Imperialism and Counter-Revolution in China.

By M. N. Roy (Moscow).

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

The fourth part 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 a woman employee, were 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 K'ai-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 threatens 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.

Chiang K'ai-Shek considered 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 K'ai-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 K'ai-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 K'ai-Shek split the party and made a united front with imperialism.

This declaration of surrender to Anglo-American imperialism was prelaced 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 qua 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 and representatives of the U.S.S.R. agreed to hold a conference in order to break up relations with the U.S.S.R. The leading lights of the meeting were Sir Frederick Whity, former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, J. P. Rockefeller Jr., and Thomas Lamont. As head of the British delegation, the Honorable Conference on Pacific relations, Whity spoke with knowledge of the situation in the East. He said: “China, having — at least temporarily — earned 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 have broken 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 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 cooperation 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 nationalistic government was the invitation Lamont asked from the Chinese. If the Chinese bourgeoisie break with the U.S.S.R. 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 it is an event of the greatest importance, an event of really world historical importance.

All the forces of the counter-revolution have come into action against the workers and peasants: the foreign imperialists and the bloody hangmen generals of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie of China. These forces are fighting bitterly in Canton. They have surrounded Canton and cut it off from the outside world. Bourgeois telegraph agencies report that red Canton has already fallen and that mass executions of workers and communists have begun, but that the revolutionary workers detachments of the red army of China have escaped from the ring.

Should this be true, then the victory of the counter-revolution in Canton can by no means be firm and permanent. In five districts of the province of Kwangtung the Soviet power is still firm. New struggles are unavoidable. The movement is extending despite partial defeats. The bourgeois counter-revolution, however, will be defeated and the imperialist robbers driven out of China. At the present moment however, they are swinging the executioners’ axe over the heroic Chinese workers and peasants revolution.

Hasten to assist the revolution! Assist the Chinese Soviets! Prevent the transport of soldiers and sailors, of cannon and rifles to Canton. The Chinese revolution! Returns to load munitions! Mobilise your forces! Demand the immediate removal of the imperialist armies from China!

Long live the Soviet power in China! Long live the world revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

**AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION**

Growing Revolutionary Militancy among the Colonial Peoples.

The Second Brussels Conference of the League against Imperialism.

By Willi Münzenberg (Berlin).

The Communist International has always taken the greatest interest in the colonial problem. The Communist International was the first, and it is today the only workers‘ International which is attempting to solve the colonial problem in a truly revolutionary sense. The Communist International and all its affiliated parties have consistently refused to consider any kind of solution which is not revolutionary and which does not give to the colonial peoples a say in their own affairs. The Chinese revolution is bound to merge into a proletarian revolution. It is true, the one-time revolutionary Kuomintang has completely changed its attitude. Today it is no longer a revolutionary factor but has become a counter-revolutionary factor. Revolution in China, just as in India, in Arabia, Syria, as well as in Africa, gigantic forces are struggling against the oppressive oppression by foreign imperialists as well as capitalist oppression in general. It is true the social revolutionary forces are still hidden in the background, in part pushed back by national revolutionary groups and persons who only in the course of a great revolutionary movement will be pushed on one side.

In the Anti-Imperialist League which was founded at the beginning of the present year in Brussels, there have come together many national-revolutionary organisations and groups which united with the representatives of a greater number of really revolutionary, but also a number of pacifist bourgeois organisations of the old colonial countries.

For us as Communists there can be no doubt as to our attitude towards this Anti-Imperialist League: either the false, un-Leninist attitude of the Opposition, which describes this League straightaway as a plashing as does Zinoviev in his new 21 conditions — or the true Leninist attitude, that is, to admit the League a number of proletarian-revolutionary minded classes and groups and to promote their influence in the League.”

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**Appeal of the E. C. C. I. on the Events in Canton.**

Moscow, 15th December 1927.

To all Workers, Oppressed Peoples and Soldiers of the Capitalist Armies!

In Canton, the immortal city of revolutionary struggles, the workers and peasants seized power and the Soviet banner, the red flag of the revolution waved over the capital of South China. The old imperialist financial magnates to define the attitude of the imperialist movement, they will render such a great service to imperialism that this will reward them, may be, with the revision of the unequal treaties.

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