

Chen Po-ta

**STALIN AND THE
CHINESE REVOLUTION**

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*IN CELEBRATION OF STALIN'S
SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY*

CHEN PO-TA

VICE-PRESIDENT OF ACADEMIA SINICA

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

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THE GREAT WALLS
CHINESE REVOLUTION

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SEVENTEETH BIRTHDAY

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MEMORIAL DAY
OF MEMORIALIZATION
1957

STALIN AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

In Celebration of Stalin's Seventieth Birthday

I

At the meeting held in Yen-an to celebrate Stalin's sixtieth birthday, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

Stalin is the leader of world revolution. This is of paramount importance. It is a great event that mankind is blessed with Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well. As you all know, Marx is dead and so are Engels and Lenin. Had there been no Stalin, who would be there to give directions? But having him—this is really a blessing. Now there exist in the world a Soviet Union, a Communist Party and also a Stalin. Thus, the affairs of the world can go well.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out to our comrades of the Chinese Party: "We must hail him, we

must support him, and we must learn from him.”
“We must learn from him in two respects: his theory
and his work.”

Comrade Mao Tse-tung explained Stalin's merits in developing Marxism-Leninism. He described Stalin's guidance in completing the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union as an epoch-making event. He explained that Stalin gave aid to the Chinese people's cause.

Ten years have elapsed since then and we are now celebrating Comrade Stalin's seventieth birthday. This occasion takes place after mankind has passed through the Second World War and the people of the world, headed by the Soviet Union, have defeated the three fascist empires—Germany, Italy and Japan. It occurs after the emergence in the world of many new People's Democracies. It occurs after the Chinese people have defeated Japanese imperialism, and subsequently overthrown the counter-revolutionary rule of the Kuomintang and ousted the invading force of American imperialism, thereby effecting the establishment of the People's Republic of China. It occurs at a time when the Soviet Union has become incomparably strong in the world while the world imperialist system, headed by American imperialism, is tottering. The series of great historical events which have taken place during the past ten years cannot be separated from Stalin's name. Nor

can they be separated from Stalin's work or from Stalin's assistance to the people of various countries. The events in world history of the past ten years have further proved that Stalin is not only the Soviet people's banner of victory but also that of all progressive mankind. They have also provided added proof of what Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out ten years ago: "Stalin is the leader of world revolution. This is of paramount importance. It is a great event that mankind is blessed with Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well." That the world has Stalin "is really a blessing."

For the whole world Stalin's birthday is a "day of mankind." It is a blessing for the Chinese people to be able to join with the Soviet people and all progressive mankind in celebrating the seventieth birthday of this greatest figure of the world, this teacher of genius, whose relations have been the most universal and whose accomplishments have been the most extensive in the cause of mankind's liberation since Marx, Engels and Lenin. This celebration is a salute to the liberation of mankind, a salute to the hope and future of mankind.

But we Chinese people have special reasons for hailing Stalin. They are: Stalin's close relationship with the Chinese revolution, his concern over the fate of the Chinese people, and his great theoretical contributions to the Chinese revolution.

On the basis of his concrete analysis of the concrete conditions in China, Stalin, the great scientist of dialectical materialism and teacher of world revolution, raised at the time of the First Great Revolution in China a series of questions concerning the Chinese revolution, and offered extremely brilliant solutions, thereby demolishing the nonsense of the counter-revolutionary trotskyites on the Chinese question and helping the Chinese Communist Party to embark on the path of Bolshevism. Stalin's many writings on China during this period are models in the integration of revolutionary theory with revolutionary practice; they constitute an important portion of the treasury of Marxism-Leninism concerning the fate of mankind. They were not only completely correct at that time, but have since been proved completely correct by the practice of the Chinese revolution during the last twenty-odd years.

When the revolutionary rays of the Chinese people were first appearing, Stalin had already seen that China's revolution contained unlimited force. Recently Comrade Malenkov, in a report delivered in commemoration of the October Revolution, made a point of recalling a forecast Stalin had made as far back as 1925.

The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are incalculable. As yet, they have not

made themselves felt properly. But they will make themselves felt in the future. The rulers of the East and West, who do not see these forces and do not duly take them into consideration, will suffer from this.

This forecast of Stalin's was based on an appraisal of the political, economic and other conditions of China, and on the alignment of forces in Chinese society. It was also based on an appraisal of the political, economic and other conditions of the world and on the alignment of the various forces of the world.

In regard to China, Stalin made the following important appraisal in November, 1926, when he wrote on the perspectives of the Chinese revolution: "The role of the initiator and leader of the Chinese revolution, the role of the leader of the Chinese peasantry must inevitably fall to the Chinese proletariat and its party." This appraisal by Stalin was based on the weakness of China's national bourgeoisie. It is an appraisal of the utmost importance. Because if only the Chinese proletariat can assume leadership in the Chinese revolution, it will be possible for the Chinese peasants and all the other popular masses to develop to the fullest their revolutionary force under the leadership of the Chinese proletariat. And once that is achieved by the people of this country, who constitute almost one quarter

of the world's population, these forces will be, as Stalin said, "incalculable."

In regard to the world situation, Stalin obviously proceeded from the famous law discovered by Lenin that in the era of imperialism the political and economic development of capitalist countries is uneven and their contradictions are particularly acute. From this he predicted that the Chinese revolution, following in the wake of the Russian October Revolution, would continue to breach in the East the imperialist front. Stalin also proceeded from the fact of the Soviet Union's existence and might. As he pointed out in his article entitled *On the Perspectives of the Revolution in China*:

Side by side with China there exists and develops the Soviet Union, whose revolutionary experience and assistance cannot but facilitate the struggles of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism and against the medieval feudal remnants in China.

Because Stalin's forecast proceeded from a firm scientific foundation, he appreciated the extraordinarily profound character of the struggle of the Chinese people. Therefore, he was convinced that the Chinese revolution would eventually advance and attain victory, no matter whatever grave setbacks it had suffered.

After Chiang Kai-shek had betrayed the revolution in 1927, Stalin refuted the nonsense of the trotskyites about confusing the Chinese revolution with Turkey's "Kemalist form of revolution." Stalin analysed the difference between China and Turkey and came to the conclusion that the possibility of Turkey's "Kemalist form of revolution" did not exist in China. He said:

In China, imperialism had to strike at the living body of national China, cutting it into small pieces and wresting whole provinces from it in order to maintain its old positions or at least retain part of these positions.

