

II - 66 - 40. Undated - Untitled Lecture Notes. 9 pp.

The amount of individual freedom (or of political freedom of which individual freedom is a part) which a people may conquer and retain, depends on the degree of its political maturity.

These standards--

We ~~xxx~~ have much to fear and much to regret.

"Enlightened democracy", yet--

Pearl harbor and the war result of our political immaturity, political illiteracy.

Surrendered political power to politicians of ignorance and prejudice.
Congress for decades disproves the Darwinian theory.

"Sneak raid" proof of our illiteracy.
Japan not declared war on China. Why on us?
Couldn't we read?

China no personal liberty or pol. democracy.

But more politically mature than we.
Nothing of local significance; int. significance
Knew America would be attacked. Rest of world.

Called our war material policy suicidal.

Angered business men who said "you can't blame people for wanting to earn a living."

Japanese, Nazis studied these ideas of ours, studied all national weaknesses; used against us.
Economic greed base of commercial civiliz., they hired Americans to do prop. and espionage.

5,000,000 Chinese soldiers died because our policy.
Many more times than of civilians.

Before Pearl Harbor, from 1937--
 Chinese watches skies for signs of American's change.
 I spent years at front. Bitter years but richest.
 Could never have heard such discussions in America:
 "Neutrality Pact"--cash and carry clause.
 Guam and Congress--paid by Japan?
 Jap. economic mission to Java--would America
 renew trade relations with Japan?
 India.
 Appeasement of Japan by Britain and Australia
 and closing of Burma Road.
 Alaska and Aleutian naval and air bases.
 American-Soviet agreement--why not?
 Meaning of Fascism and of democracy; methods.
 Discussed Communism and internal conflicts.
Tanaka Memorial following the blue-print.

Discussed contradictions inside democracies:

Chung Yi's questions to me.

Before Cairo--theory that Japan should be left strong
 enough to counter-balance China and Russia.
 Japan our good customer in past. Future?
 After Cairo this not said publicly--
 Unconditional surrender;
 Jap. militarists defeated and shorn of power.
 America to get Pacific Islands.

Before Cairo, Dr. Lin-yu-tang stated official position
 Challenged: white man imperialism; British
 imperialism as represented by Churchill;
 Henry Luce's "American Century"--manifest. destiny;
 Prof. Spykman's theories that postwar world
 will continue to operate with same power
 patterns.
 Am. to get Pacific Islands. Why?

Pearl Harbor had dreadful effect on China--
 militarily; politically; psychologically:

1. Britain refused Chinese troops in Burma.
2. Loss of HK, Singapore, Burma Road.
3. Churchill's big-mouthed statements.
4. Imprisonment of Nehru--anti-Fascist.
5. American weakness--had thought us
 invincible.

Chinese then believed Nazi statement ~~degeneracy~~
 re. democratic "degeneracy".

Effect of our Pacific defeats.

1. Chinese in Jap-occupied regions lost hope.
2. Wang Ching-wei etc. able to gain more support for Japs.
Made capitool out of our racial and colore prejudices.
Unequal treaties.
Extrality.
Chinese Exclusion Laws.
3. Japs got Subas Chandra Bose and gave power. Nehru and others imprisoned.
Indians in America'--attitude.
I disagree.
4. Japs utilized these to make peace offers to China.
Terms: Retain Manchuria.
China enter Co-Prosperity sphere,

Some Chinese wanted to accept these.

"Salvage what we can"

"Expect nothing from democracies."

"Danger of Communism if war continued."
(Japs believed in private property but not Communists).

Admired power of Hitler.

Powerful pro-Fascists and waverers after Pearl Harbor.

Led anti-Communist attacks.

Had Gestapo; concentration camps;
persecution of democratic elements;

fear of Ind. Coops; "dangerous thoughts"
I heard Chinese express admiration for

Hitler's power in Europe.

China not united; rent with internal conflicts.

After Pearl Harbor, elements believing in America's recuperative power held the fort. Not democrats.

But American source of loans and arms.

Japan and Germany not.

Generalissimo Chiang whistled in the dark.

Denied imperialism; responsibility to Asia.

Steps to peprieve lost prestige:

New treaties.

Extrality.

Chinese Exclusion Law revoked.

Trained and equipped Chinese troops and fliers.

Our air force (14th) work with Chinese.
 OWI in China very active.
 Growing military ,naval, air power in Pacific.
 Moscow and Cairo Conferences
 Gave China prestige--more pleasant than guns.
 Equality in family of nations.

Internationally, China stronger than ever before.

Internally, weaker.

Price-control program not carried out.
 Inflation. 25,000% since 1937.
 Profiteering. Hoarding. Squeeze.
 Internal conflicts between Com. and KMT
 over democracy and existence itself.
 New Republic, Jan. 3 re. inflation.

CP-KMT conflict.

Press reports past year. Old story.
 Since 1927.

Our press called them "Red ~~band~~ banditry".
 Bandits can't exist and fight of 5 wars.

