

NEWS & LETTERS

"The Root of Mankind Is Man"

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT INSIDE

"Mao Tse-tung"

WORKER'S JOURNAL

By Charles Denby, Editor

Auto Workers Sold Out on Wages, Hospitalization, Speed-Up

The contracts in the UAW have been signed and supposedly ratified by the workers, with the exception of the Studebaker-Packard workers who went out on strike.

Since the organization of the UAW workers have always looked forward to contract negotiations expecting that improvements will be made along the lines of unsolved grievances that have accumulated during the period of contract, such as speed up, working conditions, disciplinary action against workers and firing of workers. With this we always looked forward to some economic gains also.

"POT OF GOLD"

With the past several contracts we have seen nothing like this coming out of these union-management negotiations. Many of our hard won gains have been bargained away and substituted for some, as one worker puts it, "big pot of gold at the end of the rainbow," or as the union leaders, put it, a big broad economic plan.

Workers felt that the only thing we did gain in this contract was paid hospitalization by the company, and this was after listening to the union bureaucrats sell us the contract with five hours of talking. They said not only were we getting paid hospitalization but that we will be covered with hospitalization for one year after we have been laid off. Another big point they made was that if we work 32 hours in one week and the company sends us home, we would get paid 65% of the fifth day. Also, if the company times one operation on the production line for more jobs it would have no effect on the other jobs on the line.

"EVERYTHING IS WORSE"

Theoretically these points didn't sound so bad, but practically it was a continuation of the big sell-out by the union bureaucrats.

Less than three weeks after the contract was ratified we had a big lay-off. We discovered to every worker's surprise that our hospitalization is tied up in the supplementary pay (SUB). It is based on how many credit units you have in SUB benefits to determine how much and how long your hospitalization will be paid.

A worker must work two years without any lost time to get a year's paid hospitalization. Some workers with many years accumulated seniority, who have been laid off will not receive even two months paid hospitalization.

FIFTH DAY PAY—A HOAX

We also discovered that if we work a 32 hour week and are not to work that fifth day, that as long as the company posts a notice saying not to return that fifth day, we will not get a red cent for it.

As for the production line timing—the company saw to that too—they reorganized the automation machines. They have the slowest machine doing the first operation and its highest speed may be, say, 250 pieces an hour. The second machine will do 260 pieces, the third 270 and so forth. Since the first machine makes only 250 an hour that is the standard for the workers on that operation. But if and when the third machine breaks down, number one and two continue to run, the stock is piled up and when the machine is repaired then the production for the line is 270 until they catch up.

Take our line, before the contract was signed our production was 350 pieces an hour. We worked on the last operation, and every worker in the group had the same production quota. After the contract was signed the foreman walked up to us and said our production was 480. We thought he was kidding, and we asked him about it. He told us that the first machine's work capacity was 350, number seven's was something like 450 and ours was 480 and that is what we would have to do to catch up on the stock that was piled up.

That is what is meant in the contract when it states that they can time one operation at a time, that timing one operation does not necessarily mean they have to time all operations.

UNEMPLOYED—FORGOTTEN MEN

This is what we got out of the contract. NOT better working conditions BUT WORSE. NOT better seniority and protection BUT WORSE. NOTHING to help the UNEMPLOYED but more workers ADDED to the unemployed lists.

While thousands of unemployed demonstrated at the city and county building before Christmas with signs saying "There will be no Christmas for the unemployed and their families," Emil Mazey, Roy Reuther and other bureaucrats were having their pictures taken in a big hotel downtown, saying they were there to meet with the new mayor to help him make Detroit a better city.

If they do to the City of Detroit what they have done to workers in the UAW, GOD HELP US.

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A LETTER FROM NATALIA TROTSKY

Report on N. Y. Hospital Strike

By Freedom Rider, Mary Hamilton

Labor Secretary Goldberg's Anti-Labor Line

Administration Jugglers Can't Hide Truth of Unemployment

No amount of doctoring up employment statistics can change the present unemployment picture. Nearly 5 million workers remain fully unemployed and another 8 million are only partially employed. Particularly hard hit are Negro workers and youth.

According to Department of Labor statistics, 22% of the Negro work force that comprises 11% of the nation's work force is unemployed. Of the youth who left school to go to work in recent years, fully 30% of them are unemployed.

JFK SENDS YOUTH INTO ARMY

President Kennedy recently seized upon the Berlin crisis to extend the tour of duty of those enlistees in the armed forces and activated 155,000 men in the National Guard and Re-

serve units, as if this would solve the problem. He, no doubt, considers that although this may not be the best solution to chronic unemployment, it does take some of the heat off, and certainly isn't creating any more unemployment.

So overwhelming is this fact of life in 1961-62 that the labor bureaucracy with Meany at its head was compelled on the very day Meany announced that he was 100% behind Kennedy, to make exceptions.

See "New Wave of Lay-offs" Page 2

Meany and AFL-CIO leadership went on record as supporting a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, Kennedy to the contrary. In opposition to Kennedy who had addressed the Bal Harbor convention a week earlier, the AFL-CIO adopted a resolution to "press for wage advances" in the coming year. Kennedy had suggested a voluntary wage freeze. Concerning price stability, which Kennedy says will go up, if workers demand higher wages, the resolution stated, "most industries can afford to grant improvements of wages, salaries and fringe benefits without price increases."

LABOR'S GATE CRASHER

Only in the field of public relations has the New Frontiersmen proved more adept than their Republican predecessors, and they may assume the role of the "friends of Labor" only with the connivance of the labor bureaucrats. A few years back Eisenhower roundly assailed his cabinet members, for not one of them secured an invitation to speak before a labor gathering on Labor Day.

Kennedy has no such problem. Carrying the ball for the Administration in the field of labor, Secretary Arthur Goldberg has crashed into virtually every major labor parley and management-labor dispute that occurred in 1961, to the cheers of the top labor brass. His line is clear. Now isn't the time to strike. Now isn't the time to ask for higher wages, and now isn't the time to press for a shorter workweek. Any such activity on the part of labor would place the nation in jeopardy at a moment when Russia threatens from without. "NOT NOW" MEANS NEVER

The utter cynicism with which this line is put forth is nakedly exposed if one listens to the pronouncements of JFK at the same time. The President constantly reiterates that we can expect the Cold War to continue for "generations to come." In the language of the Kennedy Administration, not now, means never.

Goldberg's arrogance knows no bounds. At the AFL-CIO Convention that took place in the middle of December in Bal Harbor, Florida, he took the platform and proceeded to lecture A. Philip Randolph, presi-

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STUDENTS PROTEST IN

McComb, Mississippi, U.S.A.

McComb, Miss.—The City of McComb is located in Pike County Mississippi. Pike County has a population of 10,401. Of these, 43 per cent are Negroes. There is one park, one golf course, one swimming pool, two schools restricted to Negroes and seven restricted to whites.

There are two churches, two banks, four city policemen, one sheriff and three deputy sheriffs. There are three Negro restaurants, one white hotel, a white motel and two Negro hotels.

There is only one hospital, and the one Negro doctor in town is not allowed to receive his patients there.

Some of the men of Pike County work in the Illinois Central Railroad shop and several are railroad workers. Most of the women work as domestics.

Firmwood-Box and Crate Company has five per cent of Negro employees. Movie Stars Inc. hire no Negroes. A committee of local Negro citizens went to see members of the City Council about hiring Negroes in the Police and Fire Departments. The council stated that they would "look into the matter." They are still looking but in the wrong direction.

Holiday Inn, a National Motel chain, opened a motel recently and employs 25 Negroes as maids (18.50 per week) and as waitresses (\$10 per week).

The farmers in general own their own land and the majority

of Negroes own their own homes.

The Negro high schools in Pike County are not accredited high schools. There are only six high schools in the entire state that are accredited. None of the higher institutions of learning provided for by the state for Negro students are accredited.

The beginning salary for Negro teachers in Pike County is \$2,900.

That is a picture of what Pike County, Mississippi is like. What follows is what the Negro students and some white students of Pike County are doing to change it.

STUDENTS PROTEST TREATMENT OF SIT-INERS

On October 5, 1961, 116 Negro high school students participated in a march to the downtown area of McComb. This march was in protest of the refusal of the Board of Education to readmit Brenda Travis and Ike Lewis. These two students were refused readmittance to Burg-hind High School because they participated in a sit-in demonstration in McComb, Mississippi

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IN STEEL AND AUTO

Workers Face New Wave Of Lay-Offs

"No Work, Go Home"

HOMESTEAD, Penna. — In the steel mill today the workers are very uncertain about what to expect next. They know more layoffs are coming, though. They've seen them happening for many months. The worry comes in not knowing what day your number is coming up—the day you get the pink slip.

Nobody is safe. In my department alone, four foremen were put on that one-way street—out of a job. As for the workers, they have been regularly laid off for some time. It's reached the point now where 15 years seniority doesn't mean a thing. And the men are pretty bitter about it.

A Negro friend of mine told me of an incident that happened to him when he was sent to the 45-inch mill to work. He said he didn't like it down there because there was no such thing as steady work hours. If anything happened to prevent the men from working while the mill was rolling, they were sent home.

This worker tried to make the best of it, but in the meantime signed for another job in the department. He knew the discriminatory policy in the mill, but figured they would either give him the job or send him to another plant.

Rather than give him the job, they shipped him to another shop—but not before he told the head super off good and proper.

The company is trying to adopt a general policy of "No work, go home" if anything happens. It used to be that we could stick around until the bottleneck was cleared up. Now it's different.

There is also another new twist in the mill. Here at Homestead, you did the work that your letter called for. Now they are trying to work anybody anyplace and on any job—from top money on down.

"Recalled in Sept. Laid-off in Dec."

CALIFORNIA -- I've seen something new in this layoff—and it is a depressing thing. I don't know how widespread it is, but the people I've talked with say they are not coming back to Chrysler.

You ask the union what they are going to do about unemployment—nothing. And others are trying to find an individual way out. Or try to. But somewhere you have got to see the negativity, the surge for something different, some way other than an individual way out.

I haven't seen anything as deep as this layoff. It is much worse than last year. Not only were fewer people called back on this model, we didn't work any more on it. The speed-up is tremendous. I worked from August to December in 1960 and was laid off. On this model, I didn't get called back until September and worked to December.

So many things were sold out in the contract. There is something about SUB. The government tied it up. We won't receive the entire amount under the new contract because Chrysler has to get permission from the government to allow them to write off SUB as a tax loss or something, which nobody knew until this layoff.

We will also be out of about \$220 dollars in vacation pay. Other auto contracts are prorated on the time you work—not us. Under the Chrysler contract a man could have 25 years seniority in the place and not get a vacation. It's possible.

If you don't work eight months out of the year, or if you are not on the payroll on May 1, you won't get a vacation. For most of us, our only hope is to be on the payroll on May 1, because we only worked four months, half the time specified.

The work force on this model has been cut by one-third, and the line by 25 percent, so you can imagine how much speed-up there is going to be. One worker said some men on the line will have as many as six operations to do where they used to have one. As Automation has come in we've seen one man do the work of two, then three—and now it's six. And the word is going around that if you can't do the work, you're fired.

Natalia Trotzky Denounces Khrushchev, Mao Tse-tung

Paris
November 9, 1961

Dear Editor:

In the interview by Mr. Michel Gordey published in *France-Soir*, Monday, Nov. 7, the second paragraph says: "She (meaning me) hopes, before dying, to assist in the rehabilitation by world Communism of him (Trotzky) who was, after Lenin, the greatest revolutionary of modern times and the spiritual father of Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist leader."

