

I - 34. Lecture Notes - Undated - Untitled - 24 pp.

It may seem trite to state that the amount of individual freedom, ~~which a people may conquer and retain~~

~~depends on the degree of its political maturity.~~

which a people may conquer and retain, depends on the degree of its political maturity.

Judged by these standards, we Americans have much to fear and much to ~~hope~~ ^{secret in the past} ~~in the future~~.
and much to fear ^{in the future}.
Though we like to think of ourselves as the most enlightened democracy, still Pearl Harbor and its aftermath, like the entire war, is the direct result of our political immaturity, or political illiteracy. For decades, it seems, we have surrendered all political power to ~~politicians~~ professional

Rankin
Fish,
Dice,
Koffman
Cotton
Smith
elect
strayal
a
curly
process

politicians until today we have many Congressmen who have no peers in the world in ignorance and prejudice. ^{To paraphrase Henry James:} For decades, it seems, our Congress

has been of ~~a~~ nature ~~to~~ to totally disprove the Darwinian theory. This is particularly true

today. When we speak of the "sneak raid" on Pearl Harbor, we ~~expose~~ ^{politically} expose our ~~ignorance~~ ignorance. We talk as if we were poor innocents in the woods, of whom the Japanese had taken undue advantage.

Starry eyed re
China's resistance

This automatically means that we ~~have~~ read little
or nothing of the Japanese invasion of China ~~before~~ ^{after}
1931, for to the present day Japan has not declared
war on China. Why did we expect them to declare war
on us before striking? *Did we read? If not, why not?*

Chinese, who have no legal individual
liberty and no political democracy, are still more
politically mature than we are. They knew that
nothing that happened in the Far East was of mere
local ~~importance~~ ^{nature,} ~~but~~ ^{that it} had international significance.
They knew that their war was not an isolated affair,
but that America and the rest of the world might be
drawn into it any time. *Taoka Memorial* ~~stated~~ ^{said} that
our policy of selling war materials to Japan to
conquer China was suicidal. ~~and~~ Some of our
business representatives angrily attacked them for
stating this, ~~saying~~ ^{believing} that they ~~were~~ were merely
trying to involve America in a war with which ~~we~~
had no concern. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ By selling war materials
to Japan, they declared, Americans were merely
trying to make a living and "people can't be
condemned for trying to make a living."

Both the Nazis and the Japanese studied
this attitude of ours, studied ~~XXXX~~ all the

weaknesses in our national life, studied our political ignorance, ^{exploited} and utilized them for themselves. Knowing that economic greed was the basis of our commercial civilization, they bought up Americans to serve as their propagandists to keep us on the skids. [¶] In the meantime, 5,000,000 Chinese soldiers and many times ~~that~~ number of civilians, paid with their lives for our policy and our ignorance.

[¶] Throughout the period leading up to Pearl Harbor, the Chinese watched the skies of the world, hoping against hope that America would change its policy. I spent some four years at the Chinese front with the Chinese armies and guerrillas. Intellectually, those were the richest years of my life. In America ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ I would never have heard such discussions and debates about the future of the world as I heard there. They discussed our so-called "Neutrality" Pact whose "cash and carry clause" aided Japan only but militated against China; they discussed the refusal of our Congress to fortify ^{Guam} ~~Guam~~ and even wondered if Japan had not bribed some of our Congressmen; they discussed the ^{Japanese} ~~Japan~~ economic mission to Java following

