

I - 33. Lecture Notes - Undated - Untitled - 35 pp.

You here are college people, studying in an institution with a high reputation for learning. I take it therefore that you are fairly well informed about China and that you have read something of the press controversy following the recall of General Stilwell from China--an event that lifted the curtain on much that had been ^{and forced changes in the Govt, so he brought out of the} hidden by the Chinese censorship. You know that ^{China has reorganized its economy and}

the Burma Road is open at last and that our Ambassador to China, General Hurley, is acting as mediator between the ruling Kuomintang Party and the Communist Party in an attempt to break the deadlock between these two chief parties. ^{Nelson's expanded report on Chinese production and allies' activities was published today.} I have been asked to speak here on the Chinese Communists ~~activities~~. ~~But~~ I shall give something of their history and activities, but this is a subject that cannot be separated from ^{almost every} ~~other~~ aspect of Chinese life. ~~As old John Donne said that "no man is an island unto himself", so is this true of the Communist party of China.~~

I will begin by referring to a very long letter which appeared on Nov. 9th in the N.Y. Herald-Tribune, ~~and~~ written by Mr. J. B. Powell,

the veteran newspaper editor formerly of Shanghai. Mr. Powell lived in China for 25 years, yet ~~in~~ his letter ~~he~~ ^{he} makes crass historical and geographical errors. ~~in his recent letter.~~ ~~If such a man could make such false statements,~~ ~~then it is difficult to one cannot expect the~~ ~~American public to know the facts.~~

For instance, ^{he} ~~Mr. Powell~~ wrote that

"The Chinese Communist Party was organized by Russian agents in Canton in 1926", after which they were "incorporated into the Kuomintang (or nationalist party) and the Chinese Nationalist Army". In 1927, he continued, "Chiang Kai-shek ~~xxx~~ "drove them out" of the Kuomintang. Today, he said, the territory they control in northwest China borders "Soviet-dominated Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang Province". Mr. Powell then launched an attack on the Chinese Communists, ~~of China~~, saying they have established a separate government in North China.

Allow me to dispose briefly of Mr. Powell's geographical statement. It is ^{entire} ~~not~~ ~~true~~ that the territory in north and northwest China, ^{controlled} ~~today occupied~~ by the Communist-led 8th Route and New 4th Armies, borders either Outer

Mongolia or Sinkiang Province in Central Asia.

^{North of the} Between the Communist-controlled territory ~~and~~ ^{lies}

~~Outer Mongolia is~~ Inner Mongolia, which is occupied by the Japanese while ^{the western} a part of Inner Mongolia is occupied by Chinese nationalist troops. ^{North of} ~~beyond~~

these Chinese nationalist and Japanese troops stretches the great wastes of the Gobi desert, and beyond the Gobi lies capital of the Outer Mongolian People's Republic, ~~protected by the Soviet Union.~~

~~Again, geographical:~~ The territory controlled by the Communists is ^{also} thousands of miles from Sinkiang Province in Central Asia, which ~~in turn~~ borders Soviet Russia. ~~Intervening~~ ^{between} ~~at no point does~~

^{Com.- controlled areas come within hundreds or thousands of miles of territory protected or influenced by the USSR.} ~~are Chinese nationalist arm-ies exclusively.~~

It is amazing to read such statements from Americans who have lived in China and ought to know its geography.

~~But this is unimportant.~~ ^{still greater} What is ^{is} important, however, is ~~the attempt made by~~ Mr. Powell ~~and many~~ ^{is} propagandists ^{that} ~~for the Kuomintang to have the American people believe~~ the Chinese Communist Party was formed by "Russian agents" ^{in Canton} ~~and, as Mr. Powell said, in 1926.~~

The Chinese Communist Party was formed in 1920, six years before Mr. Powell's figures, and

by Chinese. ~~There were no Russians in the~~
~~country.~~

~~Try to bear historical dates in mind.~~

~~The Chinese Communist Party~~^{2d} was formed in ~~four~~
~~different centers, four in China, one in Paris.~~

One group of seven ~~met~~ met in Peiping under the
leadership of Prof. Li Tai-chiao, of Peking

National University, the ^{51st} ~~birth~~place of the
Chinese Renaissance, ~~in~~ ^{This was} the spring of 1920. A

few weeks later, ^{a 2nd} ~~another~~ group was formed in
the great port city of Shanghai by Prof. Chen
Du-hsiu, also of Peking National University.

