

Imperialism and Counter-Revolution in China.

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The Soviet power in Canton is suppressed with inhuman ferocity. Even the imperialist news agencies, which have no sympathy with the workers and peasants occupying Canton, report 5000 killed on the first day the counter-revolutionary troops occupied the city. The communists, even those suspected of having communist sympathy, were massacred wholesale.

Dead bodies of revolutionary workers and peasants were carried in carts to be dumped in the river. The streets are strewn with murdered communists.

A good one fourth of the city has been totally destroyed not by the workers and peasants, but by the counter-revolutionary army. Thousands of houses are burnt down as a result of the bombardment of the city. The Soviet Consulate was raided, all the inmates arrested and five, including the vice-consul and a women employee, shot.

This gruesome terror of death and destruction was let loose because a government of the workers and peasants was established in Canton. The bourgeoisie would demolish the city rather than see it in the possession of and governed by the workers. For four years the workers and peasants had defended the nationalist Canton against imperialist aggression. But for the heroic efforts of the workers the nationalist government of Canton would have been overthrown. Now the nationalist bourgeoisie have made a united front with imperialism against the workers and peasants. As soon as the establishment of Soviet-Government was declared British battleships rushed to the scene and American field guns were levelled upon the city. This was to encourage the counter-revolutionary army in its bloody undertaking.

Complete surrender of the nationalist bourgeoisie to imperialism is testified by the decision to break off relations with the U. S. S. R. While issuing the order for the closure of the Soviet Consulates, trade missions and the Far-Eastern Bank, Chiang Kai-Shek stated: "In the early stage of the revolution Soviet assistance was beneficial, but during the past few months communist intrigues have created class dissension that has disrupted the Kuomintang and threatened to destroy its work in China". This is a very significant statement. It means that as long as the Chinese bourgeoisie were carrying on a revolutionary struggle, they needed and appreciated the assistance of the Soviet Republic; but since they have abandoned the revolution and seek the support of imperialism in the counter-revolutionary struggle against the workers and peasants, they must turn back upon the former benefactor.

Class dissension indeed disrupted the Kuomintang. To defend feudal and capitalist interests the Kuomintang betrayed its revolutionary tradition. The disruption of the Kuomintang began as soon as it turned against the working class. Chiang Kai-Shek, who accuses the communists of having disrupted the Kuomintang, was the first to deal a blow to it. Until the Kuomintang won the confidence and secured the active support of the workers and peasants, it could not organise an effective struggle against imperialism. It was with the help of the communists that the Kuomintang found its way to the masses and succeeded in organising them in a gigantic struggle against imperialism. Under the pressure of the masses the Kuomintang became a revolutionary democratic party. Chiang Kai-Shek began the destruction of the Kuomintang when he raised the banner of anti-communism. As the majority of the Kuomintang

would not accept his counter-revolutionary lead, Chiang Kai-Shek split the party and made a united front with imperialism.

The work of disruption thus begun is complete to-day. The Kuomintang does not exist except as a flag of counter-revolution. It is broken up into warring factions who are, however, united in their hatred for the communists, determination to drown the workers' and peasants' movement in blood and their willingness to surrender before imperialism.

Hostility to the workers' and peasants' movement and servility to imperialism are the two sides of the same policy. Experience has demonstrated that an effective struggle against imperialism can only be carried on by the working class. It has also been experienced at the same time that a revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle unavoidably quickens the social struggle. The workers and peasants demand something concrete from the national independence for which they willingly suffer and sacrifice. Anti-imperialist struggle develops by attacking such classes of native society as are related to imperialism.

National revolution must be a social revolution. The Kuomintang turned against the national revolution as soon as its social character became manifest. It became hostile to the workers and peasants because they attacked native reaction simultaneously with imperialism. By turning against the working class the Kuomintang forfeited the support of the only class which can conduct a real struggle against imperialism. With the support of the workers and peasants the Kuomintang became a terror for imperialism; as an enemy of the workers and peasants it must surrender before imperialism.

