

# CHINA

## Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China.

By M. N. Roy.

Comrade Roy has sent the following article to the *Inprecorr.* from Wuhan. It was written at the beginning of June, and shows in broad outline the forces of revolution and counter-revolution which are at work in China. Ed.

"A sufficiently spectacular extirpation of communism and the would-be communists in Hunan and Hupeh can be relied upon" — Thus gloated a Shanghai imperialist journal over the recent reactionary upheavals inside the nationalist territories. This hearty welcome given by imperialism exposes the real nature of Hsia Tao-Yin's insurrection and of the Changsha coup d'état. The reactionary militarist elements in the national revolutionary army have undertaken a mission, the accomplishment of which will please imperialism; and imperialism relies upon the success of their mission. Obviously some tie binds the insurgent militarists of Hunan with imperialism. How could the latter be so confident of success of the rebels unless some way has been formed to aid them in their counter-revolutionary venture? It is as clear as daylight who stand behind and inspire these revolts. Yang-Sin, Hsia Tao-Yin, Hsiu and their known and unknown fellows are all pulled by a string from Shanghai passing through Nanking. This string, which is meant to strangle China, extends beyond Shanghai overseas to the Chancellories and bankouses of imperialist capitals.

Hsia Tao-Yin, Hsiu and Cie do not massacre the poor peasants and hungry workers to defend the sacred right of private property, as they pretend. They are engaged in this murderous deed as agents of imperialism. Therefore, their mission is not "a sufficiently spectacular extirpation of communism and the would-be communists". It is to fight the national revolution which challenges imperialist domination and, by its very nature, is a standing menace to feudalism and its violent (peculiarly Chinese) expression, militarism.

The imperialist patrons of the renegades, in an unguarded moment, give the secret away. The crusade of these diminutive militarists is not directed only against communism. The "would-be communists" are also included in the list. This is clear.

Who are the "would-be" communists? These are people in China who cannot possibly be damned as communists, who are, nevertheless, hated by imperialism and their native allies. Communism is advocated by one revolutionary class — the proletariat. There is, however, more than one revolutionary class in the contemporary structure of Chinese society. These do not fight for communism, but fight for political and economic conditions which cannot be created unless foreign imperialism is cleared out of the country and feudalism with all its ramifications is completely eradicated. These non-proletarian revolutionary classes constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population. They are the peasantry and the middle classes. These are called the "would-be communists" and Hsia Tao-Yin, Hsiu and Co's holy mission includes their "extirpation" also.

These revolutionary classes are united with the proletariat in the historic struggle for the overthrow of imperialism and the liquidation of feudalism under the flag of the Kuomintang. The emblem of the anti-imperialist fight and struggle of the Chinese people is the Nationalist government of Wuhan. Consequently, those who, under the inspiration and to the great satisfaction of imperialism, revolt to extirpate "communism and the would-be communists", are enemies of the national revolution, traitors to the Kuomintang and insurgents against the Nationalist Government. In one word they are counter-revolutionaries.

Development of the revolution always forces the crystallization of counter-revolution. Reactionary social elements, whose power and privilege are threatened by the revolution, naturally put up a resistance. The first task of the revolution is to break down this resistance. The Reaction, expressed through the militarism of Sun Chuang-Fang, Chang Tsung-Chang and Wu Pei-Fu, was given staggering blows by the victorious advance of

the nationalist revolutionary armies. The military forces of the reaction were rolled back; but the social basis of reaction, namely feudalism, still remained alive in the nationalist territories.

The next stage in the process of revolutionary development is to carry the victory over reaction further ahead — to attack the social basis of reaction. Class-differentiation was inevitable. The nationalist bourgeoisie had participated in the struggle against imperialism and militarism, both of which factors are detrimental to their broad economic interests. But as soon as the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist movement entered a period of revolutionary struggle, the nationalist bourgeoisie sought to betray it. The more revolutionary classes captured the leadership of the movement and pushed it further.

The nationalist revolutionary movement, based upon the oppressed middle classes, peasantry and the proletariat, attacks feudalism, which attack is a sign of its development. The Chinese revolution has entered the stage in which national revolution essentially becomes an agrarian revolution. In this period a new set of counter-revolutionary forces raise their ugly heads. Until now the revolution was felt mostly in the urban areas. The revolutionary activities of the proletariat and military operations were the main features of the revolution.

Now the social significance of the revolution is becoming evident. The revolution spreads to the villages and attacks the old social order based upon feudal economic relations. Therefore classes deriving benefit from the old social order, living and thriving upon unearned income from land, possessing absolute right to exploit the semi-serf peasant masses, resist the revolution. Their resistance is organically connected with that of the other counter-revolutionary forces, namely imperialism and the renegade national bourgeoisie. An unholy alliance of all the reactionary forces is thus formed to resist the revolution.

The unmistakable sign of the organic unity of all the diverse and territorially dispersed forces of reaction is that they all march under the self-same colour of anti-communism, varying only in shade. Chang Tso-Lin and his allies behead communists and massacre workers and peasants; Chiang Kai-Shek kills communists and destroys the labour movement; the little militarist of Kwangtuung, Li Tsai-Shin, murders communists and attempts to stamp out labour and peasant organisations; Yang Sen began his crusade against Wuhan by slaughtering the communists; imperialism repeatedly indicates its willingness to accommodate a nationalist government provided it will be free from communist influence; and, lastly, Hsia Tao-Yin and Hsing Ho undertake the holy mission of defending the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government from "excesses" committed by the peasant movement led by the communists.

In all these cases communism is only a bogey. The attack is actually against the national revolution. No one would believe that either imperialism or Chang Tso-Lin could be any more friendly to the national revolution than to the Communists. It cannot be otherwise with others who sail under similar colours. When one attacks the classes that are the social basis of the national revolution, the organs of the national revolution, namely the Kuomintang and the nationalist government are attacked.

Anti-imperialist struggle is not a thing in itself. It is not an abstract conception. The Chinese people fights against imperialism because it impedes the economic progress of the country. Feudalism is a backward economic stage. Anti-imperialist struggle, therefore, cannot be separated from the struggle for the destruction of feudalism. Imperialism and feudalism help each other to keep the Chinese people in political, economic and cultural backwardness. The fight against imperialism cannot be carried further without at the same time intensifying the struggle for the overthrow of feudal relations in the village. The party that will lead the anti-imperialist struggle must also support the fight for the liquidation of feudalism.

This being the case, the anti-peasant uprisings of the feudal-militarist elements are directed against the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government. The scare-crow of communism and the pretext of the so-called "excesses" cannot confuse the issue. Just as Hsia Tao-Yin's revolt, the coup d'état of Changsha is an open counter-revolutionary act. Its object is to destroy the anti-feudal movement in the village, and thereby shake the revolutionary democratic base of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government.