About the same time a ^{3rd} ~~third~~ group was formed
in Hupeh Province in central China, by Tung Pi-wu,
one of the earliest followers of the late Sun
Yat-son, father of the Chinese Republic.

A ^{4th} ~~fourth~~ group was formed about the same time
in Hunan Province in central China, by Mao Tze-
tung, son of a peasant family who had secured an
education under great hardships and had become a
newspaper man. ~~Remember the name.~~ Mao Tze-tung,
~~for Mao~~ is the secretary- of the C.C.P. today and
one of the key figures of modern Chinese history.

~~Bear in mind that~~ He sprang from the peasantry
and for two decades has been known as a peasant

leader--a significant fact in a country where 80% of the people are peasants.

^a
~~THE~~ 5th Communist Party ~~was~~ group was formed ~~abroad~~, in Paris, by Chou En-lai, ~~But~~ the name of Chou En-lai in mind. He was the son of a north China ~~XXXX~~ scholarly family, one of the early student leaders against the Versailles Treaty that gave Shantung Province to the Japanese.

Graduating from Nankai University in the north, Mr. Chou ^{then} ~~XXXX~~ studied in France. Chou En-lai is ^{today} of the most erudite and statesman-like figures of modern China. Since 1937 he has been the liaison officer between the Communist Party and ~~their armies and~~ the Chinese Government. ^{Two} ~~now~~

~~name~~ has just figured in the press these days, when ^{dupago} our Ambassador to China met him at the airdrome in Chungking. Our Ambassador went with him last summer to the Communist headquarters, Yen-an, in the northwest.

Chou En-lai ^{also} founded the Communist Center ~~abroad~~ in France; and later he formed a ^{6th C.C.P.} similar group in Berlin. ^{in the early 20's.} ~~Very many Chinese students who studied in either France or Germany became Marxists, while most Chinese students who studied in America became devotees of capitalism.~~

After Hitler came to power in Germany, only those Chinese students who admired or followed Fascism, could remain in Germany. Others ~~fi~~ were imprisoned or fled the country. ~~AMONGST THE CHINESE WHO REMAINED IN GERMANY~~ Amongst the Chinese who admired Hitler--and there were many-- was Dr. Chu Chia-hwa, today the Minister of Education. Dr. Chu is said to have brought the first German military advisers to China. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek sent one of his sons to study in Hitler's Army, and this son was Captain in ~~xxNazi~~ the Nazi Army that occupied Vienna.

~~In other words, the conflict in China is a facet of world-wide conflict between two systems of thought.~~

Now, as for ~~the~~ ^{those} so-called "Russian agents" ~~who are said to have~~ ^{who are said to have} ~~whom Dr. Powell declared had~~ founded the Chinese Communist Party six years after it had been founded by Chinese. The first ^{Soviet} Russian that I know of to ~~come to China~~ ^{have come to China} was M. Jaffe, who arrived in Shanghai in either 1922 or 1923. ~~He did not go to~~ ^{where he consulted} ~~organize Communists. Instead, he went to consult~~ ^{with} Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Kuomintang and then leader of the weak ~~and powerless~~ ~~XXXXX~~ Canton Government in south China, ~~which he headed.~~

Following these conferences, Dr. Sun invited
 Russian military and political advisers to help
~~him reorganize the~~ ^{the Canton} government and to help found
 the famous Whampoo Military Academy in Canton in
 which thousands of young Army officers were trained
~~and~~ ^{and} ~~to command~~ ^{national} the new southern revolutionary Army
~~with~~ ^{with} which Dr. Sun hoped to wipe out war-
 lordism and bring all China under ^{his control} ~~the Canton~~
~~national revolutionary government.~~

America and Britain had refused to help
 Dr. Sun. They regarded him as ~~one of those things~~
~~that we call~~ a "crack-pot" and "visionary", ~~much~~
~~as we call~~ Henry Wallace today.

