

MY YENAN NOTEBOOKS by NYM WALES, Route 1, Madison, Conn.

These mimeographed volumes -- there are <sup>two</sup> three of them --, while invaluable as source material, show an absolute ignorance of any theory and even more of what is slender regarding "Trotskyism". Nevertheless, it is important to follow certain things in great detail since they are genuine and the comparison with what was said then -- 1936-1938 and what is the line now speaks volumes. They are all part of the Nym Wales Collection on the Far East in the Hoover Institute, 1959-1961.

Interview with MAO-TSE-TUNG ON SPAIN

" To the Spanish People, Comrades in arms: The war led by the Spanish people is a most holy war. It is not only fought for the life of the Spanish nation but also it is fought for the oppressed nations of the world. This is because the group which the Spanish government is fighting are the fascists who are destroying the culture and civilization of the world and also the justice of the world. The Spanish Government is fighting against German and Italian fascists who are helping the Japanese fascists in invading China on the east. .... The Chinese Communist Party is wholly sympathetic with the different political parties who are working in the Spanish People's Front. The Chinese Communist Party is now calling the different political parties in China to join in a united front against the Japanese fascists. (Note: Part of this was printed in Inside Red China, p. 263.) - p 60

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May 31, 1937, Interview with Agnes Smedley ~~about the Chinese Revolution~~ p 62

... Chu Teh worshipped modern science. Chu Teh is a kind and Mao as hard as steel. Stalin and Mao are the greatest living men. Mao is like Lenin, political, rather than an organizer like Stalin. Mao is a great speaker and he made a great impression on the Commission (Kuomintang). He used to fight at the front. Li Teh admits he is a genius at strategy and a great statesman. Mao has a rod of steel in him and great knowledge. He is versatile in philosophy, poetry, literature, with an interest in outside politics. He can lead Asia to victory. .... Mao Tse-tung happened to come in just as we were talking...

The interviewer asks Mao if the fascists will join the united front. He replied, "Yes, I hope so," and asked my opinion. I said they would cooperate against Japan but not for democracy. I told him about Brazil and the Central European fascist movements. He seemed very interested in Brazil. Then I asked about Wittfogel's idea of an Asiatic mode of production. He said he had heard of this but knew nothing about his work. Mao said Chinese society is semi-feudal and semi-capitalistic." (p. 63)

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Typical of the fantastic lies that Nym Wales records on the Maoist propaganda against Trotskyism at the time of the Moscow trials is this interview with Li Teh, (6-6-37):

" All old Bolsheviks now arrested never followed Leninism. They opposed his theory of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It is not a united ideology the Trotskyists have but each has some form of opposition and altogether join to oppose the whole idea (of the U.S.S.R.) Trotskyism represents the most aggressive wing of fascism. Their political ideology is that the proletarian revolution has been betrayed and that socialism in one country is impossible and the world revolution delayed (and betrayed), therefore to overcome this degraded power that power must be overthrown.

The question of world war is not confined to Trotskyists. Some comrades also agree a world war is necessary to world revolution. The contradictions in the world are so great that they cannot unite to oppose socialism and another country could possibly go socialist. We now utilize the contradictions of all imperialist powers against each other. Hence we have the peace slogan.

Italy and Germany have common interests but also contradictions. The common interest is against England, France and the U.S.S.R. Also their ideology is against revolution and socialism. The contradiction is in the struggle for markets and raw materials and colonies." (p. 107)

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And again on 6/13/37 after advising Mrs. Snow to read Stalin, this voltergalistic nonsense on dialectics was spoken:

" After material conditions determine the idea, the idea dialectically reproduces the conditions. Marx said, 'conditions create men and men re-create conditions.' The party exists as the physical people trained in proletarian ideology and through the party organization of these people the proletariat exercises leadership over the peasants. To exercise this leadership the C.P. needed the soviets as the connecting link with the workers to lead the agrarian revolution. This is the historical necessity of the Chinese soviets in this period." (p. 113)

\* " As to the Sian affair: there would have been a great civil war if this had continued. Liu Hsiang would drive out the Central Government. We could not have got nor held Tungkuan. Chiang Kai-shek's division came one day later and Yang's man betrayed. Sian could not possibly have been defended." (p. 114)

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There are many, many debates on the Sian incident in the volume on the student movement since the students were then against Mao for being with Chiang and against Chiang. Since both Mao and the Trotskyists wanted to be with the student revolt and the Trotskyist line was the same as that of the students, you can see why the Maoists were then so frustrated and anxious to attack Trotskyism. This is the real reason rather than the fact that the Maoists were following the line of the Stalinists on the Moscow trials.

It was Sian not Moscow that bothered Mao.

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Lin Piao was then the President of the Red Academy and the interview with him (p. 117) states that the Red Army was made up of 70% peasants 30% landlords and some city dwellers -- intellectuals and p.b. and only 5% workers and even then it adds, "As to city proletariat, he did not know the percentage, which means that even the 5% workers are really not from the factory.

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On pages 133 to 135, there is another interview with Mao, answers to various questions, about why China can skip capitalism "and have socialism":

"The present war will be different from that twenty years ago. This was against Japan and fascism is a revolutionary war while both sides were counter-revolutionary in the last war.

~~Remember:~~ This war will be the last war in history. From then on there will be no war but permanent peaceful development.

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In relation to the condition of the world as a whole, China has the possibility of transforming directly to socialism without passing through capitalism. The existence of the USSR is the determining influence not only over China but also over other countries in the world. 3 ....

The above replies to Trotskyist and other erroneous doctrines. This is Lenin's statement of the revolutionary problem. The revolution of imperialist countries needs the help of that of colonial countries and vice versa." (p. 134) ....