Rent with internal dissensions, personal jealousy and mutual suspicion, the Chinese bourgeoisie are not able to cope with the powerful workers' and peasants' movement. As nationalists fighting against imperialism and its agents, they had the support of the U. S. S. R. By betraying the national revolution they have forfeited that support. Now they must sell themselves to imperialism or be swept away by the mighty tide of revolution. They have sold themselves to imperialism. The native bourgeoisie have made a united front with imperialism against the national revolution and all its supporters.

The nationalist government's declaration to break with the U. S. S. R. coincided with the following statement by the assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ko Tai-Chi:

"Since Western-educated Chinese are convinced that the Anglo-Saxon road is best for China, they will exert their influence in support of the nationalist government to bring about a new orientation of Kuomintang policy."

This declaration of surrender to Anglo-American imperialism was preface by the usual diatribe against Communism. The worthy spokesman of the Chinese bourgeoisie declared China was determined "to rid herself of communist influence, which is threatening to wreck the revolution". Of course, a "nationalist" government of China massacring workers and peasants to win the good graces of imperialism could not possibly have the friendship of the U. S. S. R. On the other hand Anglo-Saxon imperialists demand a break with the U. S. S. R. as the *sin quo non* for any agreement with the nationalist government. In order to prove themselves fit to "co-operate with the Powers on a basis of equality" (words of Ko Tai-Chi) the

Chinese bourgeoisie break with the U. S. S. R. and flood the country with workers' and peasants' blood.

The above are not words accidentally pronounced. The day before Ko Tai-Chi declared in Shanghai that the foreign policy of bourgeois nationalist China has changed from Soviet to Anglo-Saxon orientation, a very important meeting took place in New York. At that meeting representatives of British imperialism met American financial magnates to define the attitude of Anglo-Saxon imperialism towards the Chinese bourgeoisie that have deserted the revolution and broken up relations with the U. S. S. R. The leading lights of the meeting were Sir Frederick Whyte, former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, J. P. Rockefeller Jr. and Thomas Lamont. As head of the British delegation to the Honolulu Conference on Pacific relations, Whyte spoke with knowledge of the situation in the East. He said: "China, having — at least temporarily — spurned Russian influence in her internal affairs, is now open to the help that America and Great Britain could give her, and would welcome it."

When this statement made in such a gathering in New York is read together with that made in Shanghai the next day by the spokesman of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the full implication of the situation becomes clear. It is seen how the Chinese bourgeoisie have completely capitulated to Anglo-American imperialism, under whose pressure they break off relations with the U. S. S. R. and perhaps before long will aid in the preparation of war against it. The debacle of the Kuomintang, the betrayal of the national revolution by the bourgeoisie, is hailed by imperialism with great relief. It is hoped that with the aid and encouragement of imperialism the Chinese bourgeoisie will defeat the revolution and make China once again a happy hunting ground for finance capital. The Wall Street magnate Lamont, who had just returned from the East where he had been to arrange about the 40,000,000 dollar loan to the South Manchurian Railway, spoke optimistically about the situation in China. He declared:

"If only our friends the Chinese, realising how keen our sympathy and interests are, could compose their differences to the point of jointly inviting the amicable co-operation of foreign interests, I am certain that the American, British and Japanese would go a long way in assisting national interests in an earnest and sincere endeavour to serve the common cause."

Undoubtedly Ko Tai-Chi's declaration as regards the Anglo-Saxon orientation of the nationalist government was the invitation Lamont asked from the Chinese. If the Chinese bourgeoisie can beat down the revolutionary movement, they will render such a great service to imperialism that this will reward them, may be, with the revision of the unequal treaties.

By themselves the Chinese bourgeoisie are not strong enough to stem the tide of revolution for any length of time. The strength of the Chinese counter-revolution lies in the fact that world imperialism stands behind it. The forces of world revolution must be mobilised in aid of the Chinese workers and peasants.
