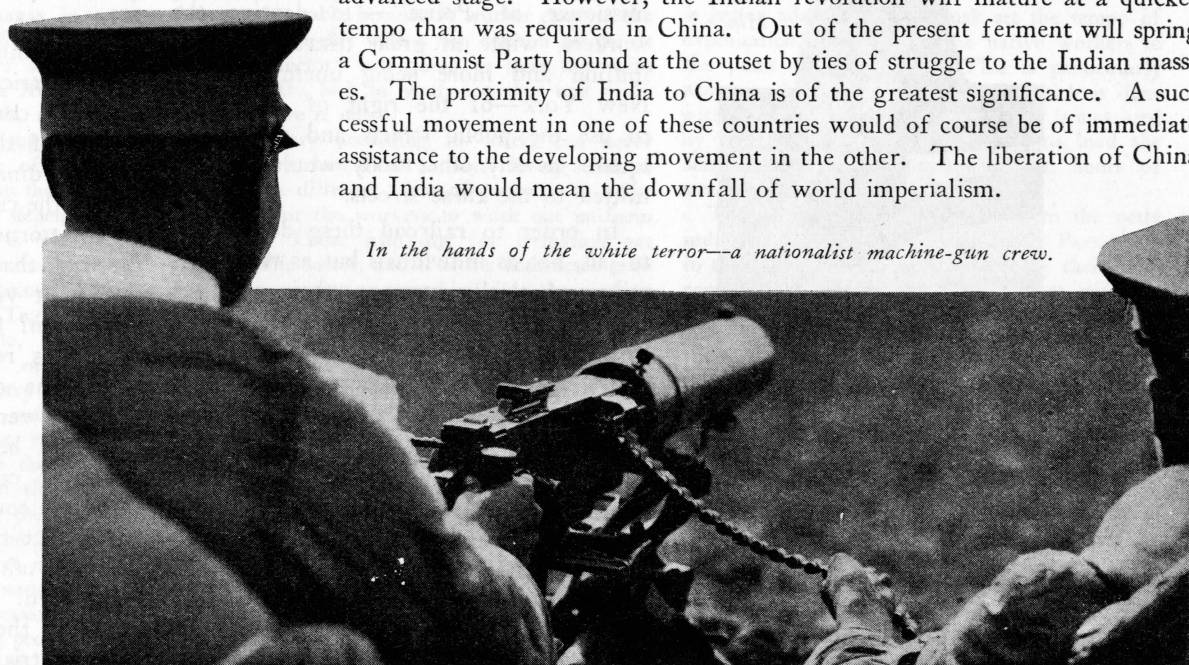
The British do not fear Gandhi, even though they have been constrained to put him in jail. In fact a reading of the British capitalist press gives one the unmistakable impression that they are counting on him to put through a "conciliation" agreement at the proper time. They fear such things as the attack on the arsenal at Chittagong, as the mass insurrectionary outbursts at Sholapur and Peshawar, as the growing "Red Shirt" organizations among the peasantry and the general strike movement among the workers. The repressive tactics employed against the workers' and peasants' movements have been literally murderous.

It must be admitted that there is evidence of something lacking in the Indian revolutionary upsurge, notwithstanding its inspiring progress up to now. One misses a certain unifying element, a center of operations, conscious delineation of the line of advance and an integration of practical fighting forces. Of course revolution must be looked upon as a process, even though the process is compressed into relatively short, violent stages, and these shortcomings doubtless will be overcome in due course. That they cannot be entirely overcome so long as the Gandhi banner is not discredited among the Indian masses goes without saying. Something more is plainly necessary, however: the development of a fairly strong Communist Party.

In China, where there is an experienced Communist Party which has gained influence over broad masses of workers and peasants, the revolution is at a much more

advanced stage. However, the Indian revolution will mature at a quicker tempo than was required in China. Out of the present ferment will spring a Communist Party bound at the outset by ties of struggle to the Indian masses. The proximity of India to China is of the greatest significance. A successful movement in one of these countries would of course be of immediate assistance to the developing movement in the other. The liberation of China and India would mean the downfall of world imperialism.

In the hands of the white terror—a nationalist machine-gun crew.



A coolie porter of Calcutta, India

Photo Ewing Galloway