We are different from the Trotskyists. Our united front is only anti-Japanese, not anti-imperialist as such. Only the proletarians and oppressed people of the world have all interests in common and no contradictions. The proletarian people of other countries are our best friends, such as the American proletariat and people. The Americans who visit our place come not for commercial relations but for friendship. We entirely agree to your activity in America, to your policy of agitating in America to make America more active in the Far East. . . .

I (Wales) have a note of my own question: If Nanking is a monopoly, will this make it easy to transform to socialism? Apparently this was not asked or not answered. I note also that Mao was using Standard Oil tins for his files in this office and that he had many philosophy books." (p. 135)

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Another interview on Trotskyism with Wu Liang-p'ing which she said she wrote for Inside Red China but had cut it out before publication, NW says that there were so many epithets that she couldn't make out whether the Chinese Trotskyists were rightists or leftists until I was referred to Wu as an expert on Trotskyism, who told me that they were both." (p. 120) and then Wu is quoted as saying: "the Trotskyists said we Communists in China were 'single bandits', 'travelling Soviets' and a 'pocket revolution'. They wanted an immediate socialist revolution (p. 101) and again:

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"The Trotskyists say the main task <sup>is</sup> the proletarian revolution and when we first began to build Soviets, they said that the agrarian revolution was 'an idiotic invention of the Stalinists'" (p. 133) X

Wu also claims that the Trotskyists "even penetrated into the Soviet regions -- in the Kiangsi Soviet area -- and won several detachments of the Red Army and wanted to go over to the Whites ... the Trotskyists had opposed the formation of the Red Army and said it was built only 'by order of Stalin', they wanted to disburse the Red Army as 'useless bandits'."

"Our main Trotskyists trouble was before the Li Li-san line. Li Li-san had an erroneous semi-Trotskyist line. He wanted adventurist uprisings, and caused the sacrifice of many comrades. He represented the madness and ultra-enthusiasm of his petty-bourgeoisie." (p. 134)

NW finds criticism only because "Wu has no manners; he shouts; he got very excited at this point (RD) This point being the expression

Q "the communists are internationalists, how can they be patriotic? the answer is that this is Internationalism against Imperialism." (p. 135)

The endless interview (it began on p. 180 and didn't end until p. 191) continued with such "wisdoms" as the accusation that the Trotskyists had "direct relations with the Japanese consulate in Tientsin" and that as "agents of Fascism" they naturally didn't see that "Chiang Kai-shek is nearer to the capitalist class and capitulated to the imperialists but is not the representative of the imperialists." (p. 187)

He also says that the Trotskyist journal ("the PA") Trotskyists published a journal called Wen Hua Chien Shih or Cultural Reconstruction and that the "NB" Trotskyists called their organ Struggle which sounds more Trotskyists than anything dealing with culture. The complete approval of the Stalinist analysis stopped short, however, of accepting the Tass analysis of the Sian incident since the Maoists on the spot knew that it was the Left students whom they were very anxious to win, and not Japan that was behind it so Wu ends with "As to the article in Izvestia: one point was wrong. The Sian Incident was not organized by the Japanese. But the main point against civil war is right." (p. 190)

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The only other thing in that volume that is interesting is the article on the Theatre and how much politically it meant to everyone in the Red area from Mao and Chu Teh to the rank and file soldier. It is true that there is another interview with Mao but it turns out to be NW's analysis of him, "the Olympian calm, cool headed political leader of the Chinese Communists" with a further note by NW in 1961 (NB) that Mao was really "thinking in terms of a new democracy"

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The volume called Historical Notes on China turns out to be regarding Modern Art and whereas that has its interests, especially in China where there had been such an unbridgeable gulf between the artists and the masses, it has no interest at this moment and I am not quoting from it.

The third volume Notes on the Chinese Student Movement, 1935-1936 is 201 pages and very interesting both regarding the spontaneity of the movement and the total opposition of it to the Stalinist line of compromise with Chiang Kai-Shek but I will limit myself only to quoting from an interview with Mao and a student leader, David Yui, on Trotskyism again.

Mao Tse-Tung's statement regarding the student movement, ~~Mar 29, 1936~~  
March 29, 1936:

"The Chinese Soviet Government has decided to render all possible assistance to the student movement in Shanghai and in other parts of China. While we have encouraged the students in the Chinese Soviet to take concerted action with the students in Shanghai, we are now also doing our utmost to arouse the feeling of the labor and peasant class in order to bring about the realization of the students' aim for national salvation. The student movement at present is obviously a reaction to the unanimous will for national salvation. It is true that the students' slogan urging an immediate cessation of internal conflicts is the demand of the entire nation.

The only civil war now proceeding in China is the so-called Red-suppression campaign by the entire force of Chiang Kai-shek. Under the pressure of Chiang Kai-shek, we have to struggle for the preservation of the Red Army which is the real Anti-Japanese unit in the country. On behalf of the Chinese government, I hereby announce that, if Chiang Kai-shek ceased his attack on the Red Army, the Chinese Red Army will also suspend all military action and start war with Japan in order to meet the demand of the people." Published April 25, 1936, Tass Translation Service (p. 125)

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On p. 142, where MW records the interview with David YUI she herself remarks "I don't think it was possible to discover what the ideas of 'Trotskyists' were as everything was attributed to them which was in opposition to the Communist-sympathizers" and then she shows further that the atmosphere was such that one was afraid to be seen with Trotsky or those who were called such and the general idea was to make it appear that the Trotskyists would inform and anyone who was arrested was blamed, not so much on Chiang kai-shek as on Trotskyists. She then quotes Liu Chang-lin as saying "trotskyism began at Peita in 1931 under the leadership of a student named Li Tzu-ye. Another was Chou Ke-sheang, a student of philosophy at Peita and a Trotsky-lover ...."