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Lecture

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Brief history

Hunt, 1/9 to

Sam Yeh-can

Am. 1926

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Not

1922-27

on class

1937

What are causes of Chinese internal disunity?
I bring you my own personal observations
and ideas. I am not a scholar; not a
historian, not a theoretician in any
respect. My limitations are many, for
I have not remained objective or
academic in China. I have taken part
as a belligerent in the war against the
Japanese invader. Within this framework
I have taken the part of the poor against
the rich; of the oppressed against the
oppressor. But I do believe that I
brought to China the mind of a democrat,
and that I viewed Chinese developments
from that viewpoint.
In China, no subject so loaded with bitter
passions as the question of the Kuomintang
Communist conflict. These are the two
main parties - in fact the only organized
ones.
The immediate changes are these: The Kuomintang
says: 1. There never was any United Front with
Comm. using the war to increase their
influence, manpower and territory.
2. Communists do not fight the Japanese,
but only move around, doing propaganda
work.

to gain adherents.

3. Communists fight national troops ^{instead of} the Japanese. *The Com. have few wounds.*
4. Communists are representatives of a foreign power, the USSR, and do not represent Chinese interests. *Then policy is a dictatorship of their own.*
5. By maintaining their own political ~~system~~ and administrative systems in ~~their~~ the territory which they control, and by maintaining their own political system within their armies, they prevent the unification of China.

The KMT has published a long search clashes.

The Communists reply:

This viewpoint C. P. is nothing but a military to carry out policy KMT.

2. The Kuomintang represents but a minority of the Chinese population--the property owning classes, yet it controls all power. It is a dictatorship denying a voice, and power, to the other groups ~~and~~ parties within the country; and to the common people.

one of several progressive party, now

3. The KMT opposes the introduction of democracy because this would grant political power to the people, and the people would demand a house-cleaning; and the KMT cannot stand a house-cleaning

4. The KMT, as a party representing the rich, a small minority, refuses to introduce any reforms that would ~~lighten~~ lighten the burdens on the people and place burdens on themselves. *They condemn*

5. The anti-Communist propaganda of the KMT is a part of Japanese political strategy to split China's united front on the anti-Communist issue. The KMT--the Communists say--has placed in positions of power high officials who want to ~~surrender to the Japanese~~ *Concession methods, taxation on peasants, house on the rich, ready* make peace with the Japanese on some terms

that would protect their property.

The Communists have a whole theory based upon this. They say that "Anti-Communism is preparation for surrender to the enemy". They say that both the ruling class of China, and the Japanese, recognize the Communists as the one unwavering force for national liberation. *(This is regarded as an insult by the KMT)*
~~xxxxxx~~ Their theory ~~xxxxxx~~ continues:

The Chinese Communists represent ~~the needs of~~ the peasants and workers, who are a majority of the people--over 80%. *-- a theory challenged by the KMT.* These classes have no property to be saved by surrender to the enemy.

These classes have nothing to gain except in a future, free, democratic China. Therefore, they are the one firm, iron, uncompromising force in the war of national liberation and in the building of "new democracy" which would bring them advantages. For this reason they cannot and do not surrender to the enemy--as have many of the highest KMT members, such as Wang Ching-wei and his followers.

They say that many men like Wang Ching-wei ~~xxxx~~ still remain within the Kuomintang. These men *or surrender elements,* they call "wavering peace elements" *PA* Though

they do not mention names in their one newspaper, yet they have a long list of names that fall within the category of ~~traitors~~ traitors. These include the Minister of War, General Ho Ying-ching and a number of high officials including Governors of Provinces who ~~were~~ in the past. were pro-Japanese. Their list is based on both practical ~~historical~~ ^{example} ~~facts~~, and on theory.

6. The Communists say further ^{which they define differently} that they are the real bearers of democracy. Democracy, they say, is the next stage ~~in~~ in China's development, a prelude to socialism. But they do not believe ^{in "bourgeois"} ~~that~~ democracy, ~~even today,~~ ~~should be merely political democracy~~ of the western brand; but economic, political and social democracy.

^{- words}
^{79. military, political, economic, social, etc.}
 The charges and counter-charges, theories and ideas ~~and~~, arouse murderous passions, ~~and~~ have led to bloodshed on a large scale.