Therefore, if the struggle there in Turkey against imperialism could end in the unfinished anti-imperialist revolution of the Kemalists, here in China, the struggle against imperialism must assume a profoundly popular and pronouncedly national character and must grow stronger step by step, reaching a point of desperate battles with imperialism and shaking imperialism to its very foundations throughout the world.*

Stalin further pointed out:

Victory in China will be won either by the Chinese Mussolinis like Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-chang, who will then be swept

* Stalin: *Talk with Students of the Sun Yat-sen University.*

away by the agrarian revolution, or by Wuhan (referring to the revolutionary regime in Wuhan of the time—Author); Chiang Kai-shek and his followers, trying to hold out between these two camps, must inevitably fall and share the fate of Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-chang.*

When Wang Ching-wei, following in the footsteps of Chiang Kai-shek, betrayed the revolution, Stalin again refuted the nonsense of the trotskyites about the bankruptcy of the Chinese revolution and affirmed that there was no room in China for reformism. He explained:

The war between the old and new warlords is flaming up with new force and it cannot but weaken the forces of the counter-revolution, simultaneously ruining and embittering the peasantry.

In China there is as yet no such group or government that could carry out something similar to the Stolypin reform which would give breathing space to the ruling group.

It is not easy to bridle and oppress the millions of peasants who have already gained possession of the land of the landlords. The prestige of the proletariat among the working

* *Ibid.*

masses is rising from day to day and its strength is far from having been smashed.*

The occurrence of events is the touchstone of predictions.

Since 1927, a series of events have occurred in China. Chiang Kai-shek became the Mussolini of China and replaced Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-chang; jumbling wars took place between the new and old Kuomintang warlords; the Chinese agrarian revolution grew to an upsurge; all attempts at "reformism" on the part of the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary regime went bankrupt; China was carved up, first by the Japanese imperialists, then by the American imperialists; the Chinese people waged a life-and-death struggle against Japanese and American imperialism; these struggles shook the very foundations of imperialism throughout the world; Chiang Kai-shek met with the same fate as Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsung-chang and fell from the counter-revolutionary political stage. This series of events completely bore out the predictions Stalin had made over twenty years ago.

Stalin's predictions encouraged the Chinese people in their struggle over the past twenty-odd years and clearly demonstrated that revolutionary science is an irresistible force. At the same time, they ex-

* Stalin: *Comment on Current Affairs: On China.*

posed the shameless way in which the trotskyites and all reactionary clowns served the counter-revolution of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei.

III

In May, 1927, Stalin defined the nature of the Chinese revolution as follows:

The present revolution in China represents the confluence of two currents of a revolutionary movement—a struggle against feudal remnants and a struggle against imperialism. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in China represents the confluence of the struggle against feudal remnants and the struggle against imperialism.*

This was the conclusion Stalin had reached on the basis of his penetrating analysis of Chinese society. It was a conclusion of tremendous historical significance for the Chinese revolution. As Stalin pointed out at the time, "Such is the starting point of the whole policy of the Communist International on the questions of the Chinese revolution."

It was precisely this line that the trotskyite renegades opposed. The trotskyites virtually denied the anti-imperialist nature of the Chinese revolution.

* Stalin: *The Chinese Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist International*.

They denied the preponderant influence of China's feudal remnants, thereby denying the anti-feudal nature of the Chinese revolution.

Stalin pointed out that the viewpoint held by Trotsky and his underlings was the counter-revolutionary viewpoints of Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek. As everyone knows, it was precisely because the Chinese trotskyites based themselves on the whole of Trotsky's counter-revolutionary views and at the same time on these counter-revolutionary views of Trotsky's in relation to China that they took the road of counter-revolution together with the trotskyites in other countries.

Stalin said: "The bourgeois-democratic revolution in China is directed not only against feudal remnants. It is also directed against imperialism."*

Only when the nature of the revolution has been determined on the basis of China's social conditions can our Party correctly appraise the concrete changes in class relations in each concrete historical situation, so as to determine the specific tasks of the revolution, to organize the revolutionary front, to lead the revolution forward, and to make possible the development of the Chinese revolution, under the leadership of the Chinese working class, from a bourgeois-democratic into a Socialist revolution.

* Stalin: *The Chinese Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist International.*

The Chen Tu-hsiu opportunism of 1927 was precisely opposed to this dialectical analysis by Stalin. The Chen Tu-hsiu opportunism later merged with counter-revolutionary trotskyism. This is well-known and will not be dwelt on further.

It should be pointed out in this connection that during the twenty-odd years since 1927, the errors of both Right and "Left" opportunism which occurred within our Party were usually, in the first place, violations of this dialectical analysis by Stalin regarding the nature of the revolution, by overlooking either the anti-imperialist or the anti-feudal aspect.

For instance, during the ten-year civil war period, the comrades who committed "Left" opportunist mistakes had long overlooked the anti-imperialist aspect. They neglected what Stalin had pointed out: "The bourgeois-democratic revolution in China is characterized by the sharpening of the struggle against imperialism."* Therefore, they were not adept at utilizing the situation to form an anti-imperialist front correctly, in co-ordination with the struggles of the agrarian revolution so as to overcome their isolation. During this period, they also prematurely advocated the adventure of carrying out "the transformation into a Socialist revolution."

* Stalin: *The Chinese Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist International*,

To cite another example. During the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, those comrades who had earlier committed "Left" opportunist mistakes swung over to Right opportunism. Their views were exactly like those of the Chen Tu-hsiu opportunism of 1927 in that they overlooked the anti-feudal aspect. They "saw only the bourgeoisie" and "failed to understand the decisive significance of China's agrarian revolutionary movement." They "do not consider it possible to unleash the revolution in the countryside, because they are afraid that the drawing of the peasantry into the revolution will undermine the united anti-imperialist front."*

Such erroneous views were, of course, in direct opposition to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. According to Stalin: "The anti-imperialist united front in China will become stronger and more powerful, the sooner and more solidly the Chinese peasantry is drawn into the revolution."**

Since this kind of Right opportunists in this period denied the anti-feudal aspect, they also advocated, just as the Chen Tu-hsiu opportunism did in 1927, giving up the leadership of the proletariat. They saw a future only for the bourgeoisie and failed to see a future for the victory of the people's revolution and for Socialism.

* Stalin: *On the Perspectives of the Revolution in China*.

** *Ibid.*

It is very clear that the question of the nature of the Chinese revolution is linked up with the question of concrete tactics at each stage of the revolution. Anyone who commits mistakes on the question of the nature of the revolution is bound to commit mistakes on the question of concrete revolutionary tactics.

