

To examine "dynamics of revolution"
* Institutionalization of ...

CHINA IN CRISIS Edited by Tang Tsou (University of Chicago Press-1968)
Volume 1. Book One CHINA'S HERITAGE AND THE COMMUNIST POLITICAL SYSTEM

The U. of Chi. established a new Center for Policy Study, evidently judging by its Director, Charles U. Daly, because it offered an opportunity "to examine the dynamics of revolution" (V). The project lasted a year, March, 1966 through February, 1967. The first series of seminars by 70 "scholars and non-academic experts from Asia, Europe, the Middle East and the Americas" resulted in this first volume with Ping-ti Ho and Tang Tsou being the planners responsible for this book.

Chapter 1. "Salient Aspects of China's Heritage" is altogether too much of a tour de force. However, it is useful, if one takes it with a grain of salt and follows, especially, the critical comments, first by Derk Bodde, who rightly says that while there is reason to show continuity, ~~the discontinuity since 1948 is greater yet if even if we were only to look on the question of the break-down of the traditional view of the family.~~ The notes by Professor Herrlee G. Creel (p. 70) shows that even criticism in previous eras were "institutionalized in what is known as the 'Censorate'" and then proceeds to the role of the intellectuals as "a new breed" in the twentieth century. Professor Herbert Franke ~~is~~ stressed (p. 81) the difficulty in discovering these people's real opinion from literary sources. This is actually a quotation from the addendum by the one who presented the original paper, Ping-ti-Ho.

Chapter 2. Nineteenth-Century China: "The Disintegration of the Old Order and the Impact of the West," by Kwang-Ching-Liu, has important references to peasant rebellions, especially, of course, the Taiping in the 1850s, asking (p. 109) "Could it be that despite the surface calm of the late nineteenth century, the old order actually deteriorated further and that the potentiality for revolution actually increased? He follows this up with the impact of the West but always related to the discontent within the country ending with the intellectual ferment and the reform movement in the period between 1860 and 1895: "The ideas sketched above are significant in themselves as events in intellectual history. While elements of democratic thought can be found in Chinese classics, notably The Works of Mencius, earnest intellectuals ~~such~~ such as K'ang and Yen must have learned about democratic institutions with a sense of discovery." (p. 149)

Again, this is followed by comments by others, first by Albert Feuerwerker, who tries to stress, not so much the break-down and misgovernment as "the multi-form character of Confucianism." (p. (p.190?) The notes by Dwight H. Perkins on "China's Economic Heritage" is fundamental in relating both the economic conditions to the political situation and especially the economic discontinuities after 1949.

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15 new
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New book

1470
Point of reading
New book

Ch4 - Yang Tsou
"Rev. Reunification"

Chapter 3, "Military Separatism and the Process of Reunification under the Nationalist Regime, 1922-1937" by C. Martin Wilby doesn't interest me at the moment, and so I skip to Chapter 4, "Revolution, Reintegration, and Crisis in Communist China: A Framework for Analysis," by Yang Tsou. This begins with the usual remark about the remarkable achievements of political leadership by the Chinese Communists who, up to 1959, had been able to maintain the unity of their party. It is to this he attributes the ability to overcome the crises of three consecutive years of agricultural failure and the Sino-Soviet conflict, but then shows that especially since November, 1965 and especially the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" set backs begin all over again and lack of continuity of the collectivity in leadership. There is a reference to Ideology and Discontent, edited by David Apter (Free Press, 1964) which shows the author tried to go to general sources and not only Chinese. He takes up Mao's thought on pages 295-299 by showing the failures of this ideology and objective sphere:

Ideology
Discontent

Mao's
of 1959
VATIS

"Chinese society was seen by Mao as having "a shape bulging in the middle while tapering off towards the two ends. (Selected Works, vol. 3 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1954), p. 239. In more concrete terms, this imagery meant that both the proletariat and the "reactionary big landlord and big bourgeoisie" formed only a small minority of the Chinese population while the other intermediate classes constituted the vast majority. Ibid., p. 260; vol. 4 pp. 25. Mao's political strategy in the revolutionary struggle was "to develop the progressive forces, to win over the middle-of-the-road forces, and to isolate the die-hards. Ibid., vol. 3, p. 194. It formed the basis of Mao's concept of "new democracy" which was to be based on a "joint dictatorship of all the revolutionary classes. Hsin-min-chu-chu-i-lun (On New Democracy) (San Francisco: Cooperative Publishers, 1945), p. 8. In this new democracy, "the proletariat, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and other sections of the petty bourgeoisie are the basic forces determining her fate. Ibid., p. 15. But the proletariat should not overlook the partially revolutionary quality of the "bourgeoisie" and the possibility of establishing with it a united front against imperialism and the government of bureaucrats and warlords. Ibid., p. 14. "