One thing always seemed clear to me, in China:

There are no parliamentary institutions ~~in~~
~~China~~ in which ideas and policies of ^{the people} ~~any~~ ~~but~~
~~may be discussed.~~ ~~the ruling party, the KMT, may be heard and~~
~~the country.~~ ~~acted upon.~~ ^{alone rules} ~~the country.~~ ^{Since after 1945,} ~~At the beginning of the war,~~
 a kind of "People's Political Assembly"
 was inaugurated, but its members are appointed
 by the ^{KMT & Prov.} ~~ruling party only.~~ It has met only
 for a week at a ~~time three times~~ ^{time} since the
 war began, and it has ~~not~~ had no power whatever
 but has remained a talking institution. ^{In the last} ~~it~~ ^{has} ~~dared~~ ^{no member} ~~advocate anything~~ ^{contrary}
 contrary to Kuomintang policy.

The result is ~~that~~ this: Today, as in all
 Chinese history, ~~power~~ ^{power} men have power
 only if they have guns in their hands; and
 the number of guns determines the extent of
 their power.

For this reason, the KMT quite rightly
 accuses the Communists of using the war to
 increase their manpower and number of weapons,
 territory and influence.

The Kuomintang has done the same--exactly

the same. The basic facts are a ~~conflict~~ ^{struggle for power between the ~~Kuomintang~~ and the ~~Communists~~} ~~struggle for power between the Kuomintang and the Communists~~. The Kuomintang, holding absolute power over the country, controls the money, ~~so has more men under arms~~. Fearing the influence of the Communists, it has tried to ~~restrict their~~ ^{by every means} influence and power, has ~~not~~ given them only limited sums of money, has cut off money from them entirely for long periods of time--~~has~~ ^{has} blockaded them, and even refuses to allow medicine to pass through to their sick and wounded.

In January of the present year, there was a conflict between the New 4th Army and Govt. troops. ^{I wish to take it as an example of a conflict which} Reports in the Chinese press were only what the KMT wanted published, for it controls the press. 4,000 men of the New 4th Army were ^{ambushed} killed or wounded when ~~surrounded~~ ^{surrounded} by 80,000 national troops, and General Yeh Ting, commander of the New 4th, and some of his staff, were ~~wounded and captured~~ ^{wounded and captured}. ^{educators have been} The KMT said this was a military action against the New 4th which ^{refused} to obey orders. ^{stated that} The KMT press ~~said that at first it was because~~ the New 4th ~~rebelled~~ ^{rebelled} and attacked the

Govt. troops. But ~~when~~ ^{he} this statement had to ~~be~~
~~change~~ ^{retracted} when it became known that ~~80,000~~
 80,000 Govt. troops were used against less than
 8,000 New 4th Army troops.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek finally had
 to take responsibility for this incident, though
 orders for the attack were issued by General
 Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, ^{Gen. Pei Chung-han,} ~~whom the~~
 Communists list ^{Sen. Ho} as one of the leaders of the
 "surrender" groups in the Chinese Govt.

Behind the New 4th Incident ^{was a dozen} ~~was a~~ very
 old issue. The New 4th Army were formerly Red
 guerrillas of the old Chinese Red Army in the
 days of the civil wars between the KMT and the
 Communists. ^{from 1927-37.} When the main body of the old Red
 Army went on the long march to the northwest,
^{was driven out of Kiangsu and}
^{many units of} ~~these~~ Red guerrillas remained behind in south
 China ^{and kept the region as a base.} and continued guerrilla warfare. When the
 Japanese invasion began, ^{in 1937} the Communist Party
 proposed that ^{apart from some} ~~they~~ be organized into a guerrilla
 army to fight the Japanese along the Yangtze. ^{lower}
 General Ho Ying-ching, Minister of War, ^{was the chief} ~~opposed~~
 this. ~~He~~ ^{He} did not want any Communist influence
 in south or central China. He proposed that these