In refuting the nonsensical talk of the trotskyites on the Chinese question, Stalin especially explained several main tactical principles of Leninism as follows:

1. The principle of the necessity of taking into account the national peculiarities and national characteristics of each country while working out the guiding instructions of the Communist International for the working class movement of that country.

2. The principle of the necessity for the Communist Party of each country of making use of every possibility to secure mass allies for the proletariat, even though they may be temporary, vacillating, wavering, unreliable.

3. The principle of the necessity of taking into account the truth that propaganda and agitation alone are not enough for the political education of millions of the masses, but that this

requires the political experience of the masses themselves.*

Stalin then went on to emphasize the combination of general Marxist-Leninist principles with national characteristics. He wrote:

Notwithstanding the ideological growth of our Party, unfortunately there is still in our Party a certain type of "leaders" who sincerely believe that it is possible to direct the revolution in China, so to speak, by telegraph on the basis of the known and universally recognized general principles of the Communist International without taking into consideration the national peculiarities of Chinese economy, Chinese political regime, Chinese culture, Chinese customs and traditions. These "leaders" differ from the real leaders precisely in that they always have in their pockets two or three ready-made formulae that are "suitable" for all countries and "obligatory" in all conditions. For them there is no question of taking into account the national character and national peculiarities of each country. For them there is no question of co-ordinating the general principles of the Communist International with the national peculiarities of the revolutionary movement in each country, of applying the general principles

* Stalin: *Comment on Current Affairs: On China.*

of the Communist International to the national and state peculiarities of different countries.

They do not understand that the main task of leadership at the present time, when the Communist parties have already grown up and have become mass parties, consists in finding, grasping and skilfully combining the national and characteristic features of the movement in each country with the general principles of the Communist International in order to facilitate and make practically possible the carrying out of the basic aims of the Communist movement.

Hence the attempts to stereotype the leadership for all the countries. Hence the attempts to apply mechanically certain general formulae regardless of the concrete conditions of the revolutionary movement in different countries. Hence the endless conflicts between formulae and the revolutionary movement in different countries, which are the essential outcome of the leadership of these miserable leaders.

Our oppositionists belong precisely to this type of these miserable leaders.*

Thus, Stalin linked up the question of the nature of the Chinese revolution with that of its tactics, pointing out and generalizing the national peculiarities of this revolution.

* *Ibid.*

Since 1927, the errors committed by the dogmatists in our Party, who were "Left" opportunists at one time and Right opportunists at another, consisted precisely in forgetting the lessons contained in Stalin's refutation of the trotskyites. The dogmatists thought that to lead the Chinese revolution, it was enough to have only two or three ready-made formulae in their pockets which were "suitable" for all countries and "obligatory" in all conditions. For them, consideration of China's national peculiarities or national characteristics simply did not exist. Therefore, endless conflicts arose between their numerous mechanically applied formulae and the concrete revolution in China.

Our dogmatists confined themselves to abstract formulae and simple historical analogies, and they did not start from the concrete situation in China. Hence, on the question of the nature of the Chinese revolution, they inevitably committed this or that kind of error at one time or another. Also for this reason, they could not combine principles with flexibility according to the changes in the concrete situation. They failed to carry out what Stalin had said:

In order to smash these powerful enemies it is necessary to have a flexible and well-considered policy of the proletariat, skill to take advantage of every crack in the enemy camp, skill in finding allies.*

* Stalin: *Comment on Current Affairs: On China.*

During the ten-year civil war, our dogmatists advocated overthrowing everybody. This is what Comrade Mao Tse-tung said of them: "You cannot overthrow those in power, so you want to overthrow those who are not in power. They are already out of power, yet you still want to overthrow them."

But, in another historical situation, for instance, in that of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, they swung over to advocating uniting with everybody, denying that there were three groups—left, centre and right—inside the Anti-Japanese United Front and denying that there should be some difference in our Party's policy towards these three groups. Also for this reason, they could not establish real connections with the masses in accordance with concrete conditions, but instead repeatedly issued orders to the masses. Stalin said: "It is also necessary that the masses themselves recognize, through their own experience, the unreliable, reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the Kuomintang leadership."* But our dogmatists forgot the teachings of Stalin and thought that when a few "leaders" recognized that, they could issue orders which the masses would follow. Stalin said: "... a revolution 'is made' not only by an advanced group, not only by a party, not only by individual personalities, however

* Stalin: *Comment on Current Affairs: On China.*

'big' they may be, but, first and chiefly, by the millions of the masses of the people."*

But our dogmatists forgot the teachings of Stalin and believed that the revolution could be "made" above all and chiefly by a few "leaders" like themselves who thought themselves to be right.

The events that have occurred in China during the past thirty years have demonstrated the extremely complicated and tortuous character of the development of the Chinese revolution. It was the complex and devious interlocking of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles in particular which gave rise to this character. These factors also gave rise to a series of questions about revolutionary tactics, a united front and the relations between the revolutionary movement in the cities and that in the countryside. At the same time they also gave rise to the question of vital strategy in the military struggle.

Stalin said: "In China, armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution."** What areas then should be the key points of attack in the armed struggles at different times? In offensives will there be defensive actions or retreats? How should the offensive and defensive or retreat be

* *Ibid.*

** Stalin: *On the Perspectives of the Revolution in China.*

interlinked? How should a defensive or retreat be changed into an offensive? Everyone knows that these questions constitute the major portion of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's long struggle against opportunism (sometimes in the form of adventurism and sometimes in the form of desertion).

In 1927, after Chiang Kai-shek had committed his act of betrayal in Shanghai, the strategic problems of revolutionary war came to the forefront. The trotskyites at that time advocated launching an adventurous offensive against Shanghai. Stalin opposed such an adventure. Stalin said at that time: "Shanghai is the world centre in which the most important interests of imperialist groups meet." Stalin advocated "building up sufficient military strength, developing fully the agrarian revolution, intensifying the work of undermining Chiang Kai-shek's rear and front and then, after that, raising the question of Shanghai in its entirety."* Because "not to avoid a decisive battle under unfavourable conditions (when it can be avoided) means to facilitate the cause of the enemies of the revolution."** But during the ten-year civil war period, the "Left" opportunists advocated launching simple, blind, adventurous attacks on the big cities against heavy odds, and waging a decisive battle with the enemy under unfavourable conditions.