These words don't belong to me at all; they were introduced by the writer of the interview. I am therefore obliged to state precisely the following:

1—A great revolutionary like Leon Trotzky could not in any way be the father of Mao Tse-tung who won his position in direct struggle with the Left-Opportunity (Trotzkyist) and consolidated it by the murder and persecution of revolutionaries just as Chiang Kai-shek did. The spiritual fathers of Mao Tse-tung and of his party are obviously Stalin (whom he always credits as such) and his collaborators, Mr. Khrushchev included.

2—I consider the present Chinese regime, the same as the Russian regime or all others based on the latter model, as far from Marxism and the proletarian revolution as that of Franco in Spain.

3—The police terror and the calumnies of Stalin are only the political aspect of a death struggle conducted against the revolution by the entire bureaucracy. One cannot therefore expect the re-establishment of the whole truth except by the annihilation of this bureaucracy by the working class which it has reduced to slavery. I don't expect anything from the Russian party nor from its fundamentally anti-communist imitators. All de-Stalinization will prove to be a trap if it doesn't lead to the seizure of power by the proletariat and the dissolution of the police institutions, political, military and economic, based on the counter-revolution which established Stalinist state-capitalism.

With my salutations,
Natalia Sedova Trotzky

As we go to press the sad news of the death of Natalia Trotzky has just been announced. An article in memoriam will appear in the next issue.

Workers Battle Automation 25c

By Charles Denby
Orders: News & Letters
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POLICE BRUTALITY AGAINST NEW YORK HOSPITAL PICKETS

New York City—I joined the picket line at Flower Fifth Ave. Hospital when a friend from Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers told me about how 150 of the 400 workers had been fired and the wages of the others lowered.

This supposed "reform" in NY hospitals, where the workers are already underpaid, would set a terrible precedent, and the demonstration of the sacked hospital workers was very important.

This was the first time I have ever been on a union picket line, and although I was a Freedom Rider in Jackson, Miss., I have never seen such police brutality. One of the union men said to me: "I haven't seen such police violence since the '30s."

We were out at five a.m. in front of the entrances asking the other workers not to go in and telling them "You'll be next." To other Negroes I would yell "Last hired, first

fired." Cops would try to bring scabs in through our line and they were very mean. I could see them hitting people in the kidneys with their clubs, swinging them from the elbow and hitting from behind so that onlookers couldn't see.

JACKSON, MISS—N.Y., N.Y.

Many of the workers are Negroes, and the cops were so brutal it reminded them of the South and of the Freedom Rides. "This is New York City, not Jackson, Mississippi!" they yelled. Finally, when I tried to stop a cop who had knocked a woman down and wouldn't let her up again, he turned on me and hit me in the stomach with his nightstick.

WORKERS WERE WONDERFUL

In the face of this violence, the workers—most of whom are Puerto Rican or Negro—were wonderful. When they met at ten o'clock the enthusiasm was high and it was voted to carry on the demonstration for as long as possible.

Mary Hamilton

Freedom Riders Hit Route 40's Segregated Restaurants

On December 16, CORE went through with the Freedom Ride against the segregated restaurants on US Route 40 in Maryland and Delaware. This ride had been scheduled for November 11 and was postponed on a compromise. Some 35 out of 70 restaurants in Maryland and 12 out of 15 in Delaware said they would serve Negroes. The others were given until December 16 to integrate. At least ten of those which had promised to integrate reneged on their promise when tested November 25.

OVER 700 people participated in the ride. They came from as far away as Rochester, New York and Cornell University. Some of the riders had to drive all Friday night to arrive at the rendezvous point Saturday noon.

* * *

There were enough cars so that really massive attacks could be made on the restaurants. Five and six cars would drive up to a restaurant and

the riders would fill it. In some cases this worked. About ten restaurants integrated that day. These were generally the better restaurants. Others simply closed and remained closed all day. A rather expensive way of avoiding serving Negroes. Others read the Maryland trespass act to the sit-inners, thereby forcing them to leave or be arrested. This too became rather awkward when carload after carload arrived throughout the afternoon.

One proprietor of a diner, a notorious racist, refused to allow the riders even to enter his restaurant. This forced him to stand out in the cold rain for several hours in his shirtsleeves reading the trespass act as about twenty cars drove up to his diner one by one.

At the finish of the ride, the riders gathered in a church in Baltimore. The climax of the evening was not speeches, however, it was a march through the Negro section of Baltimore

by the Freedom Riders. As they walked through the streets singing Freedom songs, windows opened, heads peered out, people cheered and joined in the singing. About a score or so joined the march. The march continued for about an hour and returned to the church.

At the church, it was announced that a group of twenty riders had been sitting in a restaurant in Aberdeen, Maryland. People were asked to go and relieve them. About 45 people did go. The restaurant proved to be the Aberdeen bus terminal and was also the hangout for a lot of the local hoods and a lot of the soldiers from Aberdeen Proving Grounds nearby.

GI'S CHANGE OWNERS TUNE

The owner did not want to read the trespass act lest he run the risk of violating Federal laws and regulations prohibiting discrimination in bus terminals. Apparently, he had spread the news that Freedom Riders were sitting in his restaurant and he invited the local toughs to come around. There was a CORE picket line around the restaurant.

About ten o'clock it seemed that a climax was about to be reached. The police discreetly absented themselves, and rumors were heard that the owner was going to cut off the lights and set the hoods on the sit-inners. Then he had an apparent change of heart. The police reappeared and the owner read the trespass act. This was not due to any sudden access of morality. A Negro soldier walked in with several white and oriental buddies and was joined by a number of other GI's. The owner realized that they would be on the side of the Freedom Riders.

More Freedom Rides will undoubtedly be necessary on Route 40. They will continue until victory.

ONLY 25¢
FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

By Louise Inghram and Mary Hamilton

"... There was a rally in Jackson the night before we went to court. It was pouring down rain... The place holds 1500 people and it was filled to capacity. The police were out in force, refused to let anyone stand. When the seats were filled the rest of the people were made to disperse... The Freedom Riders were all there. We received a standing ovation. We sang that night within the borders of Jackson."

Order your copy of the Freedom Riders' stories. News & Letters, 8751 Grand River, Detroit 4, Mich.

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Mao Tse-tung

From the Beginning of Power To the Sino-Soviet Dispute

By Raya Dunayevskaya*

War and Revolution

The totality of the crisis in China has been brought about by a combination of natural calamities and an inhuman drive by the totalitarian rulers to industrialize, collectivize and "communize" the vast land with one "Great Leap Forward." Instead of achieving any new social order, 650 million human beings face famine and near-famine conditions for the second consecutive year. This, however, has in no way deterred the state-capitalist bureaucracy either from swallowing up countries bordering its territory—as in the conquest of Tibet, and the incursions into Indian territory—or from vying with Russian Communism for influence over the Afro-Asian and the Latin-American worlds. On the contrary, Mao has thrown down the gauntlet to Khrushchev for leadership of the Communist world.

To crown his world ambitions Mao has not shirked from taking on responsibility for a possible nuclear holocaust. The Chinese rulers have shocked all mankind by their cynical statements that China would suffer "least" were such a holocaust to break out. "Even if 200 million of us were killed, we would still have 400 million left." (1) Mao has laughed at "nuclear war blackmail" branding all who fear nuclear war as cowards and "revisionists." As Hongqi (Red Flag) put it: "The modern revisionists are panic stricken by the policy of nuclear war blackmail. They develop from the fear of war to the fear of revolution." (2)

This glorification of revolution is not meant for mainland China, however. It is directed against other lands. The Chinese masses would like nothing better than a revolution against their ruling class headed by Mao Tse-tung. For one brief period voices were heard, loud and clear, in uncompromising opposition to the single party state. They were, as they expressed it, "blooming and contending" in line with Mao's speech "let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend." This opposition was soon ruthlessly crushed.

1956 opened a new world epoch in the fight for freedom. The year began with Khrushchev, in February, calling for de-Stalinization. He hoped this would guarantee the containment of revolutionary unrest. In May, Mao felt certain that it was safe for him to act the benevolent "sun" (3) that would allow "100 flowers to bloom," and "100 schools of thought to contend." The year ended with the Hungarian Revolution showing, beyond any peradventure of doubt, that what the Freedom Fighters want is freedom from Communism.

The Chinese people "bloomed and contended" so vigorously that they exposed the contradiction, the live, antagonistic contradiction between rulers and ruled, thus giving the lie to Mao's claim that he is an exponent of the Marxist theory of liberation.

It is impossible to understand the situation the Chinese rulers face now, either internally or externally, without understanding the critical years 1956-1957. Just as the Hungarian Revolution was not only a national revolution, so the discontent in China was not confined to its borders. Both events mark an historic turning point in world development as well as in class relations within state-capitalist societies.

The bureaucracy's incredible fanaticism and blindness to reality and to logic meant that everything had to fit into the bureaucracy's world. If people could not be "remolded" to fit, they had to be destroyed. We face, as the starkest and most palpable realities today, what the great German philosopher Hegel—analyzing the abstract philosophic development of the "Spirit in Self-Estrangement"—had called "the absolute and universal inversion of reality and thought, their entire estrangement one from the other" (4).

That brief period of open dispute in China illuminates both the Sino-Soviet dispute, and the fundamental struggle of China and Russia against the United States. The life and death question of war and revolution is thereby brought into focus. Though the right to any freedom of expression in China was short-lived, and though the official sources (5) did not by any means reveal the full extent of the opposition, the true sweep of freedom broke through these barriers as well as through the barriers of language. Just as the Hungarian Freedom Fighters spoke in a more universal language than Magyar, and the Swahili language of the Afri-

can revolutionaries is understood by all, so, for the same reasons, we feel at one with the Chinese. They all speak the human language of freedom. Let's listen:

I. Voices of Revolt

Communist Youth

Lin Hsi-ling, age 21: "True socialism is highly democratic, but the socialism we have here is not democratic. I call this society a socialism sprung from a basis of feudalism." The People's Daily, June 30, then continues, "She called them (certain phenomena in the life of our society) a class system, saying that it (i.e., class system) had already entered all aspects of life . . . she said with ulterior motives that the social productive forces in both the Soviet Union and China were very low and that these two countries had not yet eliminated class differences . . . Moreover, quoting Engels' theory that one country cannot construct socialism and Lenin's dictum that socialism is the elimination of class, she arrived at the conclusion that present-day China and Russia are not socialist. She loudly demanded a search for 'true socialism' and advocating using explosive measures to reform the present social system."

Chang Po-sheng, head of the propaganda department of the Communist Youth League in the Normal College of Shenyang: "All kinds of important questions are decided upon by six persons—Chairman Mao, Liu Shao-ch'i, Premier Chou En-lai and those above the rank of the Secretary General of the Party center. The destiny of six hundred million is dictated by the pen of these six men and how can they know the actual situation? At best they can make an inspection tour of the Yellow River and swim the Yangtze." (Shenyang Daily, June 11).

Worker and Student Strikes

"Since last year, workers in the province have involved themselves in thirteen strikes and trouble-making incidents." (Reported by New China News Agency, Canton, May 14).

Trade Unions called "Tongues of the Bureaucracy." "Trade unions were cast aside because they were concerned with production and not with the workers' welfare . . . that is why some workers in Canton, Changsha, Wuhan, Hsinhsiang and Shikiach-wang dubbed their trade unions 'workers' control departments' led by the administration, 'tongues of the bureaucracy,' and 'tail of the administration,' etc. . . . Is it not a 'crisis' in the trade union work that trade unions are divorced from the masses to such a degree?" (From Li Feng's "On an 8,000-li Tour of Hurried Observations," People's Daily, May 9).