instead, 8

Red guerrillas be moved to the far northwest as a part of the 8th Route, ~~the main Red Army of the past~~. The Communists opposed this, ~~using~~ using two arguments: these men were southern men used to southern climate and southern food; their homes were in these regions and they could fight better for their homes, over regions which they knew like a book. Also, argued the Communists, there ~~was no~~ were no experienced guerrilla fighters along the Yangtze to ~~prevent~~ operate ~~in~~ in coordination with the regular armies and to prevent the enemy from consolidating ~~his~~ positions. *It was indeed a struggle* General Ho Ying-ching and his colleagues *Communist proposals* opposed ~~this~~ until after Nanking fell to the Japanese. *in Dec. 1937* In fact, until Hankow fell in ~~late~~ late 1938, the Chinese Government opposed the widespread development of guerrilla warfare, *for* that would mean drawing the common people into the war, educating and arming them. Mr. Wang Ching-wei, Premier of the Government and leader of the Kuomintang, even *called* guerrilla warfare banditry. *"Wang, like his colleagues, knew that guerrilla warfare would put guns in the hands of the peasants of the country-- and when once the peasants got guns in their hands"*

and fought for years, they would perhaps not lay them down after the war and return to their old bondage under the landlords. *Was not Chinese history a long record of poor peasant uprisings = v l r had been one?*

These ~~politicians~~ also knew ~~that~~ something else:

The only force in China that knew how to organize the common people and to lead guerrilla warfare were the Communists, who had had ten years of experience. Many of the Communist leaders ~~had been~~ *a r v* poor peasants *in the m* and the Communist armies were made up chiefly of poor peasants. In other words, behind all the ~~verbiage~~ *intrigue and* reared

the agrarian revolution.

Yet, after Nanking fell to the Japanese *in late 1937* and the Chinese main armies retreated to the west, there was absolutely no Chinese force along the lower Yangtze to prevent the consolidation of Japanese power. The same was true in the earliest weeks of the war in north China, *also,* after Peking and Tientsin fell, then Shansi Province fell to the invaders. In those early months, the ~~the Route Army~~ *Red 2nd 1st 5 8th Route,* under command of the Central Military Council by terms of the United Front, *It was* ~~was~~ permitted to go ~~at last~~ *in the m* to the enemy rear to conduct guerrilla warfare, ~~there.~~ And after Nanking fell, the Red guerrillas of south China were permitted to assemble in south Anhwei province and be reorganized

into the New 4th Army. When the Kuomintang wanted to appoint ~~their~~ ^{a Kuomintang} commander, the Communists protested that these Red guerrillas would best operate and obey commanders whom they knew. A compromise was made on General ~~Ma Xing-shing~~ Yeh Ting, who is not a Communist. ~~Ma~~ In former years he had been a Communist, but in 1927 had withdrawn from the Party and left China because he refused to take part in the civil war that began.

The New 4th Army, like the 8th Route Army, was sent ~~to the front in fact, into regions in which~~ ^{into regions from which Japan} all well-armed ~~forth-armed~~ ^{forth-armed} had been driven by the Japanese had consolidated their power. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ^{the Japanese.} ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

The lower Yangtze was the most dangerous region of China. The New 4th was assigned to fight directly along the banks of the Yangtze in a belt from 50 to 150 miles in extent ^{to the E. & west of Nanking,} which the Japanese called their "sealed zone of operations against China. The

New 4th Army was not given one new rifle, one machine gun, no medical supplies, and only a limited supply of ammunition. Because ^{years of old civil wars & the new necessity of warring a} of ~~the~~ national united front, the Communists never said anything in public ^{against discrimination against them.} But I have heard many of them

~~is that they~~ speak with ~~unremitting~~ bitterness, charging that they were sent right up against the Japanese, with nothing but the old rifles they had captured in the civil wars, ^{and} with no machine guns ^{at all;} and that the ~~Kuomintang~~ Kuomintang did this, believing that the Japanese would

~~This old example~~ ~~part of the~~ ~~conclusions by~~
the ~~theorists~~ *hard* *is objectionable*
& hurt.
Now the fact remains that the Japanese did

not wipe out the New 4th or the 8th Route Armies, though
it is true that ~~they~~ three armies wiped out many Japanese. The KMT
has nothing to say against that. But these Communists
did something which constitutes the bases of charges
against them that led to open bloody conflicts.