* Stalin: *Talk with Students of the Sun Yat-sen University.*

** Stalin: *Problems of the Chinese Revolution.*

Stalin said:

Some comrades think that an offensive on all fronts now is the basic symptom of being revolutionary. No, comrades, this is not true. An offensive on all fronts at the present moment (after Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution—Author) is sheer stupidity, not being revolutionary. Stupidity should not be confused with being revolutionary.*

But during the ten-year civil war period, the "Left" opportunists advocated launching an offensive on all fronts regardless of conditions, thus mixing up stupidity with being revolutionary.

Stalin said:

Revolutionary movement cannot be looked upon as a movement rising on an upward trend all the time. This is a bookish, unrealistic concept of revolution. Revolution always moves in zigzags, advancing and shattering the old order in some places while suffering partial defeat and retreating in others.**

But during the ten-year civil war period, the "Left" opportunists regarded the revolutionary movement as nothing but a movement rising on an upward trend all the time, and that it could not

* Stalin: *Talk with Students of the Sun Yat-sen University.*

** *Ibid.*

possibly advance in zigzags. Therefore if they deemed an offensive necessary, it could only be an offensive on all fronts; or as they called it an "all-out attack." If anyone advocated attacking in one place, while retreating from another, they would then "affirm" that this was "opportunism."

Stalin said: "One cannot take upon oneself all the tasks at once for thus one risks overstraining oneself."* But during the ten-year civil war period, at the time when our revolutionary strength was still very inadequate, the "Left" opportunists advocated that we should at once take upon ourselves all the tasks of "overthrowing everybody" and "launching an offensive on all fronts" and all the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution. If anyone criticized such action for running the risk of "overstraining oneself," well then, they were sure to label such a person an "opportunist."

It is clear that ever since 1927 those comrades in our Party who at one time or other committed various kinds of opportunist deviations against Comrade Mao Tse-tung's correct line did so because they had all forgotten every lesson contained in Stalin's refutation of the trotskyites in 1927. This was the case regardless of whether the issue involved the

* Stalin: *Talk with Students of the Sun Yat-sen University.*

nature or the tactics of the revolution, whether it was political or military. These mistakes created a lot of trouble for our revolution in its progress.

IV

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our Party, by advancing along a devious path, finally overcame both the objective difficulties and subjective errors and carried the revolution to victory. This is because Comrade Mao Tse-tung's views on the nature and tactics of the Chinese revolution were based on the teachings of Stalin and were identical with the views of Stalin. Furthermore, he has developed in the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution Stalin's teachings regarding the Chinese revolution.

Way back in the first Great Revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in opposition to the Right opportunism of Chen Tu-hsiu, steadfastly upheld the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and maintained that the proletariat must lead the peasants' revolutionary movement against feudalism in order to support the struggle against imperialism.

During the ten-year civil war period, although he was in the midst of the agrarian revolutionary movement of that time, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in opposition to "Left" opportunism, did not for an instant forget this extremely important political factor,

the struggle against imperialism. In formulating strategic plans for establishing revolutionary bases and in determining the policies towards the various classes, such as the winning over of the intermediate classes, etc., Comrade Mao Tse-tung always took this anti-imperialist factor into account.

During the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Comrade Mao Tse-tung believed that the proletariat and its vanguard must set the peasant masses in motion so that the War of Resistance could have a broad mass foundation and thus have the possibility of ending in a victory for the people. Therefore he conducted an extremely stubborn struggle against Right opportunism. History has proved that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has been correct in all his struggles in different periods for the realization of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

One fact must be made clear, however. Both in 1927 when Chen Tu-hsiu was in power and afterwards, the opportunists either intentionally or unintentionally obstructed the dissemination inside the Chinese Party of Stalin's many works on the Chinese question. There were also language difficulties and the counter-revolutionary blockade. For these reasons, many comrades in our Party who were actually leading the Chinese revolution did not have an opportunity to make a systematic study of Stalin's many works on China. It was only after the rectification movement in 1942 that Stalin's numerous

works on China were systematically edited by our Party. Not long ago, following a decision by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, a volume entitled *Lenin and Stalin on China* was edited and became one of the twelve books that are required reading for the cadres.

It was during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression that Comrade Mao Tse-tung had an opportunity to read Stalin's works extensively. He read and pondered over all the available works of Stalin with the greatest enthusiasm. As everyone knows, Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his *On New Democracy* made clear what an important enlightenment Stalin's works had been to him. Comrade Mao Tse-tung explained that the correct thesis that the Chinese revolution is part of the world Socialist revolution, as advanced by the Chinese Communists, was based on Stalin's theory. It was on the basis of this theory of Stalin's that Comrade Mao Tse-tung elaborated on the idea of the leadership of the proletariat. In the above-mentioned militant work, he delivered crushing blows at the reactionary dream about establishing a bourgeois dictatorship in China, while at the same time he delivered fatal blows at the opportunists within the Party who were trying to make the proletariat follow the tail of the bourgeoisie.

In his writings since the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Comrade Mao Tse-tung parti-

cularly liked to ponder upon Stalin's famous observations: "In China, armed revolution is fighting against armed counter-revolution. This is one of the peculiarities and one of the advantages of the Chinese revolution." "The national question is essentially a peasant question." On the basis of Chinese conditions, Comrade Mao Tse-tung correlated Stalin's observations and enlarged upon them. He severely condemned the opportunists in our Party during the War of Resistance who had ignored this most fundamental concept and policy that the proletariat must lead the peasant war.

In order to prepare for our revolutionary victory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung conducted a rectification movement within our Party in 1941-42. At that time he particularly liked to cite time and again Stalin's saying on the relation between theory and practice which appeared in *The Foundations of Leninism*—a masterpiece that ideologically armed the Bolsheviks throughout the world. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

Stalin is right in saying: "Theory becomes aimless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice." Of course he is also right in saying: "Practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory."

Comrade Mao Tse-tung used Stalin's former saying to oppose dogmatism in our Party and used Stalin's latter saying to oppose empiricism in our Party.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung selected Stalin's writing on the twelve prerequisites of Bolshevization and the six points in the conclusion of *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course* as the most basic documents for our Party's rectification movement. In order that our comrades might deeply reflect on these two documents by Stalin, Comrade Mao Tse-tung specially delivered a long lecture, in which he held that these two documents were coherent, being the summation of Marxist-Leninist experience in revolutionary leadership over a period of one hundred years. Based on our Party's twenty-odd years of experience, he gave a point-by-point explanation of these two documents. These two documents dealt severe blows at dogmatism and empiricism during the rectification movement.