Anti-imperialism;

Agrarian revolution--vs. landlordism.

Introd. of democratic rights--civil rights.

After 1937, Red Army gave up name and became
 8th Route.

Under National Defence Council.

Gave up Soviets; confiscation of land.

Demanded; war vs. Japan.

Democracy to give people goal in war.

Refused to surrender military & political control
 "Life line".

Carlson studied its system and used in S. Pacific

Political training and goal accounts for KMT-
 CP conflicts.

18th Gr. Army has 500,000 armed men.

Controls territory of 10's of millions.

Government charges vs. the Communists:

Don't fight; stir up people.

Attack govt. troops.

Introduced Soviets.

Order to lay down arms and come under Govt.

I spent time with 8th Rt. and this I saw:

Jap. occupation north of Yellow River. Puppets.
 Com. used guerrilla tactics; mobilized people.
 Training Camps. (Cadres prepared for Army and people)
 Educational campaigns in democracy.
 Universal suffrage. Elections of new officials.
 KMT officials ran for office.
 Civilians--teachers, students, artisans elected.
 KMT demanded to send back appointed officials.
 Sent in regular armies to "prevent Communism".
 Japs decimated them. No guerrilla fighting.

Com. say: Not Soviets; for democratic institutions.
 Like Tito's Partisans. I read as if in China.

Landlord-controlled Government see peasants organized,
 educated, in arms. Fear they will not return
 to pre-war serfdom.

Blockade of 18th Group Army.

Chiang's statement re. Constitution and Nat. Assembly.
 Chou En-lai; Tung Pei-wu.
 No Com. reply.

Com. still insist on immediate democratic steps.
 Victory impossible without.
 Demand govt. be cleaned of Fascists and Jap
 appeasers.
 Demand economic measures vs. hoarding, etc.
 Insist Chinese people ready for democracy.

Political training in Armies--Com. in particular.

(Give subjects).

When I's article

Chungking.

June 1, 1940

Today I listened to a representative of Marshall
Feng Yu-hsiang tell of the death of General
Chang Tze-chung.

On May 1st the Japanese offensive in Central Hupeh
began. On May 15th General Chang Tze-chung was
ordered by the 5th War Zone to cross the Han River
from the west to the east, and to direct operations
there in attacking the Japanese, then retreating
from Tsaoyang from which they had been driven.

He was ordered to make contact with General Tang
En-peï's 31 Group Army. General Chang Tze-chung's
33rd Group Army was already in the field, and the
59th Army, a part of the 33rd, was in Central Hupeh.
But it would be very difficult to make the contacts
and to carry out the tasks ordered. General Chang

had but 2 regiments, ~~xxxx~~ of the 74th Division
(commanded by Ni Han-chang) with him, and his
body guards. He obeyed the order of the 5th War
Zone, but doubted if he could make contact even
with his own troops. Before he crossed the Han
and took the field, he wrote a letter to General
Feng Chih-an (Feng ~~chi~~-an), vice-commander of the
33rd G.A. and commander of the 77th Army (General
Feng was the hero of Liukuochiao). In his letter he
wrote that he had received orders to cross the
river, and was obeying, but he did not know if he
could reach his own divisions. "I do not know
whether I can return safely", he wrote. "If any
misfortune happens, the responsibility for commanding
the 33rd Group Army will be shifted to your
shoulders".

He then crossed the river and attacked the
enemy retreating from Tsaoyang, and fought for a
number of days with his two regiments and body
guards. But he could not make contact with his own
army. He was successful in many fierce encounters,
but on May 18th, near Fangjiaji, not far from Ichen
and south of Tsaoyang, he met a force of from 5,000
to 6,000 of the enemy, with ~~xxxx~~ artillery and
cavalry. From 6 in the morning until 2 p.m. there
was ~~xxxx~~ severe fighting. But he was hopelessly
outnumbered. His orders to the 59th Army to
come to re-enforcements remained unanswered.

By 2.p.m. the situation was most unfavorable for General Chang. ~~The enemy~~ The enemy had received re-enforcements. In the fighting, which continued without abatement, General Chang was first wounded through the left upper arm, a gunshot wound. With him was his Fukwan and a staff officer, and they urged him to retreat, for most of his men had been killed, his chief-of-staff Li Wen-tien had retreated, and he could not be successful. General Chang refused to retreat. His wound was not so very serious, he said, and "I must fulfill my responsibility". He continued to direct the fighting with the few men left. But the enemy gradually fought nearer. Then a machine-gun bullet passed ~~with~~ through General Chang's chest. He saw the encircling enemy and he gave his final order to the Fukwan and the Staff officer to retreat with the troops left. He drew his own pistol to shoot himself so he could not be taken prisoner while wounded. But the Fukwan stopped him from shooting himself. However, General Chang was so badly wounded that he fell to the earth. To the Fukwan and Staff officer he said a few words before he died: "Leave here. I have my own way. I am happy because I have done my duty to my country." The Fukwan and Staff officer, with the troops alive, fought their way out of the rapidly encircling Japanese columns, but could not take out General Chang's body. The casualties of the 2 regiments and the bodyguard were very heavy. The Japanese advanced and captured their positions and captured General Chang's dead body.