the action of our Government in breaking off
 trade relations with Japan, and commanders asked me
 if I did not believe that America would renew trade
relations with Japan rather than lose the Japanese
market to the Dutch; they discussed India, ^{and} the
appeasement policy of Britain and of Australia ^{to}
~~Japan~~ ^{Japan} ~~which~~ ^{which} led to the temporary closing
 of the Burma Road in middle 1940; they studied maps
 and speculated as to America's naval and air bases
in ~~the~~ Alaska and the Aleutians; they wondered why
America did not reach some agreement with Soviet
Russia because, they said, the two nations had no
^{basic} ~~basic~~ conflicts in the Pacific. They discussed
the meaning, ^{and methods} of Fascism and democracy, ~~and their~~
~~and their~~ ^{And} they discussed socialism and
Communism ~~xx~~ and the internal conflicts within China
between the Kuomintang and the Communist armies.
~~They had~~ ^{Having} read ~~the~~ Japan's blue-print of world
 conquest, ~~known~~ the Tanaka Memorial, and saw that
 Japan was following that blue-print and that ~~when~~ ^{when}
 a certain constellation of international factors
^{developed,} ~~was~~ it would attack America at any moment it
 thought advisable.

The Chinese commanders and intellectuals

at the front debated endlessly about the contradictions within the democracies. One Chinese divisional commander, with his staff, asked me these significant questions:

Do you really believe that Britain, France, Holland, and America, really wish us Chinese to win the war and emerge a strong, independent nation? Don't you think that Britain is afraid of our victory lest it inspire the people of India to emulate us; that France fears for Indo-China, and Holland for the Dutch East Indies? Do not the western powers ~~xxx~~ hope, instead, that both China and Japan will become so exhausted by this war that we can be more easily exploited in the future than in the past? How else can we explain the sale of war materials to Japan, by America and England?

After Pearl Harbor, and before the recent Cairo Conference between Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek, I heard American business men state that we ought to leave Japan in a position strong enough to offset the power of China and the Soviet Union--to prevent the spread of Communism, they said. Japan, they declared, had been our best customer in the past, and we could do business with it ^{in the future}. The Cairo Conference ended that trend of ~~propaganda~~ in our country by declaring that we would fight in Asia until Japan surrendered unconditionally, and ~~that it is~~ shorn of all militarism.

However, before the Cairo Conference, Dr.

Lin Yu-tang stated the official Chinese ^{attitude} ~~point of view~~ ^{toward the United Nations} by publishing his book "Between Tears and Laughter"

--which ~~was~~ angered some ~~of our~~ critics because it was a challenge to white-man imperialism in Asia ^{to} ~~the~~ ^{Henry Luce's so-called} ~~and the political ideas of the~~ "American Century" or ~~the~~ American's so-called "manifest destiny". Dr. Lin quoted our Yale realpolitiker, ~~xxx~~ Professor Spykman, who stated in his America's Strategy in World Politics that

"Basically, the new order will not differ from the old, and international society will continue to operate with the same power patterns. It will be a world of power politics in which the interests of the United States will continue to demand the preservation of the balance of power in Europe and Asia."

We may expect to hear more from Dr. Lin ^{after his return from China} because, at the Cairo Conference, it was decided that America should get the Pacific Islands ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ which, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ since the first world war, Japan has held, as our naval bases. ^{One is supposed, as a patriot, to keep silent about such things. I, as a patriot,} ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ After Pearl

Harbor, and until the Cairo Conference, all informed Chinese were ~~very~~ very hostile ^{toward} ~~toward~~ western powers, against the British in particular. The ease with which the Japanese blasted Pearl Harbor, then took all southeast Asia, had a fearful effect

upon China, in all respects--militarily, politically, psychologically. Britain's policy of refusing to allow Chinese troops to enter Burma until ~~XXXXXX~~ the British troops were in full retreat before the Japanese; the loss of Hongkong, ^{Singapore,} and the Burma Road; the statements of Churchill that he had not become Prime Minister to liquidate the British Empire--which means ^{among other things, that Britain} would not return Hongkong to China; the imprisonment of Indian nationalist leaders, particularly the great anti-Fascist and anti-Japanese leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, all had terrifying ^{effects} on China. ^{Pearl Harbor} Before China had thought that America was ^{a mighty military} ~~not~~ powerful; ^{and it believes we were not only literate, but} ~~it was~~ ^{educate} ~~illiterate~~ because of Pearl Harbor and its aftermath proved the contrary and seemed to feed Hitler's contempt for the democracies as "degenerate". So Chinese of all classes, witnessing this fearful spectacle, lost courage after Pearl Harbor. [¶] The effect in occupied regions of China, where the Japanese held great power, was to make very many Chinese lose hope in their ^{own} ultimate victory. Chinese puppets of Japan, such as Wang Ching-wei in Nanking, made great capitol out of ~~the~~ our

