

*Chen Po-ta*

**MAO TSE-TUNG ON THE  
CHINESE REVOLUTION**

# **MAO TSE-TUNG ON THE CHINESE REVOLUTION**

*Written in Commemoration of the 30th Anniversary  
of the Communist Party of China*

*by*

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## About the Author

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*; and *Chiang Kai-shek, the Public Enemy of the Chinese People*.

*Mao Tse-tung on the Chinese Revolution* was written in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of China in 1951.

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**(1) Comrade Mao Tse-tung Is the Most Outstanding Exponent of Marxism-Leninism in China**

Comrade Mao Tse-tung writes in *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*:

"The salvoes of the October Revolution awoke us to Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressives of China and of the whole world to adopt the proletarian world outlook as an instrument for foreseeing a nation's future and considering anew one's own problems. 'Follow the path of the Russians' was the conclusion."

As everybody knows, the first and most outstanding representative of such progressives in China is none other than Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's greatest contribution to the Chinese revolution is his correct and living synthesis of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, which has resulted in the solution of a series of problems in the Chinese revolution. He has further de-

veloped the science of Marxism-Leninism with reference to the conditions in China and in the East, thereby leading the Chinese people's revolution to victory.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says:

"The theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is a 'universally applicable' truth."<sup>[1]</sup>

However, to correctly apply their theory to China and to transform it into an invincible power of the masses, it is essential to make constant efforts to clear away ideological obstacles and to wage ideological struggles, and bitter struggles at that. For 30 years Comrade Mao Tse-tung has waged unceasing and irreconcilable struggles against various reactionary ideologies outside the Party and against opportunism which took various forms inside the Party; such as the struggles against the nationalists, against the Right wing and the compromisers within the Kuomintang, against *Chen Tu-hsiu-ism* and Trotskyism, against the Right wing of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie who harboured various reformist illusions about the reactionary Kuomintang rule, against the "Left" adventurism which occurred inside the Party on several occasions, against the repetition of the mistakes of *Chen Tu-hsiu-ism* and so forth and so on. In the course of this series of

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[1] *The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War.*



struggles, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has proved himself a great master in propagating and applying the revolutionary theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The series of struggles which he conducted have served to strengthen and consolidate the Communist Party of China.

Marxism-Leninism is characterised by its unity of theory and practice. Following in the footsteps of the great teachers—Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin—Comrade Mao Tse-tung likewise pays the utmost attention to the great creative power of the revolutionary masses in revolutionary China. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has never separated his Marxist-Leninist theoretical work from the revolutionary movement of the masses. Under all circumstances and at all times, he combines Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution and “uses the basic Marxist viewpoint—the method of class analysis,” as Comrade Mao Tse-tung often says, to study, absorb and crystallise the practical experiences of the Chinese revolution. By so doing the correctness of Marxism-Leninism has been further demonstrated and its boundless, living, revolutionary power revealed.

It is precisely by relying upon the creative power of the revolutionary masses of China, by relying upon the many-sided, complex experiences of the Chinese revolution (it is precisely on this basis) that Comrade Mao Tse-tung has developed Marxism-Leninism,

forcing every kind of nonsense aimed at vitiating or distorting Marxism-Leninism to declare its bankruptcy before the masses.

In his famous article *On the Significance of Militant Materialism* published in 1922, Lenin said:

“ . . . the dialectics which Marx . . . applied so successfully that now every day of the awakening to life and struggle of new classes in the East (Japan, India and China)—i.e., the hundreds of millions of human beings who form the greater part of the population of the world and whose historical passivity and historical torpor have hitherto been conditions responsible for stagnation and decay in many advanced European countries—every day of the awakening to life of new peoples and new classes serves as a fresh confirmation of Marxism.”

Without doubt, the very fact that the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese working class rose to struggle and have recently won great victories is a fresh confirmation of the large-scale, outstanding victory of Marxism-Leninism in the East; a confirmation that the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin are a universal, all-powerful science applicable everywhere without exception; and a confirmation that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Communist Party of China, has applied this science to the conditions of China and developed it with very brilliant success.

## (2) Modern China Was the Focal Point of the Many Contradictions in the East

For the last hundred years, and especially since the end of the 19th century, China was the focal point of the many contradictions in the East.

In the first place, China was a semi-colony of the imperialists. All the imperialist countries in the world laid their hands on China which was regarded among them as the biggest and meatiest bone of contention.

Lenin pointed out in 1916 in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

“It is natural that the struggle for those semi-dependent countries should have become particularly bitter during the period of finance capital, when the rest of the world had already been shared out.” “The partition of China is only beginning, and the struggle between Japan, U.S.A., etc., in connection therewith is steadily gaining in intensity.”

Stalin pointed out in 1927:

“Taken as a nation, China, a compact country with a population of several hundred millions, is a most important market in the world for commodities and for the export of capital.”

"... Imperialism must strike at the living body of the Chinese nation, hacking it into small pieces and wresting away entire provinces in order to preserve its old positions or at least retain part of them."<sup>[2]</sup>

Inasmuch as all the imperialists regarded China as their object of exploitation, they had on many occasions formed a united front to oppose the Chinese revolution. For example, in 1900 the allied armies of eight imperialist powers invaded Peking and massacred the patriotic masses, the I Ho Tuan (called "Boxers" abroad.—Translator). In 1927, the imperialists jointly opposed China's great revolution. On such occasions, the partition of China was jointly undertaken. However, the ambitions of each of the imperialists to seize and monopolise a lion's share led to profound contradictions among them. It resulted, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung puts it, in "conflicts between the imperialists in China."