Professors

Ko P'ei-chi, Lecturer, Department of Industrial Economics, China People's University in Peking: "When the Communist Party entered the city in 1949 the common people welcomed it with food and drink and looked upon it as a benevolent force. Today the common people choose to estrange themselves from the Communist Party as if its members were gods and devils . . . The party members behave like plain-clothes police and place the masses under their surveillance. The party members are not to be blamed for this, for the party organization instructs them to gather information . . . The masses may knock you down, kill the Communists and overthrow you. The downfall of the Communist Party does not mean the downfall of China. This cannot be described as unpatriotic for the Communists no longer serve the people . . ." (Reported in People's Daily, May 31).

Huang Chen-lu, editor of the school paper at the Normal College of Shenyang: "The Communist Party has 12 million members, less than two per cent of the total population. The 600 million people are to become the obedient subjects of this two per cent of the people. What sort of principle is this!" (Reported in Shenyang Daily, June 11).

Non-Communist Parties

Su P'ei-ying, China Democratic League, and Engineer of Tientsin Civil Housing Designing Board: "When the Communists first entered Tientsin, they said it was a revolution and our revolution was not a change of dynasties. The way I look at it now is that the revolution was worse than a change of dynasties and living in such a society is heart-breaking." (Reported in New China News Agency, June 9).

Lung Yun, Vice Chairman KMTRC (6). "During the Second World War, the United States granted loans and leases to her allies. Later, some of these

allies refused to pay back the loans, and the United States excused some from repayment. It will take our country more than ten years to repay the loans from the Soviet Union, if we can ever repay them. Besides, we have to pay interest to the Soviet Union. China fought for socialism, but look at the result." (Reported by the New China News Agency, June 18, as "Lung Yun's Absurd Views").

The Press and The Peasants

Tai Huang, New China News Agency journalist, who had joined the Communist Party in 1944: "The old ruling class has been overthrown, but a new ruling class has arisen. The evolution of this will lead to an amalgamation with Taiwan." NCNA, Peking, August 17, continues its report: "After the outbreak of the Hungarian incident, Tai Huang disapproved of the dispatch of the Soviet troops to help Hungary to suppress its counter-revolutionary rebellion . . . He slandered the people's journalistic enterprises as a 'policy to make the people ignorant.' He maliciously attacked the leaders of the New China News Agency everywhere."

NCNA, Canton, May 14: "The Communist Party Kwantung Committee has courageously and thoroughly exposed the contradictions found in current work in Kwantung . . . the contradictions between the leadership and the masses. These find main expression in undemocratic behaviour on the part of the cadres which leads to the practice of having work carried out by coercion and command and the violation of law and discipline; the refusal to make public the accounts which has permitted quite a number of co-operative cadres to indulge in corrupt practices; the non-participation of co-operative cadres in manual work and the payment of compensation wages to them at too high a rate. All this dissatisfies the masses . . . From last winter, a total of 117,916 households have pulled out at different times from co-operatives in the province. At present, 102,149 households have rejoined."

II. Suddenly 1,000 Weeds and 'The Great Leap Forward'

Suddenly, six weeks after the open forums first started, the Communist rulers called an abrupt halt to the "100 flowers" campaign. It was felt that, instead of 100 flowers, they found 1,000 weeds and, "of course," weeds must be rooted out. The road that had led to those six weeks was a tortuous one. Mao's original speech, "Let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought contend," which had been delivered as far back as May, 1956, and was intended for intellectuals only, had never been published. Nevertheless the limited freedom expanded itself. China was confronted with student strikes and worker strikes. Meanwhile, the Hungarian "thaw" had developed into a full-scale revolution. Mao still thought he could limit the Chinese thaw by fitting the limited freedoms into the vise of single party domination. Thereupon, (February 27, 1957) he delivered a new speech, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." He redefined "contradiction" (Mao's favorite thesis) to where both it and freedom lost all meaning. He further redefined "the people" to where they were either "people" or "enemies." Mao put so many limitations to the permissible contradictions that "blooming and contending" was diverted. Even then, however, he felt called upon to introduce so many "additions" to the text of his speech that when it was finally published, on June 18, 1957, (7) "the correct handling of contradictions" soon turned into a relentless hunt for "rightists." The right to free expression ended abruptly, ruthlessly.

Whether this took the form of outright execution, as in the case of the three student leaders at Hanyang, who were hanged before the horrified eyes of 10,000; or whether it took the form of sending "rightists and intellectuals" to work in the fields, or to serve prison terms, the shock was not exhausted by the typical totalitarian state's crushing of the opposition. Far from retreating in the face of widespread opposition, Mao soon came out with a real brainstorm called "The People's Communes."

I. Regimentation of Labor

Mao's "People's Communes" far outstripped Stalin's dictum "to liquidate the kulak as a class. In these 'Communes' all the peasants—of China's population of 650 million, no less than 500 million are peasants—were to be herded into barracks-like quarters where they were to function "along military lines," working from sun-up to sundown. After dinner they were either to attend meetings, or work in fields, or on construction, or in steel.

(Continued on Page 4)

*This article is based on a chapter of a new book I am writing on the Afro-Asian and Latin-American worlds. I wish to thank a young scholar, Jonathan Spence, for some of the research for this article, and I am indebted for his knowledge of the Chinese language. The analysis of the material and the political conclusions are, however, naturally mine alone.

(Continued from Page 3)

"mills"—or wherever they might be ordered to work. Then Mao planned to organize "Communes" in the cities. This total regimentation and militarization of labor was called "mass mobilization," or "mass line." This, said Mao, was going to unleash such vast productive forces that they could accomplish in one decade what it took four decades to accomplish in Russia. Moreover, the fantasy went on, they could go, "without interruption," to Communism.

The totalitarian state was in so great a hurry that in eight months it herded 120 million peasant households—formerly in 740 thousand agricultural producers' cooperatives of 160 families each—into 24,000 "People's Communes" each averaging no less than 5,000 families. This, it was claimed, "liberated" tens of millions of women from household chores. They therefore had to work alongside their men in the field full time; their children were taken away from them, and sent to nurseries; old parents were sent to "old peoples' happy homes." All eating was done in public mess halls, hence the women who were "freed" from household chores had to cook, instead of for one family, for approximately 8,000.

"The People's Commune," read the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee Resolution, "is the combination of industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs within the scope of their activity." (8)

Pretentious Claims

Pretentious claims were made that steel was being produced on the farms. Actually only a low-grade of pig iron—full of slag, and quite useless to the steel mills—was produced at the cost of transporting the bulky ore to the farm kilns. In the end, Peking itself had to admit that in 1958 no less than 3.08 million tons of "locally made pig iron" had to be scrapped because it was no good for industrial purposes. Instead of unleashing vast productive forces, all that the "mass line" unleashed were aching backs, and miserable barracks conditions of work and of living. The chaos, disorganization, intolerable living conditions, inhuman relationships, and just plain exhaustion compelled even the totalitarian bureaucracy to call a halt and proclaim benevolently that "ten to twelve hours was sufficient" to work; that calisthenics and meetings should not take all the rest of the time since "people should sleep eight hours." The determination persisted for the recognition of personal freedom. Hence, a new dictum: "Members of the Commune are directed to lead a collectivized life. Each person must work ten hours and engage in ideological studies for two hours a day. They are entitled to one day of rest every ten days . . . The CCP committee rules that all members are free to use their time as they wish outside of the ten hours of labor and two hours of ideological study each day; that husband and wife may have a room of their own; that members are permitted to make tea and other refreshments in their own quarters for themselves; and that women members may use their spare time to make shoes and mend clothes . . . The Commune members have enthusiastically welcomed the small personal freedoms granted them by the CCP committee." (From a New China News Agency report of November 20, 1958).

While the Communes never did develop as the over-all form of production in industry, industry was alleged to have met its production targets "so far ahead of time" that a halt could be called. Once again it was to be recognized that while industry is "the leader" agriculture remains "the basis." There is no doubt that some progress was made, if the measure of progress is not the way in which people live, but the way industry is developed. Irrigation projects were constructed with forced labor, and the rate of industrial growth far outdistanced that in another Asiatic country—India.

Fantastic Goals Revised

Whatever attraction the fantastic goals set for 1958 had for the underdeveloped countries, if the gullible thought that ordering the masses about like soldiers and making them work endless hours would produce industrialization overnight, if the cynical failed to recoil from the "Communal living" which was short on sex life and love, and long on public mess-halls and work, the present famine conditions compel second thoughts. Here are the figures:

	First Claims on 1958 Output	Revised Claims on 1958 Output
Steel (million metric tons)	11.08	8.00
Grain (million metric tons)	375.00	250.00
Cotton (million metric tons)	3.32	2.1

No current statistics are released for agriculture. It is known, however, that while the word "Commune" is retained, it is actually the production brigade rather than the whole Commune that has become the operational unit. The large production brigade embraces from 200 to 300 families, equivalent to what it was in agricultural producers' co-ops, or a single large village; and the small production brigade consists of only forty families. Again, while the large production brigade has the right of ownership, the small production brigade has the right of use of labor, land, draft animals, and farming tools and equipment.

The "new" method of work follows along the road of the First Five Year Plan modeled on the Russian line, rather than the lines of departure mapped out with "The Great Leap Forward." The blame is placed on those who didn't understand, and thus are in need of yet a new rectification campaign since there are those "who have taken advantage of the difficulties created by natural calamities and shortcomings in basic-level work to carry out destructive activities."

The dictum is: "Reform some comrades who are crudely unconcerned with details, unwilling to understand and often have no idea whatsoever of

complete conditions, but yet who direct production." The "new" principle has all the sound of sweated piece-work pay, thus: "The principle of exchange for fair prices, distribution according to work, and work-more-earn-more." (11)

We must not think, however, that the recognition of a need for technological build-up, or the need to concentrate on agricultural production, or the need for "specialists" and "lowering of production costs" means the abandonment of the Chinese Communist "three-sided banner" that is, socialist construction, the Great Leap Forward, and the "Commune".

Directed to the Afro-Asian world was the claim that it is possible for the underdeveloped areas to go uninterruptedly from industrialization into "Communism," and that "the mass line" can achieve greater miracles than advanced science. This fantasy is at the root of the Sino-Soviet conflict. Khrushchev's policy of peaceful co-existence with the United States brought this underlying conflict to a head.

2. Roots of the Sino-Soviet Rift

The first "model Commune" had been initiated in April, 1958 and was named "Sputnik." The nomenclature was not chosen accidentally. The October, 1957 Russian launching of the sputnik produced two very different reactions on the part of Khrushchev and Mao. The former knew that Russia's "superiority" over the United States was not "total." He knew, also, the cost of crushing the Hungarian Revolution and bringing the whole of Eastern Europe back under full Russian control. At the same time, the one billion dollars (12) in short-term credits to Eastern Europe prevented aid to China in as massive doses as had been previously given it. Above all, the Hungarian Revolution blew sky high, not only Hungary's State Plan, it undermined also Russia's Five Year Plan. This was scrapped and Khrushchev began to think of some substantial trade, on a long-term loan basis, with the United States. Hence, the Manifesto of the ruling Communist parties, in November, 1957, was by no means limited to exorcising "revisionism." It also reaffirmed the line of "peaceful co-existence."

Mao, who was present, thought otherwise. He believed that the sputnik had produced so radical a shift in the world balance of power that the Communist orbit could now undertake little wars, "just wars" and all sorts of adventures with which to taunt US imperialism. While he signed the "unanimous statement," he decided upon a very dramatic departure not only vis-a-vis the United States, but a dramatic short-cut to outstrip Russian Communism. The "Great Leap Forward" was to be accomplished by "the People's Communes." This illusion of Mao's was fostered by one bountiful harvest, and his vainglorious confidence that he could, by a militarizing labor, outstrip science itself.