disaster, ^{and} were able to win many Chinese to them that they had never been able to win before. These puppets, with their Japanese masters, made tremendous capital out of the fact that not one people in Asia fought for the democracies save the people -- ~~and they never mention the Philippines, and even then~~ ^{of the Philippines, and even then} They did most successful propoganda with the peoples of Asia by pointing to America's policy of racial and color discrimination both inside America and in Asia. They pointed to the unequal treaties and extra-territoriality and to our Chinese Exclusion Law, as proof that colored races of Asia had ~~nothing~~ nothing to expect of white people, and that only Japan could be their liberator. ⁴ The Japanese were able to get not only Burmese to work and fight ~~for~~ them against the United Nations, but they got one of the most powerful nationalist leaders of India, Subas Chandra Bose, to become one of their king-pins in East Asia. Bose could point to his freedom of work under the Japanese in Singapore and Tailand and Burma, whereas ^{the anti-Fascist patriot} Nehru, of India, was imprisoned by the British. Even in this country I have heard many Indians declare that there is only one issue before them: to get rid

of the British; and, even at its worst, they ^{believe} ~~are~~

there is no difference between the British and the Japanese.

I believe there is a difference because of the existence, in England, of powerful anti-imperialist forces.

During all this period of time, the

Japanese utilized all these factors to make new

peace offers to China. They were the best

offers Japan had ever made, though the exact terms

of that the withdrawal from all China except Manchuria and
have never been made public. *that China entered into Co-Prosperity Sphere with Japan.* Within ~~XXXXXX~~

the Chinese Government itself were many men who

wanted to accept these peace terms, arguing that

For China could expect nothing from the democracies.
they should salvage what they could. These

elements had always admired the Nazis, always

Chinese and Soviet Russia
feared the Communists more than they feared the

Japanese. They believed that the Japanese ~~XXXXXX~~

believed in private property and would leave them

in possession of their property, whereas the

Chinese Communists would not. ~~Some~~ such men

rose to great power within the Chinese Government

after Pearl Harbor. They are responsible for

the many military conflicts between the Communist

and Kuomintang armies, for they have ~~XXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXX~~ adopted, within China, many of the

practices of the Nazis, such as the secret police

of the Gestapo, concentration camps, the

persecution of all democratic and revolutionary elements, and the purging of the schools of all books and magazines imbued with what they called "dangerous thoughts".

I myself have heard important Chinese ^{politicians} ~~xxxxxxx~~ express tremendous admiration for the power of German arms, even when Germany rolled over the Low Countries and occupied Paris. We cannot view China as united, but as a nation in conflict, ~~in the midst of the world-wide revolution.~~

As a part of ~~the~~ world-wide revolution *taking place before our eyes.* After Pearl Harbor, the forces which believed in America's recuperative power, held the fort as best they could in China. I am not pretending that they did this because ^{they} ~~any~~ believed in the principles of democracy. ^{Not at all.} But America is the source of money and weapons, whereas Japan and Germany could not and would never arm China or give it loans to reconstruct its destroyed territory. Japan offered China nothing except a position similar to that of India under the British. And China knew what ~~that~~ was. So Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek made a number of powerful speeches after

Pearl Harbor, which sound as if he were whistling
in the dark. He made great capitol out of
 our defeat of the Japanese in the battles of
Midway and the Coral Seas. Simultaneously he
 challenged white-man ~~imperialism~~ imperialism in
 Asia and stated that though China harbors no
 imperialish designs on Asiatic territory, it
 "does have responsibilities toward the submerged
peoples of Asia." *Political literacy.*

We have ^{since} taken a number of important
 steps to retrieve ~~what~~ ^{prestige} lost in China. We
 made new treaties of equality with China,
 abolished extra-territoriality, and abolished
 our Chinese Exclusion Law, all of which have
 deprived the Japanese of propaganda instruments.
 We have trained and equipped Chinese troops in
India and others in southern China; have ferried
military supplies into China from India until
 latest reports state that they are greater than
~~supplies~~ ^{supplies} formerly carried over the Burma
Road. Our air force in China has done great
 good in cooperating with Chinese troops in
 battle, and our Office of War Information has
 done great good in an educational way.