In his article *Reform Our Study*, Comrade Mao Tse-tung urged that Stalin's great work *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course* be used as the main text for studying Marxism-Leninism in our Party. Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote:

History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course constitutes the highest synthesis and summation of the world Communist movement during the last one hundred years. It is the model of the unity of theory and practice, and it is the only perfect model in the entire world. By seeing how Lenin

and Stalin combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Soviet revolution and in this way developed Marxism, we can understand how work should be done in China.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is Stalin's disciple and comrade-in-arms. He is Stalin's outstanding disciple and has been able to lead China's revolution to victory because his method of work and his way of reasoning are those of Stalin's. He uses Stalin's methods to learn from Stalin. These are the methods of creative Marxists which Stalin referred to in his famous article written to commemorate Lenin's fiftieth birthday:

This group draws directives and instructions not from historical analogies and parallels, but from the study of surrounding conditions. In its activities it relies not on quotations and maxims, but on practical experience, testing each step by experience, learning from mistakes and teaching others to build a new life. This, in fact, explains why there is no discrepancy between words and deeds in the activities of this group, and why the teachings of Marx retain their full living, revolutionary strength.

This is precisely why Stalin's ideas and teachings "retain their full living, revolutionary strength" when they come into Comrade Mao Tse-tung's hands.

There are some people in our Party who, like the dogmatists we have mentioned previously, may perhaps subjectively wish to learn from Stalin but who use an anti-Stalinist method in doing so. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has rightly said: "Their method of studying Marxism runs directly counter to Marxism." Their method is like that of the dogmatists mentioned in Stalin's article on Lenin's fiftieth birthday:

It (the group of dogmatists—Ed.) does not base its activities on experience, on consideration of practical work, but on quotations from Marx. It draws directives and instructions and directions not from an analysis of actual realities, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between words and deeds is the chief malady of this group. Hence that disillusionment and perpetual grudge against fate which time and again betrays it and leaves it "fooled."

Stalin's teachings, methods and theories, after they were introduced and applied by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, greatly broadened the political and ideological vision of Chinese Communists and enhanced their Marxist-Leninist consciousness and helped our Party acquire sufficient ideological strength to defeat all counter-revolutionaries and other enemies who stood in the way of the revolution.

We have already attained a revolutionary victory. We must continue to be victorious. But how

can we continue to achieve victories? As Comrade Mao Tse-tung has frequently told us: We must be adept at learning. We must be adept at learning from Stalin—our teacher and the banner of mankind's great victory. We must be adept at learning from the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moreover, in doing this, we must apply the same method as that adopted by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, namely, the method of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In short, we must apply the method of combining theory with practice.

Let us repeat once more what Comrade Mao Tse-tung said ten years ago in celebrating Stalin's sixtieth birthday: "We must hail him, we must support him and we must learn from him."

Learn from Stalin—this still remains the main conclusion we should draw in celebrating Stalin's seventieth birthday.

Long live the supreme, glorious, and great Stalin for the happiness and future of mankind!

1949

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF
COMRADE STALIN'S GREAT WORK
"PROBLEMS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION"

Comrade Stalin's great work *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* was published on April 21, 1927. The situation at that time was this: on the one hand, the workers' and peasants' movements were on a powerful upsurge in China; on the other, imperialism was assailing the revolution in Shanghai and massacring people in Nanking, while the Right wing of the Kuomintang, headed by Chiang Kai-shek, had openly surrendered to imperialism and betrayed the revolution. Just as Comrade Stalin described it, "The *coup* of Chiang Kai-shek marks the withdrawal of the national bourgeoisie from the revolution." Consequently, new formations, new alignments and new combinations came into existence in the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces. The Chinese revolution was at a new historical turning

point. The new situation resulting from this change confronted the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese people with the question: Whither the Chinese revolution?

In this great work of creative Marxism, which is based on an analysis of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal nature of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Stalin summarized the experience of the Chinese revolution and pointed out two possible paths for China.

Comrade Stalin said:

Hence two paths of development of events in China.

Either the national bourgeoisie will smash the proletariat, make a deal with imperialism and together with it attack the revolution, in order to end it with the establishment of capitalist rule.

Or the proletariat will brush aside the national bourgeoisie, consolidate its hegemony and lead the millions of the working masses in town and countryside in overcoming the resistance of the national bourgeoisie, achieve a complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and then gradually switch it onto the path of Socialist revolution, with all the consequences arising therefrom.

It will be either one or the other.

This was Comrade Stalin's very brilliant prediction. According to this prediction, if the national bourgeoisie defeated the proletariat, the Chinese revolution would fail and China would remain under imperialist oppression, and continue to be its vassal. This was one path. On the other hand, if the Chinese proletariat could continue to consolidate its hegemony, and overcome the resistance of the national bourgeoisie, China would win a complete victory over imperialism and feudalism, and gradually advance to Socialism. This was the other path.

That is to say there were two paths: one would lead the Chinese revolution to failure, the other to victory. Was there a "third path"? Comrade Stalin said: "It will be either one or the other." There was no "third path."

Comrade Stalin said: "The struggle between these two paths of the revolution is the characteristic feature of the Chinese revolution." The march of all the historical events in China during the past twenty-five years has completely borne out Comrade Stalin's penetrating conclusion. The question of choosing between the two paths is, as Comrade Stalin explained, a question of whether the leadership belongs to the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The struggle for leadership, since the appearance of the Chinese proletariat on the political stage, has lasted for over thirty years. The period between 1924, when the national bourgeoisie and the working class formed a

revolutionary united front, and 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek betrayed the revolution, was a period in which these two aspects were continuously interlocked, viz., the revolutionary coalition on the one hand and the struggle for leadership on the other. Comrade Stalin pointed out:

The national bourgeoisie (not the compradors) at the time sided with the revolution. This was a revolution of the united front of the whole nation.

This does not mean that there were no contradictions between the revolution and the national bourgeoisie. It only means that the national bourgeoisie, while supporting the revolution, tried to use the revolution to serve their own ends, in order to limit its scope by directing it mainly along the path of territorial conquest.