Khrushchev & Mao Maneuver On U. S.

Khrushchev didn't have to wait two years for the revised figures on the achievements of the "Great Leap Forward" to be published for him to know the preposterousness of the so-called simultaneous development of agriculture and industry in a country that had no advanced technological base for either. Nor did he appreciate Mao's attempt to transform the fantasy into a "theory" to prove the superiority of the China Road over Russia's more arduous and long road to "Communism." The breaking point, however, came, not on the question of the "Commune," but at a time when Mao tried to tell him how to conduct the struggle against the United States, and how to run the international Communist movement. He disregarded Mao's opposition to his meeting with Eisenhower, and proceeded to lay the basis for a summit meeting at which, of course, Mao would not be present. Khrushchev arrived in the United States on September 15, 1959, and the "spirit of Camp David" for a summit was adhered to until the U-2 spy plane incident in May, 1960. Before that day which compelled Russia to change its line, China took advantage of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin (April 22) to transform the power conflict into a "theory of revolution." It was called "Long Live Leninism," was published as an "Editorial," and appeared in *Red Flag*, No. 8, 1960 and translated in the *Peking Review*, No. 17, 1960. (21)

This "Editorial" is a full-sized pamphlet of some 40 pages. It is heavily sprinkled with quotations from Lenin, which stress proletarian revolution. While the editorial itself plays down "modern science" (that is, ICBMs, H-bombs, and sputniks) as mere "specific details of technical progress in the present-day world," it unleashes an attack on "modern revisionism" in a way that makes it very easy to read "Khrushchev" where the editorial says "Tito." Since all the proofs of the war-like nature of the United States are drawn from the period after Khrushchev's visit with Eisenhower, it is easy to see that "the inevitability of war" is, in truth, not a question of Lenin's theory, but is specifically directed against Khrushchev's policy of peaceful co-existence.

A year-and-a-half before Khrushchev's attack on Albania, which even the most simple-minded easily recognized to mean "China," and Chou En-lai's departure from the 22nd Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Khrushchev rightly (13) judged that lengthy editorial on Lenin as a new stage, not merely in "Mao's Thought," but in Mao's ambitions for leadership in the Communist orbit, and in influence over the underdeveloped areas, and in calling the shots as to when to start the war with the United States. It is rumored that a discussion between Russia and China regarding a joint Pacific

Fleet was cancelled by Khrushchev for fear that Mao would push him into a war over the Formosa Straits. (14)

In any event, Khrushchev's 1960 UN performance, as well as his 1961 success in getting Outer Mongolia seated at the UN, announced to the United States that he, and not Mao, was still master of the Communist orbit; and announced to the Afro-Asian and Latin-American worlds that Russia and not China, can light the path to power.

No doubt Mao had, and continues to have, illusions about the "Commune." But this in no way changes his imperialist politics, which led to the conquest of Tibet, despite his "theoretical" espousal that socialist construction relies "on the masses, not on technique." It is true that these considerations of power-politics (15), and not any theoretical differences, are the basic reasons for the different interpretations from Moscow and Peking on war and revolution. The objective forces that compel the different interpretations are, however, by no means exhausted by pointing to the obvious power-politics involved. It is true also that the unity of the Communist bloc far outweighs its differences. The differences, however, are by no means accidental or incidental. Nor are they dictated only by different national interests and conditions.

Different conditions produce different modes of thought. Although threadbare, Mao's and Khrushchev's "theories" are as objectively founded as are their power politics. It is, therefore, necessary to trace them through to their sources.

III. The Dialectic of Mao's Thought

"There are people that think that Marxism can cure any disease. We should tell them that dogmas are more useless than cow dung. Dung can be used as fertilizer."—Mao Tset-ung (16)

"... in place of revolt appears arrogance."—Hegel.

The Sino-Soviet rift has produced a raft of r-r-revolutionary statements from the Chinese Communist Party that picture Mao as a Marxist-Leninist in unsullied revolutionary armor, who carries on a single-handed global struggle against "revisionism." The West's daily press does nothing to upset the simplicity and coherence of this fairy tale because it is all too eager to stress the power rift between Russia and China. In the process all words have lost their meaning. Yet the whole history of Mao proves his fight to have been one long struggle against "dogmatism" not against "revisionism." This is seen even in the official sources cited to prove his originality, mainly his pamphlets, "On Practice," and "On Contradiction."

The 22-year long struggle for power—from the defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 to Mao's assumption of full power in mainland China in 1949—has been one long series of basic revisions of Marxism, ending in its total transformation into opposite, i.e., totalitarian Communism. To this theory of totalitarian Communism—the monolithic single party state power developed by Stalin—Mao did make two original contributions: (1) the role of the Army, in and out of state power; and (2) brain-washing, which he calls "Thought Reform" and which he applies equally to all classes. While this has even less relationship to Marxism than his "philosophy" of Practice and Contradiction, it is of the essence in a consideration of Mao's thought and must, as we said, be traced to its source. The transformation into opposite is never a mere academic question, but has deep objective roots. In the case of Mao, it is not limited either to the functioning of the "Soviet China in Yenan" or the "Philosophic Essays," both of which date back to the period of 1937. Much less can we see it in its totality if we begin only with Mao's 1949 assumption of power in mainland China, and the political statements that followed. Rather, the transformation begins directly after the 1925-1927 Revolution is defeated. In this case we are willing to follow Mao's method of back-dating. He dates the "Chinese Revolution" from its defeat because it is then that, as he puts it, "The Revolutionary War" began.

1. Defeat of Revolution

The defeat of the 1925-1927 Chinese Revolution meant the defeat of the peasantry as well as the proletariat. However, where the proletariat could not in any way escape the counter-revolutionary vengeance of Chiang in the cities where his power—state and military, prison and police—was centered, it was possible, in the vast land of China, to find some escape in the mountainous countryside.

Very early during his running from Chiang's endless "extermination campaigns," Mao must have decided that warlordism is no accidental feature of Chinese life, and that "mass power" too should be coordinated with the military. Guerrilla war, and not peasant revolution, was soon made into a theory. The "Red" Army, and not the poor peasants, became the new all-encompassing reality—political as well as military, philosophic as well as economic. The Party armed with military might won support from the peasantry when it took over in a definite piece of territory and fostered agricultural reform. But whether or not it had such wide support, its military control of an area gave the Party state power over the peasantry. This is the quintessential element. Theory can wait.

This is why Mao never made his only original

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and moving piece of writing of spontaneous peasant revolt and organization—"Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," February, 1927—into a theory of the role of the peasantry in revolution. (17) Mao had no disagreement with Stalin's policy of "The Bloc of Four Classes," which contributed no small share to the defeat of the Revolution. Despite its revolutionary fervor when it reports the actual revolutionary actions of the peasantry, Mao's Report describes divisions of society as those between "good gentry" and "bad gentry," "corrupt officials" and "honest ones," and speaks of "a new democratic order," not of a social revolution and a new classless society.

Peasant Revolts

The peasant revolts which have characterized the whole of Chinese history since before Christ, deeply characterized, of course, the 1925-27 Revolution. But Mao's "Red Army," which arose after the defeat of the Revolution including the peasantry in Hunan, did not spring from any large scale spontaneous peasant movement. Quite the contrary. "The Red Army had no support from the masses. And in many places it was even attacked like a bandit gang." (18) When asked whether his Army hadn't included some lumpen-proletariat and even some bandit chiefs, Mao's answer was characteristic, that is to say, practical: They were excellent fighters. The Army was kept disciplined and in action. By the time of Chiang's fourth extermination campaign, it was capable of the historic military feat, the phenomenal long march, which began in October, 1934, into the vastness of China, and stretched over no less than 6,000 miles.

What, however, is forgotten in the oft-telling of this military exploit—I leave aside the decisive role of Chu Teh because it does not change the character of Maoism—is that the long march meant also stops; conquests of villages; acquisition of food supplies by whatever means; and the final method of establishing power when it did set itself up as the supposed "Soviet Republic." The so-called Soviet areas always coincided with the Red Army's sphere of action including the setting up of the "Soviet" from above by the Chinese Communist Party. **One thing is clear and indisputable and absolutely new: Never before had a Marxist leader built an Army where there was no mass movement and called the territory of its operation a "Soviet Republic."**

The running for safety, the need to survive, the compulsion to protect oneself, was to be elevated into "a theory of revolution." Not only that; every aspect of this survival was so transformed. For example, early in his career, Mao was ruthless against opponents, more ruthless against revolutionary opponents than he was against Chiang Kai-shek. Thus Li Li-San, who tried to base himself on the urban proletariat and some revolutionary Marxist principles, had to be destroyed. Thus, Mao liquidated the Kiangsi Soviet which, in 1930, tried to base itself on the city. As he himself put it to Edgar Snow, the rebels were "disarmed and liquidated." (19) Thereby, Mao completed what the counter-revolution Chiang Kai-shek achieved with the defeat of the 1927 Revolution—physical divorce of the Party from the working class.

He repeated this in 1936 as he moved again "to liquidate" Chang Kuo-t'ao (20) who opposed his "peasant Soviets." Mao followed the same policy after his new united front with Chiang in the war against Japan, when he moved against Trotskyists who stood for a "third front" or "Lenin front." Indeed, he branded these as the "principal enemies," which means that fighting against them took priority over fighting either Chiang or Japan.

Struggle Against "Dogmatists"

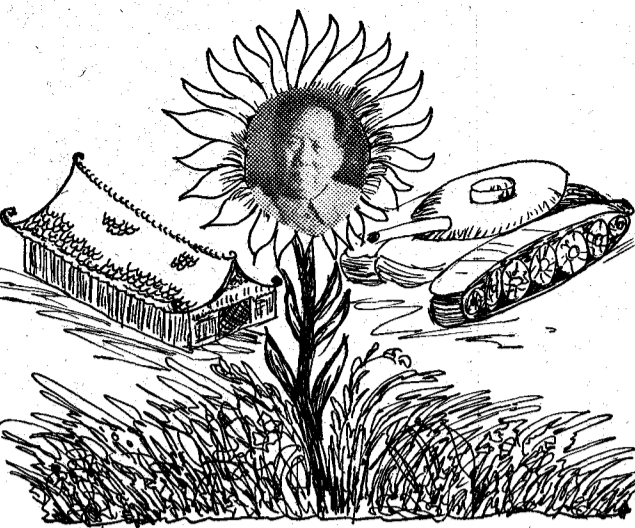
The struggle against "dogmatists" characterized Mao, in action and in theory, before and after power. We will not get the slightest whiff of fighting "revisionists" until Mao has to fight Khrushchev for power within the Communist world and suddenly finds it necessary to appear "orthodox." The pretense of orthodoxy is strictly limited to the world outside of China. Since the concrete there gives the lie to this claim of orthodoxy, the emphasis is on Mao's "original contributions." Original they truly are. Indeed they have nothing whatever to do with Marxism as was seen over and over again on his road to power. His outflanking of the cities was of one piece with his appeal to the workers, not to revolt, but to continue production, and remain at work while he "took the cities."

Mao's "orthodoxy" has more than a tinge of "originality" since he feels compelled to transform his road to power into a universal theory applicable to all, and especially, so to the under-developed countries. Thus, a recent article in *Hongqi* (Red Flag) Number 20-21, 1960, called "A Basic Summing Up of Experience Gained in the Victory of the Chinese People's Revolution," expansively states, over and over again, that the road to power was the establishment of "small revolutionary bases in the rural areas," the moving from "a few" of these to "many," and thus encircling "the cities by the rural areas (led) to the ultimate taking over of the cities."