~~So the so-called "Russian agents" who~~
~~came to Canton in~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ late 1923 and
 early 1924 came at the express invitation of
 Dr. Sun Yat-sen. ~~The C.C.P. had already been founded~~

In February, 1924, the Kuomintang was
 reorganized and the Chinese Communists were
 admitted to its ranks by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, ^{though} ~~and~~ much
 against the wishes of the reactionaries in that
 party. Up to then the Kuomintang had been a small
 and weak body of middle and upper class men, ~~but~~
~~The Communist Party~~ ^{also weak in numbers but it was} was rooted in ~~the worker and~~

~~peasant and student~~ ^{The mass} movement. The Communists, most of them students in the beginning, were the first organizers of trade unions and peasant leagues. When ~~Communists~~ ^{they} were admitted to the Kuomintang, the workers and peasants were admitted ~~for the first time~~ and, for the first time, the Kuomintang became a ~~mass~~ mass party. ~~It was then, as before, a progressive party.~~

The southern ~~national~~ ^{whole} national revolutionary Army which grew out of the south China upheaval soon afterward began the famous Northern Expedition against the war-lords who ~~in turn~~ were henchmen of ~~the various~~ imperialist powers. Aided by mass uprisings of workers and peasants, this Army conquered all south China within a few months. This Army was commanded by General Chiang Kai-shek, with General Galens, a ^{Soviet} Russian, as chief military adviser.

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The Chinese Communist Party, from its very inception, until the present day, has operated under ~~two~~ principles:

1. The liberation of China from all forms of foreign imperialist control.
2. The completion of the agrarian revolution, ^{which} ~~was~~ meant the transformation of

agrarian economy from ~~a~~ semi-feudal ~~structure~~ into
 a democratic ~~revvo~~ ^{structure.} They did not, either in the
 past or today, try to collectivize the land. ^{This}
^{is historical fact, ~~is~~ not sugar-coated propaganda.}
 However, the Chinese Communists do not ~~ex~~

believe in a static society. They conceive of human
 society as always advancing, according to need, to
 more advanced forms. Their ultimate goal is indeed
 a socialist, or Communist system of society, ~~but~~
~~they have tried throughout their brief history to~~
~~achieve this by the power of their ideas. Not that~~
~~they were unwilling to fight if need be. But they~~
~~have had infinite belief in their ability to~~
~~convince people of the superior worth of their~~
~~ideas and plans. They failed in 1927 to do this.~~

In early 1927, General Chiang and ~~his~~ ^{(a part of the}
 southern revolutionary Army approached Shanghai.
 Shanghai was the Far Eastern citadel of Far Eastern
 Imperialism, ~~and~~ the center of Chinese and foreign
 industry and banks. ~~Chinese industries and banks~~
~~were inferior to, and some of them dependent upon~~
~~foreign industries and banks. Chinese ~~by traders~~~~ ^{merchants}
 were ~~generally~~ ^{largely} linked with foreign imperialism by
 countless threads.

As the southern revolutionary army approached
 the Shanghai factory workers declared a general

~~A few months later~~ ^{Shortly thereafter} the separate Nanking Government was recognized by the foreign imperialist powers, including our own. Foreigners of the chief nations became its chief advisers and foreign nations in due time gave it loans and other support. ~~Because~~ It broke with Soviet Russia and began the counter-revolution against the Chinese people.

The Chinese Red Army eventually grew out of ~~these tragic events. Three months after the~~ ^{these tragic events. Three months after the} ~~this slaughter of the people. Three months after~~ ^{Shanghai massacre,} the slaughter of the Shanghai workers and students, which was followed by slaughters of revolting peasants in the interior, there was an uprising of Kuomintang armies in Nanchang, in central China. Some of their ~~leaders~~ ^{commanders} were Communist ~~commanders~~. Some ~~were~~ not ~~Communists~~. ~~The~~ Civil war began. ~~But it was nearly~~ ^{nearly} two years ^{later} ~~before~~ the Chinese Communists decided to form a Red Army ^{of Workers & Peasants} ~~commanded by~~ ^{organized by the Communists} ~~themselves~~. General Chu Teh, one of the earliest Kuomintang members, became the commander-in-chief ~~and~~ of the new Red Army of Workers and Peasants. Mao Tze-tung, ~~whom I have mentioned,~~ became the Army's chief political director and the secretary of the Communist Party.