However, in the struggle for leadership, the national bourgeoisie had its fatal weaknesses, which, just as Comrade Stalin pointed out, consisted in "the political weakness of the national bourgeoisie, its dependence on imperialism, its fear of the scope of the revolutionary movement." The national bourgeoisie could not win the support of the toiling masses of town and countryside and it feared and opposed the peasant revolution, resulting in its isolation at home. The position of the proletariat was just the opposite. It demonstrated, as Comrade Stalin said,

“the growing revolutionary activity of the proletariat and the growth of its prestige among the millions of the masses of working people.” The fatal weaknesses of the national bourgeoisie constituted precisely the decisive advantages of the proletariat in winning and consolidating its leadership. The proletariat was the leader of the peasant revolution and only the proletariat could lead the peasants to achieve their liberation.

Moreover, the fatal weaknesses of the national bourgeoisie lay not only in internal conditions but also in international conditions. The Chinese revolution took place in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, in the era of the general crisis of world capitalism, whose framework had been battered and was already tottering. It was impossible for the Chinese bourgeoisie to find a reliable prop in this framework. The contrary was the case with the Chinese proletariat. After the great October Socialist Revolution, there emerged in the world a great Socialist state and the world revolutionary movement against imperialism was like the rising sun. The Chinese proletariat found friends all over the world, and, above all, there stands the Soviet Union, the most reliable and powerful friend of the Chinese people. In so far as the revolutionary struggle in China was concerned, this constituted an international condition all to the advantage of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin clearly pointed out:

The crisis of world capitalism and the existence of proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., whose experience may be successfully utilized by the Chinese proletariat, considerably increase the possibility that the Chinese revolution will take the second path.

That is just the way events have turned out.

At that time, Comrade Stalin opposed, on the one hand, the attempt of the trotskyite renegades to bypass the very stage the Chinese revolution was passing through and their various proposals which sought to please the enemies of the Chinese revolution. On the other hand, he opposed the Chen Tu-hsiu renegades' timid, impotent policies which sought to appease the bourgeoisie. Notwithstanding the different forms in which these renegades expressed themselves, their activities served to undermine the revolution and lead it to failure, in order to advance the interests of the imperialists, the feudal forces in China and all the enemies of the Chinese revolution. Afterwards these renegades soon banded themselves together for this purpose. In refuting the nonsense of these renegades, Comrade Stalin pointed out that it was essential to consolidate by all possible means the leadership of China's proletariat, lead the broad toiling masses of town and countryside, and take advantage of the favourable international conditions in order to bring forward the Chinese revolution onto

the second path. That is to say: "The fundamental task of the Communists consists in fighting for the victory of the second path of the Chinese revolution."

Comrade Stalin said:

The main guarantee for the victory of the revolution is the growth of the revolutionary activity of millions of the toiling masses, and the main antidote against counter-revolution is the arming of workers and peasants.

Yet this would be impossible without the leadership of the proletariat. Comrade Stalin firmly insisted that the Communist Party should retain its independence in the revolutionary united front. This was, in the words of Comrade Stalin, "a necessary condition for securing the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution."

However, the Chinese revolution advanced along a very tortuous path. Just as Comrade Stalin has pointed out:

... the Chinese revolution will encounter considerably more difficulties on its way to victory than did the revolution in Russia, there will be incomparably more cases of desertion and treachery in the course of this revolution than there were during the civil war in the U.S.S.R.

The criminal Chen Tu-hsiu opportunists after Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal, rejected Comrade Stalin's guidance and continued to deny that the proletariat

should retain its independence in the united front. They dared not give a free hand in mobilizing the masses and arming the workers and peasants, thus fully exposing their treacherous acts before the peasant revolution and the armed workers and peasants. As a result, it hastened the Wuhan Government's betrayal, and the revolution ended in failure in 1927.

Nevertheless, in spite of the betrayal of the bourgeoisie our Party under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, following the revolutionary line indicated by Comrade Stalin, independently opened up a broad road for the agrarian revolution, and thereby advanced the revolution onto a new stage. Led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the revolution retreated from the city to the countryside, and by combining this correct retreat with a correct offensive, the retreat became a new offensive. Just as Comrade Stalin predicted:

The agrarian revolution will intensify and extend the struggle against imperialism, against the rural despots and wicked gentry and feudal landlords, against warlords and the counter-revolutionary group of Chiang Kai-shek. Comrade Stalin wrote:

Chiang Kai-shek's *coup* means that henceforth in South China there will be two camps, two governments, two armies, two centres—a

revolutionary centre in Wuhan and a counter-revolutionary centre in Nanking.

As a result of Chen Tu-hsiu's policy of appeasement and Wang Ching-wei's betrayal the revolutionary centre in Wuhan ceased to exist. Nevertheless, Comrade Stalin's prediction was completely correct. Following the betrayal of the revolution by Wang Ching-wei in the footsteps of Chiang Kai-shek, the revolutionary centre was shifted from Wuhan to the revolutionary bases in the countryside. Thereafter the following situation came into being in China: On the one hand, there was the counter-revolutionary camp headed by Chiang Kai-shek with a counter-revolutionary government, a counter-revolutionary army, and a counter-revolutionary centre. On the other hand, there was the revolutionary camp headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with a revolutionary government, a revolutionary army and a revolutionary centre. Although at the very beginning the revolutionary camp, the revolutionary centre, did not cover a very large area, its strength was incalculable, inasmuch as it struck root among the broad masses of workers and peasants. It was bound to expand steadily into a starting-point, from which the Chinese people under the leadership of the proletariat would set out to seize political power throughout the country. But the reverse is true of the counter-revolutionary camp, the counter-revolutionary centre headed by Chiang Kai-shek, which, much as it was

on the rampage and although the counter-revolutionary regime held sway over a vast area, became isolated from the people, and was bound to become weakened in the course of waging protracted counter-revolutionary war and doomed to destruction.

In carrying out counter-revolution, the Chiang Kai-shek clique ruthlessly plundered the people, amassed enormous wealth and gradually developed into a bureaucratic-capitalist group of its own, *i.e.*, a comprador, feudal and military bureaucratic-capitalist group. This group had the U.S. and British imperialists playing the role of major bosses behind the scene and at the same time it served Japanese imperialism as a vassal. All this explains why Chiang Kai-shek became more isolated from the people.

Under the pressure of the great awakening strength of the Chinese people, and as a result of the fight between U.S. imperialism and Japanese imperialism for domination over the Far East, Chiang Kai-shek was compelled in 1937 to join in the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression. Thanks to the initiative and efforts of the Communist Party of China, there appeared again in China a national united front including the bourgeoisie. That section of the bourgeoisie who joined the fight against Japan, was, however, apparently divided into two distinct groups, namely, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie headed by Chiang Kai-shek, which was in power and served

U.S. and British imperialism as an instrument, and the national bourgeoisie which was not in power.