And again: "Com. Mao Tse-tung maintained that, above all, the bases in the country which at the beginning were small in area and still few in number should be firmly held and continuously expanded and developed. In this way, it would be possible to come ever nearer the goal of attaining nation-wide political power."

Mao is not stressing the role of the peasantry as against that of the city workers in order to give the peasantry a special role in the revolution. On the contrary, he denigrates the early peasant Soviets in China, of which he was a leader, but not yet the undisputed leader. Here is how he analyzed that period:

"We must by no means allow a recurrence of such ultra-left, erroneous policies as were adopted



toward the petty and middle bourgeoisie by our party in the period from 1931 to 1934 (the advocating of uneconomically high standards in working conditions; excessively high income-tax rates; . . . the shortsighted, one-sided view of the so-called 'welfare of the toilers' instead of making our objective the development of production, the prosperity of our economy, the taking into account of both public and private interests and benefits of both labor and capital.) (22)

Mao launched his new policy by securing Chiang Kai-shek's release after his own Kuomintang subordinates had kidnapped him at Sian in December, 1936. Mao then had Chiang re-instated as head of the united national forces. This is what it meant:

"Our policy is to rely on the poor peasants and maintain a stable alliance with the middle peasants in order to destroy the system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation by the landlord class and the old type of rich peasants. The land, the properties, which the landlords and rich peasants receive, must not exceed those which the mass of peasants get. But neither should there be a repetition of the ultra-left, erroneous policy carried out between 1931 and 1934, the so-called policy of 'distribute no land to the landlords and poor land to the rich peasants.' It is necessary to heed the opinion of the middle peasants . . . if they do not agree, concessions should be made to them." (24)

And again: "We have already adopted a decision not to confiscate the land of the rich peasant . . . we are not confiscating the property and the factories of the big and small merchants and capitalists. We protect their enterprise . . . The common interests of both capitalist and workers are grounded in the struggle against imperialist aggression . . . What we consider the most important is that all parties and groups should treat us without animosity and bear in mind the objective of the struggle against Japan for salvation of the country. We shall hereafter consider of no importance any difference of opinion on other questions." (23)

In a word, Mao "supports" the poor peasant, the revolutionary peasant, like a rope supports a hanging man. Only after the abrogation of the Land Law of the first "Soviet Republic" which had stipulated the confiscation of the land, without compensation, of all landowners above middle peasant—and only after the total disintegration of the proletarian leadership—did Mao finally (1937) become the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party.

He is "for" the peasant when he wants to fight the city worker. He is "for" the poor peasant as he moves against the landlord who opposes him. When he needs the landlords as "part of the nation" that opposes Japan, he promises them their rights, and he even collects their rent for them in this period! The only peasant he is truly for is the peasant Army. Of all the Communists in power, only the Chinese list the Army along with the Party as the two instruments of power.

Since the attempt to establish Mao as nothing short of "the greatest and most outstanding revolutionary leader, statesman and theorist of Marxism—Leninism in the modern era" begins with establishing him as "the philosopher" who wrote "On Practice." (25), and "On Contradiction" (26), it is to these we turn.

2. The 'Philosophy' of the Yen-an Period

"We are opposed to the die-hards in the revolutionary ranks . . . We are opposed to the idle talk of the 'left.'"
—Mao Tse-tung.

The drastic change from the first "Soviet" period (1928-34) to the second (Yenan period, 1935-1945) was naturally questioned by many Communists. When some in his "Red Army" called the merger with the Chiang regular Army "counter-revolutionary," Mao replied that they were "dogmatists." This political struggle underlies the period of Mao's alleged original contribution to the philosophy of Marxism.

Objective research has since cast considerable doubt as to the date (1937) when the essays "On Practice" and "On Contradiction" were written; they weren't published until 1950-52. (27). We, however, are willing to accept the official date for their writing at face value because they are objectively, subjectively, for yester-year and for today, so very Maoist that it does not matter that Mao may have back-dated them to make them appear prescient or re-written them to suit his present style. The

point is, in order to sell the policy of class collaboration, Mao evidently thought a frontal attack on "dogmatists" would be insufficient. Hence he chose the form of "Philosophic Essays." These are so filled with empty abstractions that it is difficult to discover either his subject or his aim.

Mao Perverts Lenin

In "On Practice," Mao writes, "The epistemology of dialectical materialism . . . regards human knowledge as being at no point separable from practice." If knowledge is at no point separable from practice, he would have done well to tell us what practice he is talking about. But, no, Mao is anxious to make this reduction of theory to "practicality" appear to be based on nothing less authoritative than Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*. Mao quotes Lenin's sentence, "Practice is more than cognition (theoretical knowledge)." He fails to tell us, however, that Lenin was only restating Hegel's analysis of the relationship of the Practical Idea to the Theoretical Idea before the two are united, as Lenin puts it, "precisely in the theory of knowledge."

Far from theory being reduced to "practicality," Lenin asserts, in the very section from which Mao quoted one sentence, the following: "Alias: Man's consciousness not only reflects the objective world, but creates it." Since this preceded the quotation Mao used, it would have seemed impossible for even a Confucian like Mao so totally to have misunderstood its meaning—unless, of course, he had set out deliberately to pervert Lenin. In any case, the world the sophist Mao created was for such a low purpose—to compel obedience to a new united front with Chiang—that one hesitates to dignify the writing as "philosophy."

Only because this state-capitalist tyrant rules over no less than 650 million souls is one compelled to attempt an analysis of his "original contribution to Marxism."

Evidently, Mao failed to convince his hearers or his readers (we are not told which) because he soon followed with still another "philosophical essay," once again directed against the dogmatists," and this time called "On Contradiction." We are told that it was delivered as a lecture at the anti-Japanese Military and Political College in Yen-an, August, 1937.

In "On Contradiction" Mao used some "practical" examples. This has at least one virtue: it shows exactly how he has to rewrite his own previous period of rule in order "to balance" the mistakes of "dogmatists" against those of the Kuomintang. It turns out that that only "after 1927 (my emphasis—R.D.), the Kuomintang turned in the opposite direction" from the "revolutionary and vigorous" period of united front in 1925. The defeat of the Chinese Revolution is now laid at the door of "Ch'en Tuh-siuism," that is to say, the revolutionary Trotskyist leader, Ch'en Tuh-siu! Even the loss of "Soviet China" (now called merely "revolutionary bases") is blamed, not on Chiang's extermination campaigns, but on the "mistakes of adventurism."

"Since 1935," Mao pompously continues amidst a great deal of pretentious phrasemongering on the philosophic meaning of "Contradictions," it (the Communist Party) has rectified these mistakes and led the new anti-Japanese united front." It follows that after "the Sian Incident in December, 1936, it (the Kuomintang) made another turn," obviously in the "right revolutionary direction" since they are once again in a united front.

In "On Contradiction," this demagogic class collaborationist says benignly, "We Chinese often say: 'Things opposed to each other complement each other.'"

So permeated to the marrow of his bones is Mao with Confucianism that it is doubtful he is even conscious that he is thereby perverting in toto the Hegelian-Marxian theory of development through contradiction. Seen in all its profundity for the first time by Lenin, in 1915, as he re-read and commented upon Hegel's *Science of Logic*, this development through contradiction, transformation into opposite, helped Lenin get to the root of the collapse of established Marxism, the Second International. (28) Blind to the developing oppositions, contradictions, antagonisms, Mao on the other hand invented a "truly original" division in the concept of contradiction, which he called "Principal Aspect of the Contradiction." This division between "the principal contradiction" and "the principal aspect of contradiction" permits Mao to make as complete a hash of philosophy as he has previously made of history. Thus it turns out that under certain conditions, "even principal contradictions are relegated temporarily to a secondary, or subordinate, position" and because of "uneven developments" and "mutual transformations," the economic basis becomes "subordinated" while "political and cultural reforms become the principal and decisive factors." Trying to make up for this insipid subjectivism, Mao proceeds to tell his readers that Communists "of course" remain materialists since "as a whole," they see that "material things determine spiritual things . . ." All one can say of such a hodge-podge is what Kant said of "the cosmological proof," that it was "a perfect nest of thoughtless contradictions."

A recent traveler to China cited what a local party secretary from Shensi said: "Through the study of theory, I clearly understood the principles of uninterrupted revolution and of revolution by stages and put them into concrete application in pig breeding." (29) Senseless as the local party secretary's statement is, it is only the logical conclusion of "The Leader's" reduction of theory to "practice" and compelling the Chinese to follow his dictum that "dogmas are more useless than cow dung."

Before, however, we flee in disgust from the
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vulgarity that pass for "philosophy," and become too anxious to dismiss what totalitarian China lovingly calls "Mao's thought," let us bear in mind his present power. Let us remember, also, that when Mao made the Chinese Communist Party accept the new united front with Chiang and initiated his "three-thirds" principle—that one-third Communist Party members, one-third Kuomintang, and one-third non-party people constitute the administration in Communist areas—the fight against Japan stiffened. This was the period when visiting foreign journalists, whose cultural standards were vastly greater than Mao's cohorts, were impressed with his "exciting speeches on culture."

Wearied of the Kuomintang corruption and its ineffectualness in fighting Japan, other were impressed by the Communists, not only in the fight against Japan, but in the dedication "to go to the people," i.e., to establish schools among the peasants in remote areas, and proceed with agricultural reforms. Still others, including many of the bourgeoisie and landlords, were attracted by the moderate agricultural program, and hence, many anti-Communists began accepting the Chinese Communists as mere "agrarian reformists." Mao contributed nothing to Marxian philosophy, and denuded its politics of its class content. But he certainly carved out an original road to power. It is this which we must look at again from still another aspect which he calls "three magic weapons."

3. "Three Magic Weapons"

Stalin's rationalization for transforming the workers' state into a state-capitalist society was called "building socialism in one country." It was based on the supposition that this could be done if only Russia were not attacked from the outside. To assure this Stalin transformed the world Communist movements into outposts for Russia's defense. He allotted them no independent class role to play. In the case of China it resulted in the elaboration of "the bloc of four classes" which effectively subordinated the Chinese Communist Party to the Kuomintang which helped defeat the 1925-1927 Revolution. The "bloc of four classes," renamed the policy of the "united front," became the warp and woof of Mao's thoughts and actions both as he strove for power and after he achieved it.

What Stalin had used for the outside, Mao applied inside China. Mao is a positivist. He is positively "magical" in seeing "positive" elements in all classes. It stood him in good stead on the road to power; and when he achieved it, he proceeded to liquidate "the bureaucrat capitalists" not the capitalists as a class; the "bad gentry" and not the landlord as a class. He feels positive he can "remold" the capitalists and landlords mentally. This is where his "rectification campaigns" differ from Stalin's "purges": he is so blind to the actualities of the class divisions tugging at his rule that he believes in "a world of Great Harmony," where all contradictions, of course, "complement each other."

A recent article from Hongqi (30)—"The United Front—A Magic Weapon of the Chinese People for Winning Victory"—sheds more light on the united front as the actual "philosophy" of the de-classed concept of "contradiction." Truly it is "the magic weapon" by which Mao swears throughout his development, in and out of power. As Mao made it the very warp and woof of existence and thought in 1937, the recent article from the fortnightly of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party extends its existence to the present day. It was "the magic weapon" after he consolidated power in mainland China and, in 1952, when Mao began his three "antis" campaign—anti-corruption, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism. It continued into the later campaign of the five "antis"—anti-bribery, anti-tax evasion, anti-theft of state property, anti-cheating on government contracts, and anti-stealing of economic information for private speculation. So much for the period in which he tried to break the back of the private capitalists and landlords whom he brought with him from the anti-Japanese war, and as he laid the basis for state-capitalism in the economic foundation as well as in the political structure.

