

(1) of reducing the Negro question to the absurdity of demanding "for" the Negroes "Self-Determination in the Black Belt;" and (2) asking the Negroes to forget their fight for democratic rights the minute Russia became an ally of America during World War II.

<sup>254</sup>. 1958 finally saw the publication of a biography of Phillips. *Prophet of Liberty: the Life and Times of Wendell Phillips*, by Oscar Sherwin, Bookman Associates, New York.

<sup>255</sup>. The only thing that tops Henry Luce's attempt to sell "the American way of life" abroad is the bombastic presumptuousness of his high powered publicity attempt to sell the American public Djilas's *The New Class* as something "that will rock Marxism."

<sup>256</sup>. Hegel's *Logic*, paragraph 147, p. 269.

<sup>257</sup>. Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*, International Publishers, New York, 1953.

<sup>258</sup>. 650 million was the figure used in 1959. In 1958 it was 600 million. Since 1960 the population references have jumped all the way to 700 and even 750 million. There is no accurate count.

<sup>259</sup>. Statement of the Chinese War Minister to Sam Watson of the British Labour Party, quoted in *Time*, Dec. 1, 1958.

<sup>260</sup>. Quoted by Thomas Perry Thornton in his "Peking, Moscow and the Underdeveloped Areas" in *World Politics*, July, 1961.

<sup>261</sup>. 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)

<sup>262</sup>. *Phenomenology of Mind*, p. 541, The Macmillan Co., New York.

<sup>263</sup>. The indispensable book for the English reader is *The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals* by Roderick MacFarquhar (Stevens and Sons Limited, London: Frederick A. Praeger, New York). It has a minimum of comment and a maximum of translations from official Chinese sources. The quotations used here are all from that book.

<sup>264</sup>. 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 had been given high governmental posts in Communist China.

<sup>265</sup>. See *The Sino-Soviet Dispute*, documented and analyzed by G. F. Hudson, Richard Lowenthal and Roderick MacFarquhar; Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1961. Also see *The Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956-61* by

Donald S. Zagoria, Princeton University Press, 1962; and *The New Cold War: Moscow v. Peking* by Edward Crankshaw, Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1963.

<sup>266</sup>. *Communist China Digest*, May 2, 1960.

<sup>267</sup>. Consult Chapter 3, "Economic Development," *Communist China and Asia* by A. Doak Barnett, Harper Brothers, New York, 1960; *Mao's China* by Ygael Gluckstein, Allen and Unwin, London, 1957. See also Chao Kuo-chun, *Economic Planning and Organization in Mainland China, 1949-57*.

<sup>268</sup>. 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.

<sup>269</sup>. Quoted by H. F. Schurmann in his "Peking Recognition of Crisis," *Problems of Communism*, September-October 1961.

<sup>270</sup>. The report is included in *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* by Brandt, Schwartz and Fairchild. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1952. Also see *Soviet Russia and The East, 1920-27*, a documentary survey by X. J. Eudin and Robert C. North, Stanford University Press, 1957.

<sup>271</sup>. From "The Military Bulletin of the Central Committee," Shanghai, quoted by Harold Isaacs in *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*, 1938 edition.

<sup>272</sup>. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*. Consult also *Stalin's Failure in China, 1924-27*, by Conrad Brandt. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1958.

<sup>273</sup>. *Chinese Communism and The Rise of Mao* by Benjamin Schwartz. See also Robert North, *The Kuomintang and The Chinese Communist Elites*.

<sup>274</sup>. Quoted by John Kautsky in *Moscow and the Communist Party of India*, Technology Press of MIT and John Wiley and Son, New York, 1956.

<sup>275</sup>. *On the Present Situation and Our Tasks*, December 25, 1947. Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961.

<sup>276</sup>. Address to the members of the All-China Salvation League, quoted by Isaacs, *ibid*.

<sup>277</sup>. International Publishers, n.d. Judging by the reference notes which go through the year 1949, this pamphlet was probably published in 1950.

<sup>278</sup>. International Publishers, New York, 1953; Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961.

<sup>279</sup>. "How Original Is 'Maoism?'" by Arthur A. Cohen in *Problems of Communism*, November, December, 1961.

<sup>280</sup>. Audrey Donnithorne, "Economic Development in China," in *The World Today*, April, 1961.

<sup>281</sup>. Translated and published in *Peking Review*, June 16, 1961.

<sup>282</sup>. *Ibid*.

<sup>283.</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Vol. IV, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1961.

<sup>284.</sup> *Ibid.* Also see, George Palocz-Horvath, *Mao Tse-tung, Emperor of the Blue Ants*, Doubleday & Co., Inc., New York, 1963.