Civil war raged for ten years. From

an initial force of 1,500 surviving Kuomintang troops, the Red ~~Army~~ Army grew with the years into four separate armies in various parts of the country, to something like a million men. Kuomintang troops sent ~~by the~~ by the Nanking Govt. to exterminate them often deserted ~~to them.~~ ^{until} perhaps half of the Red Army was made up of ~~rebels~~ ^{revolutionary} Kuomintang officers and men; the rest were primarily poor peasants that streamed to it. Some were workers, others students.

How could a small force like this grow to such great proportions and fight off or defeat armies ten times their strength. It was the power of ideas, primarily.

Program
1) anti-imperialist
2) agrarian
revol.

The Red Army introduced the political director system, ^{by which educational workers} ~~educated men~~ were attached to every unit from company up to the Corps, with the duty of educating the soldiers in general and political knowledge. Not only did the soldiers learn to read and write, but ^{They} learned the history of China and of the world, ~~the history of the Russian Revolution~~ an event that deeply influence ~~all China~~. The Red Army became an iron revolutionary army deeply imbued with the conviction that it was fighting not only for the

pres^ent, not just for a bowl of rice as in the past, but for a free ~~and~~ independent and progressive China. Its "political educational" system was something like the same system in Cromwell's Ironsides. Cromwell had his so-called "Agitators" to inspire his men. Tom Paine played a similar role in our own American Revolution and in Washington's Army at Valley Forge.

~~The same system of general and political education was extended to the civilian population in the territory occupied by and protected by the Red Army. The chief base was in Kiangsi Province in south China, and extended over to four bordering provinces.~~ *protected by the Red Army.*

Within this territory, the Communists did the following:

1. They confiscated the ~~land~~ ^{estates} of ~~great~~ landlords and distributed it among the tillers. *vv* ~~They did not collectivise the land.~~ No peasant paid rent; ~~however,~~ they were individual owners.

K ~~The Communists operated on the theory that China must pass through the democratic stage before it could be trained and strong enough to adopt a ~~socialist~~ cooperative, or socialist society.~~ In confiscating and dividing the land, the Communists

were following in the footsteps of almost every peasant revolution in Chinese history.

✓ 2. In the ^{36 same} ~~Communist~~ regions, the Communists introduced the first universal suffrage ^{in China}. All men and women toilers by hand or brain over 18 years of age were given the vote.

~~3. Usury was abolished and made illegal. Traffic in opium was made a capital offence.~~

✓ 3. The first elections of the common people were held. The people elected their own local Councils, or Soviets. ~~These were class organs confined to toilers by hand or brain. Women also were elected to some of these Councils and many women became political educators connected with the Army. Women were urged to unbind their feet and~~ ^{4. Usury was abolished. Traffic in opium became a capital offence.} ~~cut their hair.~~

✓ 5. Marriage was made a matter of choice, instead of ^{by} family arrangement, divorce ~~was~~ permitted, dowries ~~was~~ forbidden. The system of free choice in marriage, ~~with divorce~~, was called "free love" by the Kuomintang, ^{while} ~~and~~ the American and British press echoed the defamation.

✓ 6. Small factory owners and merchants were ^{left in possession of} ~~allowed to own~~ their property, ~~before~~, but the 8-hour day was enforced and there were worker-

owner committees in factory management. The ancient feudal apprenticeship ^{system} was reformed.

7. In November, 1931, all the locally elected Soviets, or Councils sent delegates to Shuikin, in south Kiangsi Province, and formed the Chinese Soviet Republic, a separate Government.

~~Five great military campaigns were waged against the Chinese Red Army and this Government over a period of years.~~
War continues to rage between the Nanking ~~Government~~ and Red armies.