He then had to increase his campaign against the proletariat and peasantry and intellectuals who still thought this meant a move to "socialism." The "rectification campaign of 1957-1958" is not accidentally launched under the same "philosophic" banner of 1937, only this time "On Contradiction" gets extended to "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." Simultaneously, the vise of the single party state rule is clamped on the "100 schools of thought contending."

A World of Great Harmony

A perennial mathematician of sorts, Mao had, "as early as 1939, on the basis of the rich historical experience of the Party over a period of 18 years," expanded the single magic weapon into "three magic weapons" (31): "the united front, armed struggle, and Party building are the three fundamental problems of the Chinese Communist Party's three magic weapons, its three principal magic weapons, for defeating the enemy in the Chinese Revolution."

Since he is supposed to be a Marxist revolutionary, this leader "of the bloc of four classes," having state power in addition to these "three magic weapons" of "the united front, armed struggle and Party-building," remembers that he is supposed to stand for proletarian revolution and the rule of the proletariat. To a man in command of "magic weapons" this obligation presents no problems. "The people's democratic dictatorship" in China, says Mao, functions indeed "under the leadership of the working class." How? To the Chairman of the Communist Party, the one and only ruling party in China, it is all as simple as jumping through a hoop: the proletariat lives "through the Communist Party." Mao makes it easy indeed as he moves to sum up and

reduce the "three magic weapons" into the single omnipresent one: "To sum up our experiences and concentrate it into one point, it is: the people's dictatorship under the leadership of the workingclass (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants." (32)

For one ready, with one great leap, to go directly to "communism," he cannot, needless to say, stop long at this "alliance of workers and peasants" before he jumps into the "world of Great Harmony": "Bourgeois democracy has given way to people's democracy under the leadership of the working class, and the bourgeois republic to the people's republic. This has made it possible to achieve socialism and communism through the people's republic, to abolish classes and enter a world of Great Harmony." (33)

IV. Oriental Despotism, Brainwashing —Or the Economic Compulsion Of State-Capitalism?

In contrast to the panegyrics from Chinese Communist sources, bourgeois scholars are once again reviving the appellation of "Oriental Despotism." (34) A good dose of this thesis has even affected one Marxist who made an original study of "Mao's China," correctly designating it as a state-capitalist society. (35) There is so much warlordism in Mao; so solid a substratum of Chinese nationalism underlies his revision of Marxism; so thoroughly saturated with Confucianism is "Mao's Thought"—and the state-capitalist society he established is so great a tyranny—that it is all too easy to arrive at such a seemingly logical conclusion as "Oriental Despotism." That nothing quite misses the mark by so great a margin is obvious from the total overhaul of Chinese society, its family life as well as its industry, its ruling ideology as well as its agriculture.

Neither Chinese economic development nor the Sino-Soviet dispute is greatly illuminated by harking back at the past of any alleged continuous development called "Oriental Despotism." At the same time the fact that Mao's China is vying also with India for influence in the Afro-Asian and Latin American worlds compels a second look both at the ideology and economics of present-day China.

1. In Agriculture

The victory of Mao is not rooted in some sort of unchanging Oriental despotism resting on a static agricultural mode of production. The very opposite is true. There have been so many changes in the agricultural pattern of China in the single decade of Mao's rule that it looks as if there were no points of "equilibrium" at all. The fact, however, is that it is the state-capitalist structure which keeps it from collapsing now in its period of crisis, and underlies all agricultural changes from the first land reform, upon gaining power, until the "People's Commune."

Thus, the land redistribution of the period from 1950 to 1953 left a mere three million peasants unaffected. To say that this gave the land to the peasants would be the greatest hoax ever perpetrated on the perpetually betrayed poor peasants. The redistribution made the average land-holding per capita something under 2 mou (1/6th of an acre equals 1 mou). The redistribution did eliminate 20 million landowners; it is estimated that no less than five million were killed.

Obviously there weren't as many as five million top capitalists and landlords in the exploitative class. The pattern of Mao's ridding China of revolutionary opposition, as well as "counter-revolutionaries," has been to brand all opposition as "bureaucrat capitalist" or "rich landlord" or "rightist." This stood him in good stead for it allowed hundreds of thousands to be sentenced to forced labor and sent to build roads and irrigation projects. (36) At the same time, enough "bad gentry" and capitalists were liquidated to assure full state power to the Communist Party, which had come to power with their help. And enable it to turn against the peasants who had been granted 2 mou but could not possibly eke out a living from it.

The first period of cooperatives proceeded, however, at a slow pace, with peasants being encouraged to form mutual aid teams and small cooperatives. By 1955, the tempo had quickened to such an extent that no less than 96 per cent of the peasant households were reported as organized in cooperatives. The peasants were permitted to have "ownership" of their lands, private property was allowed, and they could work 10 per cent of their land for themselves. This was the period when high increases in production were attained, and when the bountiful harvest created the foundation for Mao's brainstorm about the formation of "People's Communes."

Instead of "the Great Leap Forward," we know the results of this 1958 phantasmagoria, dealt with above. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to dismiss the impact on the non-industrialized world of what the Chinese totalitarian rulers called the "uninterrupted revolution"—"a revolution without pause" that, moreover, can be accomplished, without high technology, by the mere application of a "mass line."

As Hongqi recently put it: (37) "Before it was possible to equip agriculture with machinery it was possible to develop agricultural and productive forces and thereby promote the development of industry." Not in any way deterred by thus standing matters upside down, our Chinese theoretician proceeds to develop the concept of "simultaneity" as the new basis of "the worker-peasant alliance": "That basis is, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out, 'simultaneously, gradually, to bring about on the

one hand, socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of handicraft industry and capitalist industry, and commerce, and, on the other, the socialist transformation of agriculture as a whole through cooperation. In that way we shall . . . let all people in the rural areas enjoy a common prosperity." (38)

The fact that the "prosperity" has become famine is something we have analyzed and exposed in no uncertain terms. But what has this to do with Oriental despotism? Far from an Oriental despotism, it has a most modern ring and accounts for its appeal to overpopulated Asia and underpopulated Africa.

2. Military and Industrial

Nor is Mao's victory accountable solely to the fact that Chiang Kai-shek's regime was so corrupt and discredited that it literally fell apart by itself. Although that certainly helped Mao's "Red Army" achieve power, we fly in the face of the facts of Mao's military exploit in the "Long March," as well as the organization needed for bare existence for two decades in isolation from all urban centers, if we limit Mao's victory to Chiang's ineffectuality. Mao's rule, no doubt, has its roots in old China, both its magnificence and its corruption, its war lords and Mandarins. What needs analysis, however, are the distinguishing marks which set off one epoch from another, not the similarities which blur what is new, what is of our age.

Our age is the age of state capitalism, national revolutions and workers' revolts. Unless one is ready to base himself on the masses who alone can initiate a truly new social order, one has no place to go but to state-capitalism. This is so not only irrespective of personal traits but even of the basic factor that China is overwhelmingly agricultural. Insofar as China is concerned, industrialization has come so late on the stage that, either a new human basis will be laid for it, or the exploitative industrial form will need to go via state-capitalism. The very occupation and industrialization of Manchuria by Japan, for example, meant that a great deal of industry became "ownerless" once China regained its independence. Even Chiang Kai-shek recognized what would next have to be done: "We must adopt a planned economy," he wrote in 1943 in his *China's Destiny*. "It is imperative that we eventually accomplish the objective of 'transforming' capital into state capital." The minute Mao consolidated his power in mainland China, this is precisely what he embarked on—statification of industry. And, it needs to be added, with the same method of exploitation of the masses as Chiang or any other capitalist would have followed.

The First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) began with substantial aid from the Soviet Union, mainly in the form of 156 complete projects and key industries—iron and steel plants, oil refineries, chemical works, power plants. For the first time state ownership was fully established, and the workers were forever admonished about "production and more production." This part didn't change from the May Day slogans of 1950 when he allowed private capitalists to function: "Members of the Chinese working class! Consolidate your ranks and unite with the national bourgeoisie." Just as, in 1947, he stressed that he was "for both labor and capital," "reasonable profits" were greatly encouraged, first for private capital, and now for the State. The five "antis" campaign was launched as the capitalists amassed too much profit—and the "rectification campaigns" proceeded apace when the workers struck against inhuman working conditions, whether that was 12 hours of labor, or lack of any freedom in their personal lives. The State moved from joint private and state enterprises which it had called state-capitalist to "socialism," that is to say, real state-capitalism. The appeal to the capitalists to remain managers of business did not stop. Thus: "If you do a really good job in developing your business, and train your children to be first-class technical experts, you will be the obvious people to put in charge of the nationalized enterprise and you may find that you earn more as managers of a socialist enterprise than as mere owners." No doubt many of them have become managers of industry.

The workers were forbidden to strike. The trade unions were made into pure organs of disciplining the workers and seeing that production plans were carried out. Forced labor was a regular feature of Chinese state-capitalism calling itself Communism. It is not in this that it differs from its Russian model. It does differ in its concept of "thought reform."

3. Brainwashing

Brainwashing, as a word coined in the Korean War to denote either forced or genuine changing of sides on the part of American soldiers joining the Chinese, gives the appearance of yet one more form of the confessionals made so famous during the infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trials. No doubt there is much of that in them. What is new in Mao's perennial "rectification campaigns" is that they are neither limited to the "foreigner" or "enemy," nor meant as a purge limited to members of the Party. No. Mao has raised the concept of "thought reform" both to a philosophic category and a veritable way of life.

While he has not succeeded in brainwashing the Chinese, he has succeeded in brainwashing certain liberals outside of China who take this belief in thought reform to mean that there is no violence against the people. Contrary to Stalin, these believers in Mao's order maintain that Mao has not killed "the general staff of the revolution." As "proof" they point to the fact that those in command are the very ones who led the "Revolution." This is an unmitigated lie which conveniently forgets

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that, with the defeat of the 1925-1927 Revolution, Chiang Kai-shek did for Mao what Stalin had to do for himself—kill or imprison the revolutionaries, including Ch'en Tu-hsiu. This is first of all, but not all. For even in those years when Mao did not have full power, he was ruthless against revolutionary opponents. We saw this in 1930 when the workers under Li Li-san attacked Changsha and held the city for a few days, whereupon Mao "disarmed and liquidated the rebels." This was repeated in 1936 with Chang Kuo-t'ao. And again during the war with Japan when he "liquidated" the 3rd Front. There were no Trials comparable to the Moscow Trials after Mao Tse-tung gained power in mainland China only because the "general staff of revolutionary war" were those who followed his class collaborationist path to power, and state-capitalist rule in power.

The one grain of truth in the apologia is that Mao believes in "thought reform." However, not for the reasons the apologists give. No, it is for the needs of a state-capitalism that must be developed in an overwhelmingly agricultural land, and therefore wishes to convince part of the capitalist and landlord class to remain as managers of the state economy in the hope of obviating the inevitability of proletarian revolution.

Back to "War and Revolution"

Along with this Mao has based his challenge to Khrushchev for influence over the Afro-Asian and Latin-American worlds on the fantasy that what he calls the "mass line"—but the masses know as the most ruthless totalitarian regimentation—would unleash vast productive forces. And thus, irrespective of low technology, allow for skipping stages and entering "a world of great harmony."