(Be sure to confer "Mao Tse-tung's Materialistic Dialectics" China Quarterly, no. 19 (July-September, 1964), p. 27.) See Wang

The author seems to think that the differences between the early successes and the present turmoil is no more than the "difficulties of transition from revolution to the establishment of a new integrated political community." (Ha, Ha)

Ch 5/19 Schwartz - 1950
-3-

Schram
Threat
to
China
1950

The most interesting chapter in the volume, interesting because more related to reality is Chapter 5 "China and the West in the 'Thought of Mao Tse-tung'" by Benjamin I. Schwartz. Schwartz is correct in stressing that disintegration in so-called "Marxist Leninist ideology" does not mean triumph of "non-ideology" but, on the contrary as evidenced by the cultural revolution. He refers back as far as Buonarroti (Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The First Professional Revolutionist: Filippo Michele Buonarroti (1761-1837), a Biographical Essay (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 107, which relates ideology to production, or ~~materialism~~ as he rephrases what to him is Marxism, "the ultimate dynamic is economic, but the mediating class struggle is just as important" (p. 370). Thereby he sets the stage for taking into consideration everything from Lenin's "What is to be Done" to the voluntarism of Mao.

Yen
Blank
1958

Schwartz tries to relate everything back to the Yen-an period but has to admit that whereas there was no hint of any possible lack of identity between "the vanguard" and the party, the present cultural revolution is certainly the opposite, and yet that beginning with a Great Leap Forward in 1957-58 Mao has made a break between the "economism" of the Russian period and the alleged "moral-political force" that Mao himself developed in Yen-an. He refers to Mao's expression "poor and blank" which was supposed to mean that it helped Communism "bypass the corruptions of modern Western civilization and be able thereby to realize another Maoism "to boost production by grasping the revolution".

Mao's thought "poor and blank" (Mao's all eyes)

The comments by Stuart R. Schram refers to that same phrase of Mao "poor and blank" which was first appeared in the first issue of Hsing-chi (spring of 1958) and the concrete slogan then "Overtake England within 15 years" stressing further that Mao, as Schwartz had shown, considers his thought to transcend any and all organizations. There is here ~~also~~ a mixture of Communism, Fascism, and a Chinese emperor mediating between his people and its historical destiny which will probably go down as one of the most singular instances of intercultural borrowing."

Donald J. Munro
Munro
Munro (1933)
to 1950
with me as
by
not
Wang
Hsien-chen
higher
in Paris

There is also some interesting commentary by Donald J. Munro, especially as he is anxious to refer to philosophy without actually making any contribution to it at all. Chalmers Johnson's Chinese Communist Leadership and Mass Response: The Yen-an Period and the Socialist Education Campaign Period", on the other hand does make an important contribution, but not enough emphasis on discontinuity between the two periods considered: (1) Yen-an, 1936 to 1947 and (2) the period between the 10th and the 11th plenum, September, 1962 to August, 1966. He does, however, see that in the first instance there was popular support but not in the second. On p. 404, Johnson speaks about Mao's reaction to the "petty-Bolsheviks" with Wang who criticised his position On Protracted War (1938) which he had written to oppose Chiang's concept of "rapid victory" (see also Johnson on Revolutionary Change, Chapter 8, regarding the difference between Lenin and Mao's strategy of revolution.)

The comments by S.Y. Teng takes issue on the question of Mao's adventurism first in participating in the Korean War, then, in 1955 in liquidating Kao Kang and in the 1959 purge of P'iang Te-hsia. Finally in August, 1966 emergence of the Red Guard which may have actually started in 1963 when Wang proposed a justification for peaceful co-existence by the theory of "combining two into one".

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