Later, ~~the~~ Hwang Wei-kwan, commander of the 38th Division of the 59th Army, came to re-enforce General Chang and fought the Japanese on the exact scene of this fateful battle. His troops fought fiercely and when the Japanese retreated they fell upon them and recaptured General Chang Tze-chung's body. The Japanese had made a great to do about General Chang's body, saying they would take him back to his native province, Shantung, and bury him there with honors.

All the above facts were telegraphed to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek by General Feng Chih-an. General Chang Tze-chung's coffin reached Chungking the

end of May and Generalissimo Chiang went to meet the steamer with the coffin and held a brief, solemn ceremony near the river bank. A number of high military officers and political leaders took part. These included, apart from the Generalissimo, General Feng Yu-hsiang, Ho Ying-ching, Mr. Sun Fo, Yu Ya-jen, Tai Chih-tao, etc.

~~Interim~~ The body of General Chang lies in Pepei (N. Springs), about 100 li from Chungking and will later be shipped to Shantung when the war is ended.

Ichang defence.

Casualties on the Hupeh front in this enemy offensive are very heavy. The heaviest losses have been suffered by the 33 GA., Tang En-po's 31 GA, the Kwangsi Army (11 GA), Sun Lien Chung's Army. The 75th Army under Commander Chou Yen (formerly under Chang Tze-chung). The Japs captured Siangyang and Fancheng but the Chinese recaptured them on June 5th. Before the Chinese evacuated, they burned the cities. 15,000 Japs now south of Siangyang where there is heavy fighting. The enemy is trying to drive across the Han River near Shayang (Hsiayang), south of Kimsen, to attack Ichang River Defence Commission, Kuo Chen, of Ichang, was formerly General Cheng Chen's subordinate. ~~Kuo~~ General Chen has gone to Ichang to help direct the fighting. Troops from Chungking going to re-enforce the Chinese forces defending Ichang. The Chinese think the Japs cannot take Ichang until the river is high enough to allow their naval boats to go up. (Doubtful) Many Chinese troops remain in the Ta Hung Shan to engage in guerrilla warfare. Among these are troops of General Chang Tse-chung's 33 GA.

In this Jap. offensive, the Chinese Government has underestimated the strength of the Japs. 4 or 5 Jap. divisions, with hundreds of tanks and airplanes, are taking part in the offensive. The Japanese objective in this offensive is to force the Chungking Government to surrender. This explains the fierce air raids over Chungking and those predicted for the future. Persistent rumors are being spread everywhere of a surrender by Chungking. These (so far as I personally hear)

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come from a number of sources: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Minister is one of the peace faction); the Ministry of Communication (the vice-minister is one of Wang Ching-wei's men); military circles (Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, is said to be in contact with Wang Ching-wei, and he is one of the most violent anti-Communist forces in the Chinese Government, leader of the faction among military men for compromise and surrender and for war on the Communist-led armies). Other elements of this nature are General Chang Chun, secty-gen. of the Central Military Council, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose wife is a Japanese.

The Japs are taking full advantage of the European situation, trying to force the Chinese to surrender so they can have a free hand to occupy the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China, and perhaps all South Sea Islands. This means Hongkong and the foreign concessions in China.

--DIGEST OF SHANGHAI PRESS REPORTS FOR JUNE 9TH--

CHUNGKING (UP); JAPANESE LOSE 2,000 MEN IN ICHANG PUSH.

WITH JAPANESE FORCES IN SOUTHERN HUPEH (DOMEI); JAPANESE CLAIM SHASI OCCUPIED.

TOKYO (DOMEI); POSITIVE ACTION IS URGED BY TOKYO PAPER. ABANDONMENT OF POLICY OF NON-INVOLVEMENT IN EUROPEAN WAR ADVOCATED.

TOKYO (HAVAS); JAPAN TO FETE ANNIVERSARY OF CHINA WAR.

WASHINGTON (REUTERS); SECOND U.S. CRUISER ON WAY TO BRAZIL ON FRIENDLY VISIT. USS WICHITA ON WAY TO RIO DE JANEIRO.

BOSTON (UP); U.S. TO KEEP DOOR OPEN IN CHINA TO WORLD SAYS MCNUTT.

TOKYO (DOMEI); POSITIVE JAPANESE MEASURES IN EUROPEAN WAR ASKED. U.S. ANTAGONISM CHARGED BY PRESS. STEPS TO FACE POSSIBLE SPREAD OF CONFLICT TO FAR EAST DEMANDED BY LEADING TOKYO PAPERS.

SHANGHAI; FORCE OF 100,000 MEN DECLARED MASSED NEAR ICHANG. CHINESE TROOPS PUSHING SOUTHWARD FROM SIANGYANG TO ICHANG PREPARING FOR MAJOR ATTACK AGAINST JAPANESE TROOPS.