~~However~~ Our growing military and naval and air power in the Pacific, and our plans for the reconquest of Burma make a good impression on China. Above all, the participation of China in the Moscow and Cairo Conferences have given China prestige on ~~an international~~ ^a scale ~~which is never~~ ^{enjoyed} before. This latter is of the greatest importance, for the Chinese fight not ~~merely~~ for bread alone, but for a position of equality in the community of nations. And ideas, ~~to~~ ^{and} them, ~~are~~ ^{are} have been since the war began, weapons ~~XXXXXXXX~~ more powerful than guns. ~~China is ahead~~

Internationally, China's position is stronger today than ~~at~~ ever ~~was~~ before. Internally, its economic and political life ~~is~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ lowest ebb. One year ago the Chinese government issued a program for price-control, but so far has done less than nothing. Americans who go to China without an understanding of conditions, return deeply disillusioned because of ~~the~~ ~~war~~ ~~profiteering~~, hoarding of essential food, inflation, and ~~because of~~ internal conflicts

between the Kuomintang and Communists which have all but paralyzed the nation. Regarding inflation and its effect, I can only refer you to an article by Eric Sevareid in the Jan. 3rd issue of The New Republic. From other correspondents just returned from China, I learn that hoarders of foreign goods have now thrown these goods on the market at astronomical prices, and only hope that the new Burma Road will not be completed until they have made their fortunes. Rice, which once cost from \$6 to \$10 a cwt., now costs \$1,500 and in some provinces the prices have multiplied by 25,000%, resulting in disastrous famines.

In the past year our press has begun to publish reports about the Communist-Kuomintang conflict. This is not a new problem. It is, instead, a problem that goes back to 1927, when the national revolutionary armies split and a campaign of terror begun against what was called Communism; though ~~not~~ everyone who spoke of trade unions or of democracy were called Communists. For ten years after 1927, the ever-growing Chinese Red Army, represent^W another great peasant

revolution, fought off five great military campaigns of the Chinese nationalist armies which in turn were directed and trained by German military officers who since have joined Hitler. ~~The~~ chief of these military officers, General von Falkenhausen, is today military-governor of Belgium.

For ten years ~~xxxx~~ before the Japanese invasion of China ^{proper} began in 1937, the western press referred to the Chinese Red Army as "red banditry". Yet had that movement been banditry, it could have been easily crushed by military power and even by the common people. ^{It was not banditry.} It was a part of the gigantic social revolution going on within China. It never did attempt the introduction of ~~xxxx~~ Communism into China, even though it was led by Chinese Communists. It fought under two banners: anti-imperialism, and the agrarian revolution. It demanded then, and today, the introduction of democracy into China, with civil rights ~~xxxx~~ and universal suffrage ~~rights~~ for the common people. It fought against foreign imperialist domination ~~of China~~ and ~~the~~ ^{decaying} landlord economy.

The old Chinese Red Army gave up its

name and became known as the Eighth Route Army, after the Japanese invasion of China began in 1937. Entering into an agreement ^{with the South,} for the national united front, it also placed itself under the supreme command of the National Defence Council of the Chinese Government. It gave up its policy of confiscating land and dividing it among the peasants, but demanded in return that the Chinese Government fight the Japanese and introduce democratic institutions in the country to give the common people a goal worth fighting for. ~~One thing~~ That Army refused ~~to do~~ at that time, and since, ~~to~~ to surrender the military or political control of its Army to the Government. It called its political educational system within its Army its "life line", for this system educated the troops in general subjects and in political knowledge.