All it has unleashed is mass discontent. As we saw from the "Let 100 Flowers Bloom" campaign, he has neither brainwashed the masses nor the intellectuals. While he is using all the might of the state to see that the discontent does not bloom into open revolution, he is attempting to woo the intellectuals back with appeals that "a school is after all a school," and while they need to be re-established outside of production he is urging the intellectuals to speak their mind by attending "meetings of immortals" (no less!). His thought reform, as his exploitation, have led into the valley of famine and discontent. We have reached full circle; back into the blind alley whose "no exit" sign can be eliminated only through outright revolution.

The revolutionary statements that thunder out from Communist China—against "modern revisionists" (meaning Khrushchev) who, for fear of nuclear blackmail on the part of "the most vicious enemy, American imperialism," have moved over "to fear of revolution"—show much greater adeptness at political quotation than the philosophic ones. Nevertheless, the battle of quotations—with Mao leaning heavily on Lenin's *State and Revolution*, and Khrushchev on Lenin's *Infantile Sickness of Leftism in Communism*—is no more than a tool forged to serve very narrow purposes indeed. To use a phrase of Mao's on another occasion, it is all an "8-legged essay," (39) fashioned to cover up the play of power politics.

1959, the year of Khrushchev's visit to Eisenhower with its emphasis on summit talks where Mao would not be present, was the real breaking point between those two state-capitalist powers which call themselves Communist, and which have reached a state of development that spills over into imperialism. The gambits of 1961, when Khrushchev chose to attack Albania, and Chou chose to walk out after defending Albania, are as counterfeit as the "theories" in which Mao and Khrushchev wrap themselves as they carry on the Sino-Soviet conflict. It is no accident that none of the theories in which Mao either has, or lays claim to, "originality" form any part of the dispute—not the question of the role of the peasantry in revolution, nor the question of guerrilla war, much less any philosophic interpretations of the concepts of "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." Even when the proposal for "Communes" very obviously did cause sharp differences, it was possible to smooth them over and publicly insist that the dispute never occurred.

It was not so easy to continue the pretense of the Communist monolith once Khrushchev showed no concern over the absence of one of its major partners at a possible big deal on the question of war and peace. Quite the contrary, his appearance at the UN, and his presence in Southeast Asia (which China considers its "province") told Mao in no uncertain terms that Russia intends to be boss of the Communist orbit. The odd mixture of Mao's opportunism and adventurism, the ordinary imperialist power struggle (both within the Communist world and outside, as in the conquest of Tibet, incursions into Indian territory, and covetous glances cast from Burma to Viet Nam, and from Nepal to Laos) cannot be separated from the struggle for the minds of men. It is here that the irresponsible abuse of Marxist language—on the question of "revolutions without pause" proceeding in a straight line from State Plans to "Communism"—makes it imperative to show, not only the blind alley into which the dialectic of Mao's thought has led us and from which it may catapult us into a nuclear holocaust, but also to show that which is opposite from both the state-capitalist powers and the general global struggle with the United States for world domination. That is to say, it is imperative to illumine the path of freedom.

Subjectivity - Indications for Future Development

"... the transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality... rest upon this subjectivity alone." — Hegel's *Science of Logic*

"... in this (Science of Logic) most idealistic of Hegel's works, there is the least idealism and the most materialism. 'Contradictory' but a fact!" — Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*

Two kinds of subjectivity characterize our age of state-capitalism and workers' revolts. One is the subjectivism that we have been considering—Mao's—which has no regard for objective conditions, behaves as if state power is for herding 650 million human beings into so-called "People's Communes," as if a party of the elite that is armed can both harness the energies of men and "remold" their minds. We have seen the results of this type of subjectivism permeated with, to use a Hegelian phrase, "a certainty of its own actuality and the non-actuality of the world," ready to ride the whirlwind of a nuclear holocaust.

The second type of subjectivity, the one which rests on "the transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality," is the subjectivity which has "absorbed" objectivity, that is to say, through its struggle for freedom it gets to know and cope with the objectively real. Its maturity unfolds, as Marx put it, "when actual corporeal Man, standing on firm and well rounded earth, inhaling and exhaling all natural forces... does not depart from its 'pure activity' in order to create the object... We see here how thorough-going Naturalism, or Humanism, distinguishes itself both from Idealism and Materialism; and, at the same time, is the truth uniting both." (40)

Our epoch is the epoch of the struggle for the minds of men. To engage in this struggle, and clear one's head, it appears to us necessary to focus on these two types of subjectivity of which I can give here* only a few indications.

The Road to Freedom

In 1956 these two types of subjectivity came into head-on collision in Hungary. (41) The Hungarian Revolution put an end to the illusion that workers or peasants or intellectuals can be brainwashed. It put an end to the pretense that Communism and Marxism are one. It raised the banner of Marxist Humanism as freedom from Communism. In the great tradition of Marx who had written that Communism is "not the goal of human development, the form of human society" (42), the Hungarian Freedom Fighters moved away from totalitarian state centralization to decentralized Workers' Councils, Youth Councils, Councils of Intellectuals—that is to say a form of rule where the individual and society are not opposed to each other because the freedom of the individual is the proof, the only proof, of the freedom of all.

This outburst of elemental activity and organization of thought was bloodily suppressed by the counter-revolutionary might of Russia which, with the help of its Chinese cohorts, branded this Humanism as "revisionism." Mao had good reason to help his Russian partner because, as he himself put it, "Certain people in our country were delighted when the Hungarian events took place. They hoped that something similar would happen in China..." (43) To the extent that Mao was able to suppress his opposition without an open civil war, to the extent that he usurped the Marxist banner—both in general and in the specific use of one word, "Commune," that has always stood among Marxists for self-liberation (the Paris Commune of 1871)—to that extent some newly independent African nations were attracted to it.

However, just as it is impossible to hide the hunger rampant in the so-called "Peoples Communes" (44), so it is impossible to cover up the fact that within China, as within each modern country, there is a fundamental division into classes. Mao has no magic by which to turn these antagonistic contradictions into a mere difference between what he calls the "old" and the "new." Far from being a mere opposition between the existent and the not-yet-existent, it is an open struggle between two antagonistic forms of reality that co-exist. The co-existence of oppressor and oppressed is the determining factor also in proving the non-viability of Chinese state-capitalism that calls itself Communist.

Mao admits that, just as under ordinary private capitalism, the basic contradictions in Chinese society "are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces, and between the superstructure and the economic base." This is precisely the Achilles' heel which caused Mao's father superiors—the Russian theoreticians—also to fall when, in 1943, they were compelled to revise Marx's economic theory of value.

No matter by what name it is called, capitalistic relationships, at the point of production, reveal their exploitative nature. Why Russia "chose" to revise Marx's economic theories, and why China "chose" to revise Marx's philosophy, is due both to the totality of the world crisis and to the important industrial differences between the two countries.

Russia has become an important industrial land, a country that possesses values. China is a vast underdeveloped land, whose main possession is not the machine, but 650 million human beings.

It is precisely this backwardness which has pushed China forward to pose—only to pose but not to solve—its crisis in human terms. It cannot hide, however, the duality, the irreconcilable duality

between China's new ruling class and the millions it exploits. Nor can it cover up the fact that the division of the world into two nuclear giants fighting for world domination—the United States and Russia—extends to the little Caesars in each camp—not only de Gaulle in "the West" but Mao in "the East."

Mao's failure to grasp dialectic logic has nothing whatever to do with "understanding philosophy." Dialectic logic is the logic of freedom and can be grasped only by those engaged in the actual struggle for freedom. Therein lies the key to the fulfillment of human potentialities and therein lies that new relationship between theory and practice which could lessen the birthpangs of industrialization. Anything else is the type of subjectivism which hides Mao's compelling need to transform the struggle for the minds of men into a drive to brainwash them.

On the other hand, the subjectivity of the millions struggling for freedom—stretching not only from Hungary to Africa, but from the United States to West Europe, and from Russia to Asia—has posed a need for a new unity between theory and practice, a unity of Notion and Reality which will release the vast untapped energies of mankind to put an end, once and for all, to what Marx called the "pre-history of humanity" so that the true history of humanity can finally unfold.

Footnotes

- (1) Statement by the Chinese War Minister to Sam Watson of the British Labour Party, quoted in *Time*, Dec. 1, 1958.
- (2) Quoted by Thomas Perry Thornton in his "Peking, Moscow and the Underdeveloped Areas" in *World Politics*, July, 1961.
- (3) Chinese children must learn the rhymes: "Mao Tse-tung is like the sun: 'He is brighter than the sun...' And one Chinese governor came up with this one: 'The sun shines only in the day, the moon shines only at night. 'Only Chairman Mao is the sun that never sets.' (Quoted in *Mao's China* by Ygael Gluckstein; London, Allen and Unwin.
- (4) *Phenomenology of Mind*, p. 541.
- (5) The indispensable book for the English Reader is *The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals* by Roderick MacFarquhar (London, Stevens and Sons Limited; New York, Frederick A. Praeger.) It has a minimum of comment and a maximum of translations from official Chinese sources. The quotations used here are all from that book.
- (6) Revolutionary Committee of Kuomintang. As all parties permitted to exist in China, it had to accept "the leadership of the Communist Party." In the case of Lung Yun, who was born in 1888 and had been a member of the Kuomintang Central Committee, 1931-49, but expelled from it for defecting to the Communists, he has been given high governmental posts in Communist China.
- (7) See my analysis of the June 18, 1957 speech in *News and Letters*, July 16, 1957; also my column on "Let One Hundred Flowers Bloom... But Only One Party Rule," August, 1957.
- (8) Published in *Communist China Digest*, May 2, 1960.
- (9) One of the best books on agriculture is "Agrarian Policy of the Chinese Communist Party 1921-1959" by Chao Kuo-chun, (Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1960.) Also consult his "Economic Planning and Organization in Mainland China, 1949-57."
- (10) See Chapter 3, "Economic Development" in *Communist China and Asia* by A. Doak Barnett (Harper Brothers.)
- (11) Quoted by H. F. Schurmann in his "Peking Recognition of Crisis" (*Problems of Communism*, September-October 1961.)
- (12) See *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, documented and analyzed by G. F. Hudson, Richard Lowenthal and Roderick MacFarquhar; Frederick Praeger.
- (13) See my article, "Russia's Changing Role in Africa," (*News & Letters*, November, 1960); also my analysis of the "Manifesto of the Eighty-One Communist Parties" in *News & Letters*, January, 1961.
- (14) See Edward Crankshaw in *The London Observer*, February 12 and 19, 1961.
- (15) See *Weekly Political Letter* "The Sino-Soviet Rift, Or State-Capitalist Power Politics," October 30, 1961. *News & Letters*, Detroit.
- (16) That so vulgar a statement as the above should be quoted approvingly (by George Padmore in *Pan-Africanism or Communism, The Coming Struggle for Africa*) testifies to the fact that the leaders in technologically underdeveloped areas are greatly attracted to that use of the pragmatic, which is done in Marxist language. Mr. Padmore, now dead, had broken with the Comintern as he turned to work out a new "theory" for the developing African Independence Movements. In his book, he calls Mao "the political genius," who transformed Marxism "to suit the national traditions and needs of the Chinese people whose social philosophy is deeply rooted in Confucianism and the Mandarin bureaucracy." Obviously, he considers the method a good thing for Africa. (See my pamphlet, "Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions.")
- (17) The report is included in *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* by Brandt, Schwartz and Fairchild. (Harvard University Press). Also see *Soviet Russia and The East, 1920-27*, a documentary survey by X. J. Eudin and Robert C. North (Stanford University Press.)
- (18) From "The Military Bulletin of the Central Committee," Shanghai, quoted by Harold Isaacs in

*This is the burden of my new work in progress.