While these events were taking place, others were taking place in Kuomintang territory which ~~affected the~~ threatened the existence of the nation. They were:

1. The Japanese occupied China's 3 N.W. Provinces, known as Manchuria. This was in Sept. 1931. Three months later they attacked Shanghai and ~~the~~ began the occupation of China's ~~the~~ Inner Mongolian Provinces outside the Great Wall. They also began to intrigue and threaten and bribe to get control of China's ~~the~~ northern provinces inside the Great Wall. ~~While doing this they threatened the Nanking Government that if it did not exterminate the Communists, the Japanese Army would do it.~~

~~Certainly under the influence of the foreign~~
~~power.~~ ^{Nanking} The ~~Chinese~~ Government maintained that it
 was not strong enough to fight the Japanese. ~~I~~
 am convinced that if it had united with the
 Communists and fought, the Japanese could never
 have become ~~strong~~ as strong as they were later.
 For the Japanese were also not ~~xxx~~ prepared for
 the outright conquest of China, and international
 events had not developed to their advantage.

The Nanking Government ~~therefore~~ depended
~~upon the League of Nations to deal with the~~
 Japanese, ^{though} while it continued to wage war on ^{its own countrymen} ~~the~~

^{in the} Red Army. The League of Nations "investigated"
 the Manchurian affair, and merely "reprimanded"
 Japan.

The Chinese Communists began to issue
 appeals to the Kuomintang armies to ^{form} ~~make~~ a united
 front with it for ~~xxx~~ resistance to Japan. The
 Government rejected and suppressed these
 proposals.

^{Instead to signing a truce and agreements with}
^{The Ch. Com} The Nanking Government signed truces and
 secret agreements with the Japanese, ~~however~~
 It signed the Shanghai truce demilitarizing the
 Shanghai area, the Tangku truce in the north of

similar nature, ^{and} On July 9, 1935, ~~he~~ signed
 the secret Ho-Umetzu agreement. ^{The latter} ~~This~~ was signed
 by General Umetzu of the Japanese Army and
 General Ho Ying-chin, Minister of War of the
 Chinese ^{By} ~~Government~~. The provisions of this
 agreement, ^{the Kuomintang agreed to} ~~were so treasonable that it was kept~~
~~secret. It provided for the demilitarization of~~
 most of Hopei Province in the north, ~~the~~ ^{branches} withdrawal
 of the Kuomintang, ^{and to} and certain officials from ~~the~~
 north, ~~China~~. ^{no north China official} It provided that no ~~any~~ Chinese
 officials should be appointed ~~to the north~~ without
 Japanese consultation. It provided for the
suppression, throughout China, of all-Japanese
activities. ^{Communists & democrats had formed} ~~these~~ ^{everywhere.}
 In the meantime, Mussolini sent aviators
 to help Generalissimo Chiang organize and train
 his air force which was used against the ^{red} Army.
 German military Advisers were brought to ^{China to} ~~train~~
^{train the Kuomintang} ~~the Chinese~~ Armies and draw up strategy for the
 war against the Communists. In 1934-35, the
chief of these was General von Seeckt, now one
of Hitler's chief henchmen. After von Seeckt
 left, General Alexander von Falkenhausen took his
place, until July, 1938. Until we drove him out

18-19-20

of Belgium a few months ago, von Falkenhausen
was Nazi military Governor of occupied Belgium.

Nazi Gestapo agents helped the Chinese Government organize its secret military and political police on the model of the Gestapo. Today there are three secret ^{political} police systems in China.

After the Japanese ^{occupation} ~~invasion~~ of Chinese territory in 1931 began, the Chinese Red Army administered a new oath to all its men. Some of its clauses read:

1. We are the Red Army pioneers. We are workers and peasants. Our suffering is due to the imperialists. We struggle for liberty and for the independence of China.
2. Japanese imperialism is invading China, butchering our brothers, outraging our sisters, and aims to make China her colony.
3. We will fight this to the death.
4. The Kuomintang are traitors. They have presented Japanese imperialism with Manchuria, North China, Fukien and Inner Mongolia. They have sold half of China to British and Japanese imperialism, and are willing to give all China to the imperialists.
5. We will fight this to the death.

