

Jps/R. Levenson, The Past & Future of Nat-ism in Ch. April 1968

I. Ming & Mao: But bet. the Sino-Manchu & the Sino-Jap. wars there had of course been dev., HIS PROCESS, NOT STAGE I.

II. Ch'ing & Mao: "Confucian culturalists" in Ch-as-a-world had traditionalism as a world view. But Ch. nationalists in the 20th c. were iconoclastic. Technology was transforming an old social type, the agrarian rebel, into a PROTO REV. REV.--Agrarian rebels --Taiping's. 1850-64 But it did anticipate intell. rev. of 20th c.

III. Mao & Sense of Mission "AND NOW AS CH. SEEKS TO BE THE FOUNTAINHEAD AGAIN, the central source of world values, there is a different world from Ch'ien-lung's & a different Ch. ('SUBSTRUCTURE' (general SOCIAL SYSTEM), not 'SUPERSTRUCTURE' (a special Ch. high culture) serves as model."

IV. Nat.-ism & Int. "but Mao, no 'rootless cosmopolitan,' is not prepared to cut himself off from home. And so he arrives at a modern SYNTHESIS, NOT AN 'ancient national-cultural chauvinism.' To restore the continuity of Ch. his, Mao insists on the continuity of Mxist his. Aspiring to a WORLD LEADERSHIP // The alternatives of 'Ch.' (nationalist) or 'communist' (int. are MISCONCEIVED.

p. 33 "Today, what makes Ch. seem so ominous to the W. & the SU is Mao's last turn of the screw: Ch. nat. has come to the fore TO IMPLEMENT Mxism. IF Ch. could be free of 'antagonistic contradictions' internally, Ch. would finally become what Mao's mentor, Li Ta-chao, had called it in 1920--a proletarian nation. The PROLETARIAN WITH THE OTHER 'VICTIMS OF IMP.' in tow? As Stuart Selyam has remarked of Ch. people is a rev. class, then nationalists & rev. riers are one & the same. (SSp. 26)

V. Provincialism & Cosmopolitanism p. 35 "A cosmopolitan culture, then, for nat. enhancement & defense: these went together in some few minds. WHY HAVE THEY BEEN SO FEW? The 'Great Prolet. Cultural Rev.' suggests why & suggest where Ch. nat. is going????????????????

(At this point JL makes fun of cosmopolitans and a Dolk's Hae: as if that was what Liu Shao-ch'i was. Moreover, the composites 1937 & 1957)

VI. CULTURAL REV. & THE STATE OF THE NATIONAL p. 39 "Not so little nostalgia (nor a general taste for spiritual athletics, but a conviction of PRESENT CRISIS) have been driving the train of events."

(rd Trouble is at this point J: does not go into actual CRISIS, NAT. & INT., esp. INDONESIA) "If the weight of weapons was against Ch.: yet the weapons might come into play, man's spirit, not weapons, would have to be decisive.?"

IF REGRESS SEEMED POSSIBLE--AND RETRESS WAS THE SPECTRE)... ESSENTIAL MxIST NOTION OF PROGRESS was to be abandoned in a general failure of nerve, REV. VOLUNTARISM, not ev. determinism, had to be brought into play....

ABSOLUTES TOOK COMMAND. Impending crisis put the expert under the gun.... someone in Ch. was prophesying war." THIS IS WHERE JL GOES SPECULATIVE WRONG. Mao did not undertake Cultural Rev. until he was sure THERE WOULD BE NO WAR BET. US & CH.

***** THE DILEMMA OF MAO TSE-TUNG BY KIKUZO ITO & MINORO SHIBATA

p. 58 Cultural Rev. "the most extraordinary coup d'etat in his/" 1st mtg. of Red Guard 8/18/66 (as against 1/9/65 when Mao told Edgar Snow that he was preparing to meet God soon.) & series of articles against him ended abruptly 9th instalment emphasis was shifted into to fight against internal revisionism."

Thoughts of Mao inserted in 9th Na Congress of YCL. Finally 3/28/66 mts with Jap. CP Mao objected to joint communique on points agreed upon only, yelling at P'eng Chen Chou En-lai, Teng "You weak-headed people in Peking!"

Mao gave orders to dissolve Party Central Prop. Dept., Party Peking Comm. 2-man cultural rev. group "IN APR. '67 Shao shan Wit Sh. published Mao's "AIX ON STRATEGIC DEPLOYMENT" said it had not been published, tho drafted in 5/16/ 1st 10 yrs. of Ch "10 yrs. of construction"

2nd 10 yrs "10 yrs. of rioting" (1) 100 Flowers Campaign '57 *Great Leap Forward (2) People's commune 1958--theory of intensification

of class struggle IN transitional society.--He now considered "anti-Maoism" as a "HOSTILE CONTRAD." "Acc'd'g to Mao Ch. has constaly been confronted with the struggle bet/ the '2 ways' throughout New Dem. Soc. Revs. In '40 --"2-step" rev. formula of reorganizing nat. bourgeoisie."

In Spring 1966 wk's ask: "HOW MANY MORE YRS. OF THIS MISERABLE LIFE DO WE HAVE TO LIVE AFTER the rev. before things get back to normal?"

John & Nancy in Hawaii

Mao's speech

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p.64 "In Ch. now, supposed to be a socialist society, there still exist pub-pvt. joint commercial undertakings, which one would expect to find under S.C. rather than soc. There also exist the fixed interest of 5% a yr. pd. out to the old capitalists & privileges for homecoming Ch. merchants from abroad."

p.65: On Sept. 29, 1965 Ch'en Yi, For. Minister "Come along all of you if you dare, Am. imperialists, Indian reactionaries, Jap. militarists & Rus. revisionists!" On the following day a pro-c-ist coup d'etat took place in Indonesia. This was an expression of Peking's intention TO DISCONTINUE "DIFFERENT DREAMS IN THE SAME BED."

"China" says Mao in Talk ON Strategic Deployment "is not only the pol. centre of WORLD REV BUT SHOULD BECOME THE MILITARY & TECHNICAL CENTRE SUPPLYING WEAPONS TO THE WORLD'S revolutionaries." "become the arsenal of the world rev." Q also Jap. Maoist Atsuoashi Williams "The Great Prolet. Cultural Rev" "93 that Mao undertook Cultural Rev. BECAUSE OF CONFIDENCE THERE WOULD BE NO WAR WITH USA FOR 5 yrs., the yrs. that may be necessary to complete cultural rev."

to Jap CP "world rev/cannot come about by the evasion of war."

Peoples Commune in Shanghai failed in Jan. '67 was replaced instead by 3-way alliance

p.79: ONLY SPONTANEOUS ACTION OF PEOPLE DURING CULTURAL REV. WAS CRUSHED BY MAO AS "BLACK WIND OF ECONOMISM" The moment that orders to struggle for recovery of power reached workers they confronted party leaders in their locality or factory with demands for eco. improve, ent. &

"REV." "RECOVERY OF POWER"

Handwritten notes:

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coin

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inability to receive

own principles

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Fatalism

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