<sup>285.</sup> *Oriental Despotism* by Karl A. Wittfogel, Yale Univ. Press, 1957.

<sup>286.</sup> Ygael Gluckstein thus spoils an otherwise fine study, *Mao's China*, which we recommend.

<sup>287.</sup> *Ibid.* Also the *China Quarterly* carries competent current articles, and the *Peking Review* gives the official Chinese Communist view.

<sup>288.</sup> Translated and published in the *Peking Review*, May 26, 1961.

<sup>289.</sup> Mao Tse-tung, "The Question of Agricultural Cooperation," quoted above, *ibid.*

<sup>290.</sup> I do not mean to say that had the Trotskyists followed Trotsky's "line" they would have had "the correct solution." Far from it. The fact that Trotsky had never accepted the theory of state-capitalism and to his dying day maintained, in his theory of permanent revolution, his underestimation of the revolutionary role of the peasantry, precluded that. (See my pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, pp. 21-22. News & Letters, Detroit, Mich., 1959; Cambridge, England, 1961.) What I do mean is that Trotsky wrote voluminously against the class-collaborationist policy of Stalin for China, against Mao Tse-tung's military conception of encircling the towns instead of appealing to the proletariat within them to rise and lead the struggle of the peasantry, and against the concept of a "Soviet China" — in caves! (See Leon Trotsky: *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, with Appendices by Zinoviev, Vuyovitch, Nassunov and others, Pioneer Publishers, 1932; *The Permanent Revolution*, Pioneer Publishers, 1931; Introduction to Harold R. Isaacs' *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*; Appendices II & III to *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Simon & Shuster, 1937; "Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" in *The Third International After Lenin*, Pioneer Publishers, 1936; and *Stalin*, Harper & Bros., 1941.) Leon Trotsky's widow, Natalia Sedova, was so shocked when the French press (*France-Soir*, Nov. 7, 1961) attributed to her the statement that Leon Trotsky was "the spiritual father of Mao Tse-tung" that she wrote them (Nov. 9) indignantly:

"1—A great revolutionary like Leon Trotsky could not in any way be the father of Mao Tse-tung who won his position in direct struggle with the Left-Opposition (Trotskyist) 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."

<sup>291.</sup> See Edward Crankshaw in *The London Observer*, February 12 and 19, 1961.

<sup>292.</sup> The English translation, released by *Tass* was published in *The New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1960. In view of the fanciful interpretation by Russian "experts," especially Isaac Deutscher (*Reporter*, Jan. 5, 1961) about how the "compromise" between Khrushchev and Mao was achieved at this meeting of the 81 Communist Parties which was supposed to have been "very nearly a revival of the old Communist International," it is important to get "first reactions" and compare them with the present stage of the Sino-Soviet rupture. See my analysis of this "New Russian Communist Manifesto" in *News & Letters*, January, 1961.

<sup>293.</sup> See the Draft Program of the 22nd Russian Communist Party Congress released by *Tass* July 30, and published in *The New York Times*, Aug. 1, 1961. Consult also "The 22nd Party Congress" by Merle Fainsod, issued as a special supplement of *Problems of Communism*, Nov.-Dec. 1961.

<sup>294.</sup> Issued in English by *Foreign Language Press*, Peking, 1963. The page numbers cited here are to this edition. The reply of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party on July 15 was published in *The New York Times*, July 15, 1963.

<sup>295.</sup> This map is reproduced in the *New Republic* of 4/20/63 in an article, "China's Borders," the third of a series of articles by J. Jacques-Francillon. The other articles appear in the issues of 3/16/63 and 3/23/63. (See also B. Shiva Rae's article in the *National Observer* of 7/23/63.)

<sup>296.</sup> 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, Praeger, 1957; *Behind the Rape of Hungary* by F. Fejto, N. Y., McKay, 1957; *Imre Nagy on Communism: In Defense of the New Course*, Praeger 1957. Consult especially *The Review*, published by the Imre Nagy Institute, No. 4, 1960; Vol. III No. 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 "Spontaneity of Action and Organization of Thought: In memoriam of the Hungarian Revolution," published by the Marxist-Humanist Group of Glasgow, Scotland, November, 1961.

<sup>297.</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*.

<sup>298.</sup> See "Hunger in China, Letters from the Communes — II," Introduction and Notes by Richard L. Walker, special supplement to *New Leader*, May 1961.

<sup>299.</sup> See *American Civilization on Trial*, second edition, *News & Letters*, Detroit, Mich., August, 1963.