That is to say, as a result of the contradictions between the imperialists in their fight for the possession of China, their front in China was often split up rather than unified.

Secondly, the contradictions and struggles between the imperialists had had the effect of aggravating and sharpening the contradictions and struggles

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

within the old ruling classes of China—the feudal and comprador classes, leading to endless wars among the warlords.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said in 1928:

“Since the first year of the Republic, the various cliques of old and new warlords supported by imperialism and the comprador class and the landed gentry at home have waged incessant war against one another; this is one of the characteristics of semi-colonial China. . . . Two things account for its occurrence, namely, localised agricultural economy (instead of unified capitalist economy) and the imperialist policy of division and exploitation by marking off spheres of influence.”<sup>[3]</sup>

That is to say, the Chinese feudal and comprador classes served different imperialists and represented the interests of different local feudal forces. As a result, the ranks of this ruling camp were also split rather than unified.

Thirdly, joint oppression by imperialism and feudalism subjected the Chinese people to severe sufferings. Since the Opium War of 1840, however, the Chinese people have waged repeated and unceasing struggles against imperialism and feudalism. If there were pauses in these struggles they were of short duration. And inasmuch as China is a big

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[3] *Why Can China's Red Political Power Exist?*

country with a huge population, the number of people mobilised in the course of every one of these struggles was colossal.

The Chinese people fought against each and everyone of the imperialists that encroached upon China. The Chinese people have never succumbed to any of the counter-revolutionary regimes. China has been a country engaged in a long-drawn-out revolution.

That is to say, the contradictions between the Chinese people on the one hand and imperialism and feudalism on the other were irreconcilable. In the course of their struggle against imperialism and feudalism, the Chinese people steadily became an extremely powerful, united force.

It can thus be seen that modern China constituted the focal point of contradictions in the East. Generally speaking, China was, in the first place, the focal point of the bitter struggle between the imperialists, and secondly the focal point of the bitter struggle between revolution and counter-revolution.

Obviously, only the victory of the Chinese people's revolution could solve these contradictions and, beginning with China, break the fetters of imperialism in the East. The Chinese people had the strength to win this victory. But it was only under the leadership of the proletariat that the strength of the Chinese people could be organised into a force that could actually win victory.

The remarkable militancy displayed by the Chinese working class was chiefly due to three reasons. Firstly, the Chinese working class was subjected to the ruthless oppression by foreign imperialism, and domestic feudalism and capitalism. Secondly, it is highly concentrated. Although Chinese industries are under-developed, they are highly concentrated. The total number of workers engaged in modern industrial enterprises each employing more than 500 workers is very large. Thirdly, although the industrial workers are in a minority in relation to the total population, the number of proletarians and semi-proletarians of various kinds is large. If the semi-proletarians in the countryside—the poor peasants—are taken together, the proletarians and semi-proletarians constitute far more than half the total population. The oppression to which they were subjected was extremely cruel. For these reasons, the working class of revolutionary China constitutes a powerful fighting force, has formed its own strong political party, the Communist Party, and has become the leader of all the revolutionary classes of China.

Such a consolidated revolutionary working class, in such a big country engaged in protracted revolution, succeeded in becoming the leader of the broad masses of militant peasants, and of all the revolutionary forces. At the same time, as it was, internationally, in the epoch of proletarian revolution, the epoch in which Socialism had scored victory first

in Russia, the Chinese revolution received excellent international help. These things explain why the victory of the Chinese people's revolution, the victory of the Chinese people over imperialism and its lackeys, the feudal and comprador classes, was inevitable.

Stalin pointed out in 1927:

. . . In China, the struggle against imperialism must adopt a profoundly popular and strikingly national character and must develop step by step until it reaches a desperate battle with imperialism, shaking the very foundations of imperialism throughout the world."<sup>[4]</sup>

That is just the way events have turned out.

Of course, it should not be supposed that the victory of the revolution could be easily won in such a vast country which had become the bone of contention between the various imperialist countries and where the feudal system had long been in existence. No, victory could not be won easily. In an article written in August 1949, Comrade Mao Tse-tung described the process of winning this victory as follows:

"Struggled and failed, struggled and failed again; with experiences accumulated through 109 years, through hundreds of major and minor strug-

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



gles, be they military or political, economic or cultural, bloody or non-bloody, before the basic success as that of today is won.”[5]

That is to say, the process of the Chinese revolution has been an extremely ruthless, intricate and circuitous one. And that is the reason why the Chinese working class and the Chinese people are thoroughly steeled; and why the party of the Chinese working class—the Communist Party of China—is thoroughly steeled. The rich experiences of the revolution have become the precious treasure of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people. Such rich revolutionary experiences could not but enrich the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and his theory of the Chinese revolution are the crystallisation of China's rich revolutionary experiences.

In November 1919, Lenin pointed out to the Communists of the East:

“You are facing a task which has never before been faced by the Communists of the whole world: basing yourselves on the general Communist theory and practice and adapting yourselves to the peculiar conditions which do not exist in European countries, you must be able to apply this theory and practice to conditions in which the main mass will consist of the peasantry, in which you must solve the task

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[5] *Discard Illusions, and Be Prepared for Struggle.*