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Administration Jugglers Can't Hide Truth of Unemployment

(Continued from Page 1) dent of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, who sat directly behind him on the platform. He told Randolph and those assembled that no one could possibly believe that George Meany supported segregation. He had no word of criticism for the executive committee of the AFL-CIO who earlier in the year censured Randolph as a "racist" in retaliation for his rightly, and all too modestly made demands, that sanctions be taken against Jim Crow unions within the AFL-CIO.

Goldberg hopes, no doubt, that Meany will say in turn, "No one can believe that the old union lawyer, Goldberg is a union-buster." But what, precisely, has he done to oppose the Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin anti-labor laws, and what has he done to put into effect the Full Employment Act, the law of the land?

AUTOMATION

Though Congress in '61 failed to pass legislation that would provide for the retraining of technologically displaced workers, a pilot project is currently underway in West Virginia. Mine employment in West Virginia dropped from 140,400 in 1949 the year before Automation was introduced to 45,300 the current figure. The Government is retraining 325 persons. Workers selected for retraining get as much as \$23 a week subsistence pay for no longer than 16 weeks. After the training is over there is no assurance that these trainees will get jobs. The "skills" like "restaurant work" and "selling" that they are being taught are hardly in short supply.

1961 saw greater increase in Automation and mechanization, but a decrease in capital expenditure compared to 1960. Workers are forced to meet the speed of the new machines and where industry has not automated they are driven to compete with automated industry here and abroad.

Though Administration economists have characterized 1961 as a year of mild recovery, the facts are that industrial production rose by less than 1% over 1960, while the population grew by more than 1½%.

WORKERS READY

1961 not only demonstrated that the Administration and the labor bureaucrats mean to do nothing for the ranks of labor, but showed that the workers are ready to do for themselves. The strikes that swept the auto industry in particular, exposed again the deep conservatism of the fair-haired "radical" unionist, Walter P. Reuther and his henchmen who sought at every turn to quell rank-and-file initiative and strove to set-

tle with the auto companies in quick fashion.

The autoworkers on the other hand, demonstrated in 1961 that they considered the conditions of work the paramount issue, and as if to emphasize the point, Studebaker-Packard workers are striking as we go to press. The central issue again is the conditions of work.

AUTO CO.'S TRYING FOR ANOTHER KOHLER

Much underplayed is the brazen initiative the industrialists are taking in still trying to break the union. They are apparently girding to take their stand with Studebaker-Packard. Just as in the early days of the New Deal before the capitalists as a class recognized that Roosevelt was their savior and fought him all the way, so now auto management does not recognize that the labor bureaucracy helps them to discipline the workers, and tries to break the union. This trial balloon is of the stuff Kohlers are made of.

In opposition not only to management and the Administration but to the labor bureaucracy as well is the militancy and independence of the workers struggle. 1961 saw them strike after contracts were signed. The most steadfast demands they made were "non-material" ones, that announced they would not for long bear the inhuman treatment to which they have been subjected. Of primary concern has been the conditions of work, and the number of hours worked. When even radicals thought they were going way-out with the 30-40 slogan, New York electrical workers demanded a 20 hour work week.

All this underscores the fact the workers do not have to be told, so much as listened to, for they are quite capable of educating the "educators."

MISS. PROTEST

(Continued from Page 1) during the summer. All 116 of the marchers were arrested. One participant, Robert Moses, a leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, was reportedly attacked by an unidentified person.

A spokesman for the SNCC stated that Robert Zellner, a white college student also a worker for SNCC, was choked by a white person.

MISSISSIPPI'S "BREACH OF PEACE"

Eighteen of the demonstrators, who were 18 years old and over were taken to the County Jail. The others, all but twenty-eight were released in custody of their parents. All 116 were

I read that Bob Kennedy gave credit for progress in Civil Rights during '61 to "local Southern authorities." I assume this means that he also gives "credit" to the Mississippi authorities who jailed 322 Freedom Riders in Jackson!

This kind of twisting of history to ensure that the actions for freedom taken by the riders, sit-inners and boycotters is buried from common knowledge, makes your pamphlet, "Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves," very necessary. I wish to thank News & Letters for being the only publication in the world which undertook to make sure that this story will not be "brain-washed" out of history.

The truth is (and the pamphlet makes it very clear) that all credit goes to the bravest and most active segment in our country, the Southern Negro Freedom Fighters, who inspired us from the North into joining with them through their own activity for freedom.

Freedom Rider
Los Angeles

It was really awful the way those poor people were treated. But what has ever been won without a struggle and a fight? From all the bad there will come some good.

Even a union organizer is chased out of the South. But that won't stop anything. I'm sending you some copies of my union paper, *Advance*, (ACWA) which tells of a lot of factories that have been

charged with "Breach of Peace", the most famous charge in the state of Mississippi. These students were expelled from Burghind High School indefinitely.

ON OCTOBER 11, over fifty of the suspended students returned to Burghind High School, refused official's terms for their readmission and walked away. Later during the day, they returned to school and reported to the school officials, turned in unsigned slips that they had been given to sign in order that they could return to class if they agreed to the statement that they had known what they were doing when they walked out of school, and that they would be expelled for good if they repeated such an act.

AFTER BEING REFUSED admittance to Burghind High School, about 70 of the demonstrators were enrolled at J.P. Cambell College's High School Department as boarding student's. J.P. Cambell College is located in Jackson, Mississippi.

READERS' VIEWS

organized anyway—and you can see that it hasn't forgotten the Negro or the Freedom Riders either.

Garment Worker
West Virginia

It's a wonderful pamphlet. I pictured everything each one said. It made me wish I was there.

What we are fighting for is freedom. The only way to fight for freedom is everyday. This book helps to do that.

I always show this pamphlet to anyone who comes into the house and invite them to News & Letters.

Mother of a
Freedom Fighter
Los Angeles

I could hardly believe any human being could treat another human being like it is described in "Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves." There should be a better way of fighting this sort of thing, but I don't know what. Let's hope something is done, so more will not have to go down to get this sort of treatment.

Mother
Philadelphia

I cannot see the argument over violence or non-violence as a principle. To me it is a question of the time and place and circumstances. There are times when to refrain from the self-preservation instinct of defending yourself from attack is just plain stupid—in fact, it is suicide. There are other times when non-violence is

going to be known, and gets wide coverage and publicity, and makes a point.

Negro Reader
Detroit

"Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves," is the inside story of what happened. It helped me to know the strength and endurance of the Freedom Riders, and to live with them in prison. It's the best thing on the Rides in print.

New Committee Member
California

I did not enjoy the pamphlet—because I know it's true and yet why should people be treated like that is beyond me. In our small town we have plenty of graft and other faults, but color isn't one of them. People are liked for what they are. The kids in school get along fine.

My young daughter was mad and crying all at once when she read it. She's a thinker and also radical. I think they must go together

Subscriber
Upper New York State

I have heard much from Negroes here and in N.Y. on Dubois' joining the Communist Party. Unfortunately it is not as comic as I thought it was when I first heard it, and I think it is having an impact on many people. Personally, I view it as a final act of desperation by a very disillusioned old man.

Student
New Haven

NEED FUNDS

Dr. R.M. Stevens, Cambell's President said, "Most of the students are being assisted financially. Many donations have been given to the school for the support of the McComb students. All donations should be made out as follows: **McComb Student Fund, J.P. Cambell College, 1500 Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi.**

We must fight this evil system in all fields, using all the power that we are able to produce. I am a Negro and being a native of Mississippi I am concerned about the conditions that the Negro Mississippians live in today. Here, where the system of segregation prevails it seems to be a crime to be born a Negro. I've been exposed to this system of segregation for quite some time. I know what it means to be looked upon as inferior. Separate but equal facilities are not equal in Mississippi.

WILLING TO GIVE LIVES

Many people, just as I, joined

the Freedom Rides to prove that they are willing to give even their lives if necessary to eradicate this sinful segregation from our country.

How can a man love God and practice segregation? I listen to their sermons and I hear them speak of brotherly love. I attend school where I am taught the importance of people living together and when I try to practice what they preach and to be a citizen of the U.S. I'm arrested for "Breach of the Peace." What Kind of world is this?

I TRY TO REGISTER to vote, I am intimidated. I try to attend the church of my choosing and "men of God" refuse me.

Ladies and gentleman, segregation is wrong. Until it is eradicated from America it will relieve this country of its first class standings. How long will we let segregation exist? I say, lets eliminate it today. I'm willing to suffer until the end of it, are you?

T. A.—Student
Tougaloo College

Mao Tse-tung

FOOTNOTES

(Continued from Page 7)

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. Introduction by Leon Trotsky. Also confer Leon Trotsky's Problems of the Chinese Revolution.

(19) Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*. Confer also *Stalin's Failure in China, 1924-27* by Conrad Brandt.

(20) *Chinese Communism and The Rise of Mao* by Benjamin Schwartz. See also Robert North, *The Kuomintang and The Chinese Communist Elites*. See also; *Sino-Soviet Friction In Underdeveloped Areas* by Donald S. Zagoria (*Problems of Communism*, April-May, 1961).

(21) Included in *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*.

(22) Quoted by John Kautsky, *Moscow and the Communist Party of India*.

(23) Address to the members of the All-China Salvation League, (quoted by Isaacs, *ibid*).

(24) *On the Present Situation and Our Tasks*, December 25, 1947 (Foreign Language Press, Peking 1961).

(25) International Publishers, n.d. Judging by the reference notes which go through the year 1949, this pamphlet was probably published in 1950.

(26) International Publishers, New York, 1953; Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961.

(27) "How Original is 'Maoism'?" By Arthur A. Cohen in *Problems of Communism*, November, December, 1961.

(28) See Chapter 10 "The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought" in *Marxism and Freedom*.

(29) Audrey Donnithorne, "Economic Development in China," in *The World Today*, April 1961.

(30) Translated and published in *Peking Review*, June 16, 1961.

(31) *Ibid*.

(32) *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961.

(33) *Ibid*.

(34) *Oriental Despotism* by Karl A. Wittfogel.

(35) Ygael Gluckstein thus spoils an otherwise fine study, *Mao's China*, which we recommend.

(36) *Ibid*. Also the *China Quarterly* carries competent current articles, and the *Peking Review* gives the official Chinese Communist view.

(37) Translated and published in the *Peking Review*, May 26, 1961.

(38) Mao Tse-tung, "The Question of Agricultural Cooperation," quoted above, *ibid*.

(39) *On Contradiction*.

(40) See Marx, *Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic*, Appendix A in *Marxism and Freedom*.

(41) By now the books on the Hungarian Revolution

are legion, and yet few go fully into the Workers' Councils, and fewer still bring out the Humanism of Marxism as it developed in the disputes among Communists. Nevertheless, the following are the best in presenting the record of the revolutionaries and the type of eye-witness accounts that concentrated on them: *The Hungarian Revolution*, A White Book edited by Melvin J. Lasky; *Behind the Rape of Hungary* by F. Fejto; *Imre Nagy on Communism: In Defense of the New Course*. Consult especially *The Review* published by the Imre Nagy Institute #4, 1960; Vol. III, #2, 1962 "My experiences in the Central Workers Council of Greater Budapest" by Miklos Sebestyen; the magazine, *East Europe* also carried (April 1959) "Eyewitness Report of How the Workers Councils Fought Kadar." Also consult the sections on Hungarian Revolution and Marxist Humanism in my *Marxism and Freedom*, "Nationalism, Communism and Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions" and *Weekly Political Letter*, September 17, 1961, "Spontaneity of Action and Organization of Thought: In Memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution." *News & Letters*, Detroit.

(42) *Private Property and Communism*, Appendix A, *ibid*.

(43) Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

(44) See "Hunger in China; Letters from the Communes—II," Introduction and Notes by Richard L. Walker, special supplement to *New Leader*, May 1961.