6. Our friends are the workers and farmers of the whole world, ~~the~~ all anti-Japanese masses, and the Manchurian Revolutionary Army and Volunteers.

7. We will be victorious.

8. We swear:

To oppose Japan with our sharpest swords, with our guns and cannon; to give the last drop of blood in this struggle; to shatter the offensive of the Kuomintang against the Red Army; to overthrow the treacherous Kuomintang and drive Japanese imperialism from China.

In late 1934, the main ^Red Army in Kiangsi was defeated in ~~xxxxx~~ a series of battles ~~by~~ a surrounding Kuomintang army of 1,000,000 men operating under strategy drawn up by General von Seeckt, ~~Chinese bombers were used extensively in the campaign~~ ^{Kiangsi} 100,000 picked troops of the Red Army, with commanders and political leaders, ~~and with the~~ chief intellectual and technical workers and engineers, ~~in its ranks~~, broke through the Kuomintang cordon and began the famous Long March of some 10,000 miles across the face of China, through the everlasting snows of the foothills of Tibet, and emerged over a year later ~~in the~~ ^{later} plains of Kansu and ~~on into Shensi Province in~~ the far northwest where they ~~have~~ today made their headquarters at ^{Yenan}.

This Long March has been best described by Edgar Snow in his "Red Star over China."

*See Sept
of that
year -
1934 -*

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During this Long March, General Chu Teh was reported dead five different times by the official Kuomintang publicity bureau, and the Red Army was repeatedly ^{American papers religiously reported} reported wiped out. ~~on these fake reports.~~ ^{On} ~~July 28,~~ 1935, while the Red Army was fighting in ~~XXXXXX~~ the far west, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was in Chengtu directing the war. On ^{July 28,} ~~July 28,~~ 1935, ~~that date,~~ Mussolini sent ^{him} ~~Generalissimo Chiang~~ a ^{very fine gift.} ~~present.~~ It was a tri-motored Savoia 72 airplane which was flown out to China via India by Col. Silvio Scaroni, A. D. C. to the King, and former attache to the Italian Embassy in Washington, D.C. Col. Scaroni also gained fame in bombing Abyssinians during ~~the~~ the Fascist conquest of ^{Abyssinia.} ~~the ancient Christian Kingdom.~~

During the Long March, a few thousand Red Army troops were killed in battle, ~~two~~ tens of thousands ^{others} ~~of~~ died of hunger and cold in the everlasting snows of Tibet. ~~I used to keep archives of clippings of this Long March, but never once did I read of the desertion of a Red Army soldier.~~ There may have been deserters, but ^{I did not hear of them,} ~~few indeed.~~

As John Brown once said to Thoreau:
 "My little success, ^{our victory,} Mr. Thoreau, was not due to any star or magic. ~~XXXXXX~~ The enemy crumpled

before us because they did not wish this to be their last act on earth. But we had a cause, an armor against affliction."

~~The Red Army, like the 8th Route and New 4th Armies today, have a cause, an armor against affliction. Death is of secondary importance, and they are willing to let this be their last act on earth. They are convinced that they fight for a free and independent and progressive China of the future.~~

We today are too near to such titanic events to view them objectively. The human race honors ~~dead heroes~~, but find living heroes of new causes a nuisance ~~or~~ a menace. From the time of Jesus down to the present, this has been the case in all walks of life--religious, scientific, social and political.

Within less than a year after the Red Army ^{and 10 years after civil war had begun} reached northwest China, ~~civil war was~~ ^{the Manchurian} ~~brought~~ ^{was} to an end with the capture of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in Sian, in December, 1936. He was captured by Marshall Chang Hsueh-liang, commander of the Manchurian Armies who had been driven out of their homelands and set to exterminating ~~the Manchurians~~ ^{by the Japs} ~~by order of the Generalissimo,~~ the Red Army. ^{refusing to fight them, wishing} Whole regiments of Manchuria soldiers went over to the Red Army, ~~These Manchurians wanted~~ to fight the Japanese ^{only.}

Thus, in 1936-37,

The national united front was formed after a decade of utterly futile ~~xxxx~~ fratricide which had benefitted ~~xxxxxxx Chinese~~ no one by the imperialist powers, the Japanese in particular. ~~Some~~ ^{Some} ~~Foreigners~~ ^{and Chinese} had earned a lot of money in the meantime, but the Japa were to take that from them in the years to come.