9. Our Colonel Evans F. Carlson ^(Marine Corps) spent some time with the Eighth Route Army after the war began, studied its guerrilla tactics and its system of political training, and later utilized them to great advantage against the Japanese in the ^{South} Pacific. Col. Carlson always gives credit to the Eighth Route Army, and says that men fight best if they

know what they are fighting for and if they have a goal which they believe is worth dying for.

In fact, we may say that this war has no meaning unless our own troops learn this; and without such knowledge, this war of ours is merely another war like previous ones.

But it is just this political training which accounts for the conflict between the Kuomintang and *what shall we think?* Communist armies of China today. The Eighth Route Army (now generally known as the 18th Group Army), today numbers 500,000 armed men, and controls a territory in north and northwest China in which tens of millions of people exist. Within this *liberated* ~~territory, once occupied by the Japanese but today~~ ~~liberated, the 18th Group Army has introduced~~ ~~democracy.~~ That may sound strange in view of the ~~Government contention that China is not yet prepared~~ ~~for democracy.~~

~~xxxxxxx~~ The Chinese Government accused the Communists of introducing Soviets into the *liberated* territory which it commands. Since I spent considerable time with this 18th Group Army and its branch, the New Fourth, this is what I saw in the regions which they control:

In 1937, ~~that~~ a few months after the Japanese invasion of China proper began, the 18th Group Army, obeying Government orders, moved to the rear of the Japanese Army of occupation and began to put into effect its famous methods of guerrilla warfare which had given it birth and enabled it to exist against superior armed forces. ~~These methods~~ This Army now applied ~~to the national army~~ ^{these methods to the Japanese enemy.} The Japanese Army had by then occupied almost all of ~~most~~ China north of the Yellow River. They had driven out the regular armies; and landlords and officials who did not wish to fall into the hands of the Japanese or become Japanese puppets, evacuated with the regular Chinese armies. ^H The Japanese garrisoned the conquered territory and formed puppet government, and organized police forces and militia and conscripted peasants to become puppet troops. ^{Communist-led} The 18th Group Army marched in, liberated great regions, destroyed puppet governments and armies. Its political workers then formed Anti-Japanese organizations of peasants, workers, merchants, women, youth, and children, and trained them to the last person for some phase of anti-Japanese work in the war of resistance. It ^{founded}

of men preferred death to surrender to the Kuomintang
army. Nor could they understand how that Army
could grow from nothing until it is today 500,000
armed men.

great Training Camps in safe mountain retreats and drew into them thousands of men and women to be trained either as commanders in the field, as political educators in the Army, or as organizers and leaders of the civilian population.

Next, to take the place of officials who had fled, it waged great educational campaigns ^{in liberated territory} in democratic ideas and methods, after which it gave suffrage rights to all men and women over 18 years of age. It held democratic elections ^{to} ~~for the election~~ new officials to take the place of the old. Many previous Kuomintang officials or members who had ^{from the territory} not fled ran for election and some were ^{of them returned to Nanchang} ~~elected~~. Other new officials were local civilians of all classes--students, teachers, professional men, artisans, and educated women. Men and women ran for office on records of honest public service and of unwavering resistance to the enemy.

After these elections, the ruling party, the Kuomintang, then located in the capital at Chungking, branded these new elected bodies as Soviets. It demanded the right to send back

its own officials, appointed in Chungking. It also demanded the right to send in regular armies again--and in fact it did send in ~~troops~~^{troops}, all of them with the duty of doing what was called "prevent Communism". But since these armies knew nothing about guerrilla warfare, and did not work intimately with the common people, the Japanese attacked them and either destroyed or drove them out. The Government

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

charged that~~xxxx~~ the Communist armies also attacked the national armies, but foreign correspondents on the spot--and I was one of them--saw that quite the opposite was the case. These regular armies came in to destroy the power of the Communist armies. ^{Also People's organizations.} The nearest parallel to all ~~such~~^{such developments} is the Yugoslav partisans led by General Tito, of whom you now often read. The regular armies ^{of China} may be and must be considered much as the Yugoslav Chetniks, hating the enemy in some cases, but hating the guerrillas ^{guerrillas} more, because they represent a people's Army and have turned the war into a people's war.