Obviously, the policy of the Chinese Communist Party to include the bourgeoisie in the national united front was entirely correct, as correct as its policy to include the national bourgeoisie in the national united front during the revolutionary period of 1924-1927. In refuting the nonsense of the trotskyite renegades, Comrade Stalin said in 1927:

China, as distinct from the Russia of 1905, is a semi-colonial country oppressed by imperialism. Because of this, the revolution in China is not simply a bourgeois revolution but a bourgeois revolution of the anti-imperialist type. In China imperialism holds in its hands the main threads of industry, trade and transport. Imperialist oppression affects not only the toiling masses of China but also certain sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie. Because of this the Chinese bourgeoisie may on certain conditions and for a certain period of time support the Chinese revolution.*

Herein lies the reason for the complete correctness and necessity of the united front policy of the Communist Party of China. In 1927, the united front was undermined by the selfish ends of the bourgeoisie. Then, following the invasion of China by

* *Comments on Current Affairs: On China.*

the Japanese aggressors in an attempt to turn the whole country into their colony, new situations arose both inside and outside the country and a new political change took place among the bourgeoisie in China. This new situation again posed the question of a national united front and there was the possibility of forming an extensive united front against Japanese aggression.

Obviously, this united front against Japanese aggression was, as Comrade Stalin pointed out in this great work in 1927, also replete with struggles between the two paths, which continued to be the salient feature of the Chinese revolution at that stage and became more and more intensified with each passing day.

First of all, there was the struggle between the Chinese Communist Party and the Chiang Kai-shek clique on the question of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, representing the struggle between the people's line and the anti-people line. Even at the time when Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to join the fight against Japan, the Communist Party of China, while forming a united front with him, had anticipated Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal in view of his deep hatred for the people. The united front policy of the Communist Party, headed by its brilliant leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, was a policy of both unity and struggle, a policy of retaining independence and initiative in the united front, a policy

of giving free reins to mobilizing the masses and arming the masses without any restriction. It was precisely the policy which Comrade Stalin had set forth in his great writing of 1927. It was obvious that only by rejecting the then Right opportunists' impotent and weak-kneed policy and by adopting a firm Marxist-Leninist policy, could the people's strength in resisting Japanese aggression be enhanced. Only then could the revolutionary bases be developed in a spirit of independence and initiative, the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression sustained, Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucratic-capitalist group isolated and his successive counter-revolutionary offensives repulsed. This was a struggle to win the War of Resistance and turn the victory into a victory for the people. This was a struggle to win victory for the second path of the Chinese revolution, a struggle to avoid repeating the mistakes of 1927.

During the War of Resistance, China's proletariat and national bourgeoisie had fought over political lines as well. In the early stage of the war, the national bourgeoisie in general followed in the political footsteps of Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucratic-capitalist group in order to obtain political and economic crumbs from the bureaucratic capitalists. The national bourgeoisie because of the unceasing swallowing-up and oppression by Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucratic-capitalist group, gradually became more and more openly intermediate groups in the political

arena. But whether China was to become a state led by the bourgeoisie or by the proletariat, the choice between the two paths was fought over by the national bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Dissatisfied as they were with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the national bourgeoisie would have liked to take the first path. The proletariat, taking into account the contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic capitalists, tried to win the national bourgeoisie over to the people's side instead of allowing it to swing to Chiang Kai-shek's side of counter-revolution and dictatorship, but at the same time criticized its vacillation and reactionary illusions. Leading the masses of peasants and uniting with all patriotic elements in an independent way, the proletariat marched forward along the path of their own choice.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's well-known work, *On New Democracy*, is the product of a hard-fought battle on the question of the two paths at that time. Based on Comrade Stalin's theory, it pricked the bubble of founding bourgeois dictatorship and a capitalist society in China, pointing out that the Chinese revolution was bound to go the second path, that is, advancing from the first stage of building up a New-Democratic society characterized by the joint dictatorship of China's revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat to the second stage of building a Socialist society in China.

This outstanding work by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, which is armed with the great Leninist-Stalinist ideology, had the effect of arming the Chinese Communists and enabled them to keep a clear head at all times.

Following the Japanese surrender, the bureaucratic-capitalist group headed by Chiang Kai-shek, acted the lackey of U.S. imperialism, openly betrayed the people and wantonly declared war against the people. The national bourgeoisie, who realized that the national industry under the pressure of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys—the Four Big Families—was being reduced to a disastrous state, saw also the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's rule would inevitably collapse. Nonetheless, the national bourgeoisie feared the revolution of the masses, and at one time its representatives disseminated the illusion of wanting neither the path of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang nor the path of the Communists, but a "third path." This means that they still dreamed of a state led by the bourgeoisie not a state led by the working class. The Communist Party of China made timely criticism and exposure of the national bourgeoisie's reactionary illusion about a "third path." At the same time, taking into account the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie on the one hand and U.S. imperialism and bureaucratic capitalists on the other, the Chinese Communist Party held that there was still a possibility of winning the national bourgeoisie over to the side of revolution, and so adopted a policy to

win it over. The Chinese Communists, uniting with all patriotic elements, led the masses of the people to fight against the Chiang Kai-shek hordes. In no time, the march of events exposed to the full the bankruptcy of the so-called "third path." The great Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and its brilliant leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and with the support of the mighty camp of Socialism and democracy, finally vanquished the Chiang Kai-shek bandits, smashed the fantastic plan of U.S. imperialism to colonize China, and founded the People's Republic of China led by the working class. That is to say, it was the second path, pointed out by Comrade Stalin in this brilliant work, that the Chinese revolution took.

In September 1949, the representatives of the national bourgeoisie participated in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and, together with the representatives of other classes, supported and adopted the Common Programme put forward by the Communist Party of China. Thus, the national bourgeoisie became a component part of the Chinese people's democratic front.

The Common Programme stipulates that the Chinese people's democratic front and the People's Republic are to be led by the working class based on the alliance of workers and peasants. It further stipulates that the state-owned economy is of a Socialist character, that all component sectors of the social

economy must be led by the state-owned economy, and that commercial speculation shall be strictly prohibited. The path indicated by the Common Programme is precisely the path of thoroughly carrying out China's democratic revolution and passing step by step into Socialism under the leadership of the working class.