By the united front agreement, the Chinese Red Army changed its name to the 8th Route army, while a branch of it in the Yangtze River Valley became known as the New Fourth Army. These armies agreed to come under the general command of the National Military Council provided they received the same equipment and treatment as the nationalist armies.

~~They~~ ^{Communists offered} ~~to~~ ^{to} cease confiscating and dividing the land, to give up the class Soviet system, to stop rebellions against the Kuomintang, to teach Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles in their regions.

They refused to give up their system of political education of their troops, which they called their "life line". They urged Kuomintang armies to adopt the same system to give

study Japanese installations and find landing field for our bombers to attack Manchuria and Japan. Only after the American press began widespread criticism of the Chungking Government were our correspondents and military observers allowed to go to those regions. Some are still there. We have a military mission with the 8th Route Army and we have already bombed Japanese-occupied north China cities from ~~Manchuria~~ 8th Rt. territory

Education has become almost universal.

I would be wrong to paint a perfect picture of the Communists. For three years the Communist press ~~XXX~~ in Yen-an has conducted a campaign against sectarianism, dogmatism, and bureaucracy. In recent interviews with American correspondents and in recent speeches, Mao Tze-tune, secretary of the Communist Party, has been a vitriolic critic of all weaknesses amongst Communists. In some Army units he said, officers had acted like old militarists.

~~I have had many disagreements with orthodox Chinese Communists. Sometimes I hated them and they hated me, our conflict being based on rights of free speech and press. But I always found other Communists who sided with me. When I sometimes felt especially bitter, I would~~

I have not mentioned here that vast body of educated men and women of China who are true democrats and some of whom are organized in the Chinese Democratic Federation, an organization of democratic parties, groups, and individuals. Some liberal members of the Government are in this Federation, or operate with it.

It is this Federation, with its widespread influence, that has been struggling against the one-party Kuomintang dictatorship, and its members have had tremendous influence on our American correspondents and military men in China. Criticism in the American press has been more or less a reflection of the ^{democratic} demands, ~~of this organization.~~ In recent weeks it has demanded the formation of a coalition government of all parties and groups in the country that China might be united.

Our new Ambassador, General Hurley, has been playing a powerful and progressive role in supporting such democratic demands--and it's about time that we do something progressive in foreign affairs.

The latest dispatch from China, published yesterday, reported that General Chou En-lai, representative of the 8th Route and New 4th Armies,

has left Yen-an, Communist headquarters in the northwest, and arrived in Chungking for renewed negotiations with the Government for the purpose of ~~forming~~ creating national unity. He was met at the airdrome in Chungking by General Hurly and high Chinese officials. Before leaving Yen-an, General Chou gave an interview which was radioed to this country. He ~~enumerated~~ enumerated the specific proposals which he would make to the Kuomintang as a basis of national unity: They were:

Am. press reports a few days ago informed us that two Chinese Com. would be given posts in the Government. Permit me to warn you against such reports. The Ch. Com. are not men accepting the crumbs of office. They have been offered ~~positions~~ a few positions in the Chinese Govt. but refused. They have no desire to share in the loot of the Govt. As Gen. Chou's statement shows they ~~do~~ speak not just for their own benefit but for the ~~welfare~~ ^{pol. & econ. welfare} of the entire Chinese people. They demand democracy for all China. (over)

Achievements of C. C. P.:

Material
Economic
Intellectual
Spiritual

"Rebellion to Tyrants is obedience
to God."

opened new era in China.

Rejected for. imp. control
in China, ~~for~~ gave life
for liberty & progress of
the poor (90%) of China.
Aimed war on rich, corrupt,
& vicious.