I believe that the basis of these conflicts ^{must be sought in the fear of the Chinese ruling class} is the terror of ~~the~~^{the} entrenched landlordism ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the rise of the common people. Landlords see

that the entire common people ^{in liberated areas} have been organized and trained and armed by the Communists. They see that the people have been granted full rights of citizenship--and that they have guns in their hands to fight not only the Japanese, but to defend their new-born rights as ^{citizens} ~~men~~. Will such peasants lay down their guns and tamely return to their old positions of semi-serfdom under a landlord economy. I do not believe they will. And it is this ^{social revolutionary issue} which lies behind all the Communist-Kuomintang conflict in China today.

As these issues developed, the Chinese Government instituted a blockade of the 18th Group Army in the northwest to try and starve it into submission. That blockade has now existed for three years. It is maintained by the most powerful, ~~and~~ best-fed and best-equipped troops of China, under a General Hu Chung-nan, known in China as a "Blue Shirt" or ~~the~~ Fascist. This blockade around the rear and southern flank of the 18th Group Army has prevented any supplies of any kind, even medical supplies, from reaching the 18th Group Army. 500,000 soldiers in that nationalist armies are occupied in maintaining this blockade instead

of fighting the Japanese. At times this Army has begun to move against the 18th Group Army, though the latter has been engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Japanese. In fact, the Japanese fight under the anti-Communist banner in China, and have used eleven of their best divisions against the 18th Group Army in the past year.

To charges that they have introduced Soviets into the regions they control, the Communists reply that their elected bodies are democratic institutions made up of all classes of men, the only standard being their willingness to fight the Japanese. The Communists also point to the undeniable fact that not one of their members has ever joined the Japanese as a puppet, whereas Wang Ching-wei, ~~xxxxxxx~~ former Kuomintang leader and Premier of the Chinese Government, joined the Japanese and took with him hordes of his own clique.

Recently Generalissimo Chiang has declared that the Government will call a national assembly and draw up a constitution within one year after the war ends. He appointed two

Communists to help draw up the Constitution, but we have not yet heard if they have accepted or not. In truth, it is doubtful if they will. There will be only two of them, as against a flood of Kuomintang officials; and they will have no chance against that flood. The theory is that the Kuomintang is the majority party in China, whereas the Communists are in the minority. That is very doubtful indeed. If the Chinese people were given the right to hear all political ideas without molestation, then to secretly vote, ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ only then could we know which is the majority party and which the minority.

The Communists insist that the Government take immediate steps toward the introduction of a democratic government, and they deny the statement that the people are not ready for democracy or that the war prevents the immediate introduction of democracy. They believe that China has already ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ made mighty changes within the country, ~~xxxx~~ in the very midst of war, ^{as great as} ~~greater than~~ the introduction of political reforms. It has managed mighty retreats, reorganized and trained millions of men to fight.

The common people have shown their creative ability and their political maturity by organizing the great network of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives which have become small self-governing republics owning and managing their own economic, political, educational, and health institutions. No greater movement has ever existed revealing the democratic creative energies of the common people of China, undertaken right under the nose of the Japanese and raised to great power.

I have often here referred to political training.
 What is it? . . . Com.

Pol. Training
 etc.

From Comp. to Corps -

Subjects: Military, Pol., Cultural.

Pol: Prin. and Tactics of Nat. United Front.

Pol. Science (Marxism)

Hist of Ch. Revol.

Ch. Relations with Foreign Countries

Japanese Sino-Jap. War.

Japanese Language

Hist. of Human Progress.

Nat. Science (where teachers available)
 Hygiene, Phys., Anatomy etc.

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