

*Chen Po-ta*

**STALIN AND THE  
CHINESE REVOLUTION**

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*IN CELEBRATION OF STALIN'S  
SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY*

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## 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.



## II

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

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\* 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

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\* *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-

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\* 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.

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\* 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.

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\* 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."

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