Since the representatives of the national bourgeoisie had raised their hands in unanimity with the other representatives in voting for the Common Programme, they were in duty bound to observe it. For the past two years, they have displayed their initiative to a certain extent in the field of developing economy and in the struggle against imperialism. However, during the past two years, many law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie have failed to keep their faith. Led by their instinct for seeking profits, speculating, making personal gains at the expense of the public, and enriching themselves at the expense of others, they placed their men in our government organs and people's organizations and in addition enticed by underhand means some of the personnel in our government organs and people's organizations into becoming their agents. They launched a violent offensive against the state, against the working class and against the people, and sabotaged many construction works of our country through such illegal acts as bribery, tax evasion, stealing state property, doing shoddy work and using inferior materials on government contracts, and steal-

ing economic information from government sources for private speculation. This means that these law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie have hardly reckoned with the fact that their attempt and dream of establishing bourgeois dictatorship and capitalist rule had, at various times in history, gone bankrupt. Even after the founding of the People's Republic, they dreamed of clandestinely usurping the working-class-led People's Republic which had come into being only after millions of people had shed their blood and sacrificed their lives. They dreamed of checking the advance of this great People's Republic from New-Democratic constructions to Socialist development. It is very obvious that the state will be in danger if we do not repel this frenzied assault by the law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie.

At the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee held in March 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out that, for a considerable length of time following the victory of the revolution, it would still be necessary to utilize to the full the initiative of private capitalism in town and countryside to assist in the development of national economy. But he also pointed out that the assault by the bourgeoisie with "sugar-coated shells" would probably corrupt some people of weak will-power in the ranks of the revolution. He warned the Party to constantly sharpen its vigilance.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we have been carrying out in recent months a move-

ment against corruption, waste and bureaucratism in government organs (the *San Fan* Movement—Ed.) and a movement against bribery, tax evasion, stealing state property, doing shoddy work and using inferior materials on government contracts, and stealing economic information from government sources for private speculation (the *Wu Fan* Movement—Ed.). These movements and struggles are of great historic significance. They are struggles for strengthening the discipline in our country's finance and economy and for determining the path that China is to take. They have educated the working class and the broad masses and repelled the violent attacks by the law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie. Under the watchful eyes of the awakening masses, the bourgeoisie will not dare to break the law unscrupulously again. These struggles further ensure that China will march forward from New Democracy to Socialism.

A review of the history of the Chinese revolution and of the facts which have come to light in the course of the present struggles has fully confirmed the scientific prediction Comrade Stalin had made in 1927: "The struggle between these two paths of the revolution is the characteristic feature of the Chinese revolution." It is possible that this struggle over the choice between the two paths will continue even after the *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements are over.

Of course, our present policy towards the national bourgeoisie, with the exception of those arch

thieves who have committed serious crimes, remains a policy of uniting with, and not economically destroying, the bourgeoisie. But this unity can be ensured only on condition that the national bourgeoisie support in earnest the leadership of the working class; that it conscientiously carry out in earnest the Common Programme; and that it maintain and develop its initiative in managing the enterprises that are beneficial to the national welfare and the people's livelihood as well as its initiative in the struggle against imperialism. This means that the bourgeoisie must traverse the path beneficial to the people as indicated by the working class and not the path detrimental to the people as contemplated by the law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie traverses the path pointed out by the working class, supports in earnest the leadership of the working class, carries out in earnest the Common Programme, takes an active part in the struggle against imperialism, and manages its enterprises under the leadership of the state-owned economy, then, it does possess the quality of initiative at the present stage and can do good to the country. Conversely, if the bourgeoisie violates the Common Programme, tries to batten at the expense of the public, to convert public properties into private undertakings as some of the law-breaking elements did, or commits serious crimes of theft and sabotages the construction of the country, then, it possesses no quality of initiative at

all, does no good to the country, and can only commit crimes.

In its endeavour to put China on the road of capitalism, the bourgeoisie actually wants to drag China back onto the colonial and semi-colonial path. It is obvious that if the bourgeoisie should continue in such an attempt, it would be doomed to utter failure. The political consciousness of the Chinese working class has displayed such mighty strength, the broad masses of the Chinese people are so closely rallying around the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people's armed forces led by the working class are so invincible, and the support given by the camp of Socialism and democracy headed by the Soviet Union is so tremendous, that any criminal acts against our country perpetrated by any elements of the bourgeoisie are sure to be smashed to smithereens.

In his *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*, published in 1949 on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated: "The people have a powerful state machine in their hands, and do not fear rebellion on the part of the national bourgeoisie."

This means that there is only one path for China to take, that is, the second path pointed out by Comrade Stalin in 1927 in this great work of his. Basing himself on and developing Comrade Stalin's revolutionary line, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has guided our

country onto this correct path. It is a path which has enabled our people to give scope to their inexhaustible vitality and which will lead our country to prosperity and boundless power.

Comrade Stalin's teachings regarding the struggle over the two paths of the Chinese revolution which is set forth in this great work, has been, still is, and will continue to be a beacon illuminating the path of the Chinese Communists. The march of the revolutionary events in China tallies with Comrade Stalin's prediction and thereby demonstrates the great historic significance of Comrade Stalin's great work. However, the problems which were brought up and subsequently solved in this work are as a matter of fact not only of great significance to the Chinese revolution but to the revolutions in all colonial and semi-colonial countries as well.

The works of Comrade Stalin, the great teacher of the world Communist movement, on the problems of the Chinese revolution represent a great contribution to the Chinese revolution and have long since ideologically armed the Chinese Communists. The victory of the Chinese revolution is a victory for Marxism-Leninism as well as a victory for Comrade Stalin's theory on the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has time and again reminded us that the Chinese Communists must carefully study the theory of Lenin and Stalin on the Chinese revolution, and especially Comrade Stalin's theory on the Chinese

revolution so as to reinforce our fighting capacity and our working ability. As we commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of this great work by Comrade Stalin, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, we understand much better the importance of the above-mentioned directive of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

April 21, 1952

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Chen Po-ta, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is concurrently Vice-President of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Peking and Vice-President of the Academia Sinica. Before 1937, under the reactionary rule of Kuomintang, he carried on underground work in North China for the Party. Throughout the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, he worked in the Central Committee of the Party, making a special study of the Chinese problem. His important writings include: *The Four Big Families of China; A General Study of the Land-Tax in Modern China; Yuan Shih-kai, the Great Usurper; Chiang Kai-shek, the Public Enemy of the Chinese People* and *Mao Tse-tung on the Chinese Revolution*.

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