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THE WORLD

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Stilwell Scapegoat for Chiang's Defeats'

What's behind Gen. Stilwell's removal from his post in China? We have asked Agnes Smedley, one of the foremost observers of the scene, to tell us what she knows of Stilwell and his relations with Chiang Kai-shek, and our Washington Bureau to round up the

rumors, speculations and opinions current in Washington. Miss Smedley, who has spent 12 years in China, has written four books on the revolutionary movement there, among them the best-selling *Battle Hymn of China*. She has won the respect and confidence of many important American military men operating in the Pacific war theater.

Writer Gives Background of General's Removal from China Post

By AGNES SMEDLEY

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The removal of Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell from the command of the Allied Armies in the China-Burma Theater at the demand of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek can be judged only against the background of the whole military-political situation in China, which includes the official Chinese charge of finding a scapegoat for the defeats.

In this instance the scapegoat is a man who cannot be shot as the officers are shot.

These official propagandists in the U. S. A. charge Stilwell was removed because he is an

old China hand" who has contempt for Chinese, because he is responsible for America's failure to supply China with sufficient military supplies to defeat the Japanese; and because he demanded supreme command of all Chinese armies.

Influenced Chinese democrats in the U. S. A. are undiplomatic enough to brand such propaganda as "damned lies." Gen. Stilwell, they declare, is not personally ambitious and had been doing an honest, heart-breaking job. He has endeared himself to the Chinese people and also to the soldiers under his command.

He and his officers have organized, trained and equipped the modern Chinese armies who have fought as equals with the Americans, and he has defended China by opposing the British policy of subordinating military necessity to imperialist aims in Asia.

Neither Stilwell declare Chinese democrats, nor any other individual can be held responsible of the failure of America to supply China with sufficient war materials.

Unpleasant Truths

While Stilwell has issued no public statement about his conflicts with Chiang, this writer is convinced he must have told the Generalissimo some unpleasant truths about the military-political situation which has resulted in Japanese victories, and the Generalissimo didn't like it. Chiang is not accustomed to having anyone disagree with him and Stilwell is a blunt-speaking, military man unversed in flattery.

A whole series of military and other events over a period of years has certainly contributed to Stilwell's unpopularity with Chiang. For example, a small incident when Wendell Willkie visited China is typical.

Willkie was asked to name people he would like to attend the high official reception in his honor. Among others he included Gen. Chou-Eu-lai, liaison officer of Communist - commanded 18th Group and New Fourth armies. Chou had been totally boycotted and isolated in Chungking for some time.

He and his wife appeared at the reception only to meet hostile stares from all except Stilwell who with one man in Willkie's party spend an undiplomatic but profitable hour with Chou over the tea table.

Our press repeatedly reported that in July of last year "foreign intervention" prevented civil war from developing in China. Stilwell, whose job was to fight the Japanese, most certainly had something to do with the cessation of fighting between Kuomintang and Communist troops instigated by the powerful nationalist Army under Gen. Ho Tung-nan, at the time.

Refusal

I am informed also that about one year ago Stilwell conferred with Chiang on the Kuomintang-Communist problem, and asked the right to send American military observers to the guerrilla armies to study their strength and activities, and also the Japanese strength and installations. That Generalissimo refused the request.

Only after the passage of many months were foreign press correspondents permitted to proceed to those areas. Since then the Chinese people have given our press correspondents credit for preventing civil war while the correspondents have been giving Stilwell the credit.

In recent weeks, however, Chiang seems to have regretted his leniency, because the results have been unfavorable to the Kuomintang. After a short period of relaxed news censorship and free public criticism, the government introduced censorship more rigid than ever before and the Generalissimo ordered the Kuomintang to prohibit any foreign correspondent to visit Communist area after Oct. 15. Since then a high official charged that Communist troops have twice attacked Nationalist armies—which may be a prelude to renewed attacks on the guerrillas. In the wake of such events comes the removal of Gen. Stilwell.



Agnes Smedley

tility of the Generalissimo, not to mention War Minister Gen. Ho Ying-ching and reactionary politicians who control the government with the permission of the Generalissimo. Consequently, when Vice-President Wallace recently visited Chungking, Chiang reportedly asked him to have President Roosevelt remove Stilwell. Roosevelt made Stilwell a four-star general instead.

For a long time the Generalissimo has given up the sanctimonious pretense of democracy and since Mme. Chiang left China, reactionaries have become totally powerful at his court. He like they, are not only anti-foreign but anti-British in particular—which is understandable. Churchill's recent stupid speech about lavish American aid to China linked American with British policy in China and served no purpose except to unleash an ever-latent wave of anti-British and anti-American propaganda. This wave, amongst other things, washed Stilwell from the command which he so ably held until now.

By removing Stilwell, Chiang is trying to fool the Chinese people by pretending China's recent defeats are due in no respect to his policy and his government but only to Gen. Stilwell and the U. S. A. For years the ruling Kuomintang regime has been under fire from Chinese democratic forces and now hopes to divert attention from his own corruption and reaction to foreigners such as the late, unmourning Empress Dowager succeeded in doing during the Boxer uprising in 1900.

The Kuomintang certainly hopes that the anti-foreign wave will avert the democratic reforms for which people are clamoring.

In this connection, for weeks past the Chungking radio has been conducting propaganda about the organization of a "rescued army" of 100,000 men composed entirely of members of the Kuomintang, and an official youth camp which would absorb the Black Legion

Guards. It is doubtful, however, if such an army could really fight the Japanese. If it attacks the Communists it will only plunge the country into civil war and eventually be licked to a frazzle.

However, this writer discounts the American fears that the removal of Stilwell may be a prelude to China's peace with the Japanese because the Kuomintang knows Japan will eventually be defeated.

The Chungking government may hail Stilwell's removal as a victory

but the Japanese will benefit most by making great propaganda to the effect that America sent a decadent general to China who could only lead China's armies to defeat.

The removal of Stilwell may benefit the Japanese but it will not save the Kuomintang from the consequences of its own reaction and corruption.

Today is 1944 and the Chinese people have learned much since 1900, although the ruling party apparently has not.

Stilwell May Get Command Of China Coast Invasion

By CHARLES A. MICHIE

P.M. Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30.—A coveted assignment as top commander of Allied troops in invasion of the China coast may be handed Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, relieved as commander of the China-Burma

front by Chiang to attempt to

bitter over the apparent impossibility of preventing the Chinese from fighting between themselves.

Brig. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, former Secretary of War, and Donald Nelson, former W.P.B. chief, both