they not only wiped out Japanese and armed themselves with Japanese weapons but, in the process, and as a means to this end, they organized the entire common people in the regions in which they ^{recruited} ~~operated~~ into anti-Japanese organizations of various kinds. They recruited young men--and only the peasants and some workers had remained behind--as volunteers into their armies. All young men who ~~was~~ could fight were drawn into the Army as fighters and the older men of families ~~where~~ were organized--and armed where possible--as village self-defence corps and to aid the army as auxiliaries. So the very thing dreaded by the Kuomintang happened--the Communists were not wiped out; instead, they

expended their armed forces tremendously, spread
 their influence ~~over all the people in the region~~ *over vast regions, in 100 - 1000*
~~to which they were assigned to fight, and educated all~~ *democracy - 100 - 1000 - 10000*
~~the common people, as well as their troops, in their~~ *in certain regions & established strong military bases*
~~theories about the necessity of a democratic government~~ *which immediately became great education & training*
~~to take the place of the dictatorship of the Kuomintang;~~ *democracy - 100 - 1000 - 10000 - Marxism - 100 - 1000*
~~and that this democratic government would, sometime in~~ *democracy, it is socialism*
~~some future era, become ~~xxxxxxx~~ socialist society.~~

New 4th Army

"What do you mean when you speak of
 a future free ~~xxxxxxx~~ China?" *there will be no
rich & poor*

They replied: "We mean this: men who ~~xxxxxxx~~
 cultivate rice will have rice to eat instead of
 starving as we have always done half the time;
 men who make cloth will have clothing to wear
 and not go in rags; all will have work; our ~~xxxxxxx~~
 children can go to school. ~~There will be no rich~~
 and poor but all will be equal."

To you this may sound simple, ~~and just~~. In
 China, that is a battle cry much like the battle cry
 that destroyed feudalism in the French Revolution and
 introduced fraternity, equality, liberty.

Perhaps it would be nearer to the truth to
 say that this was more like the battle cries of the
 Russian Revolution--land, bread, peace.

When the ~~New 4th Army~~ 8th Route
 Army went to the front in August, 1937, it had some
 20,000 men. Today it has 500,000. When the New Fourth

~~Many~~ Perhaps, of those original 3,300, ~~there are~~ 500 ~~left~~ left alive. The others have been killed.

Volunteers

armed itself at the expense of the Japanese, got its medical supplies ~~only~~ from contribution of Chinese and foreigners. When ~~it~~ like the ~~New~~ 8th Route, ^{it} constantly asked the Government for more money to support its ^{expanding} ~~growing~~ armed force, ~~the~~ Government ^{became angry. Finally} ~~rejected~~ ^{allowed} proposals. The 8th Route was ~~given~~ money for 45,000 men ~~and the New Fourth~~ but the New Fourth was never given more than enough money ^{for} to maintain 20,000. When asked for ^{still} ~~more~~ money, the Generalissimo once told a Communist General: ^{"You will only} ~~You will only~~ increase your manpower".

The Communist replied: "But only if we mobilize and arm ~~the entire Chinese~~ ^{our} people can we defeat the Japanese."

~~and the KKP does not want this to be done and they do not want the Communists to do~~

In late 1940, the Chinese Minister of War again raised the same issue he had raised before Nanking fell: ²¹ he ordered the New Fourth Army to evacuate the Yangtze River Valley and move north of the Yellow River and join the 8th Route.

The New 4th opposed this as a political move, and a blow at national resistance. They said this ~~max~~ order was given because of many political reasons:

~~1. Because the New 4th had mobilized and~~

1. Because the New 4th had mobilized and educated and armed the common people.

2. Because wavering elements in the Chinese Government, of whom the Minister of War was one of the chief, wanted to make a disguised peace with the Japanese via the puppet government headed by the traitor, Wang Ching-wei, whose seat was in Nanking around which the New Fourth Army fought.

3. They charged that the Japanese had made peace offers to the Chinese Government by which they offered to withdraw Japanese troops from ~~max~~ Central China to the coastal cities, and puppet troops of Wang Ching-wei were

to take the place of the New 4th Army in the region which it was ordered to evacuate. The Japanese peace terms however did not provide for the evacuation of those regions of China north of the Yellow River. In those regions the ~~only~~ chief armed force was the 8th Route. In that region there had been floods and there was not enough food to feed even the troops there.

So the Communist suspicions simmered down to this: that the peace elements in the Government were planning to turn the Yangtze River valley over to the Japanese via the route of puppet troops; while they, natives on these regions, were ordered north of the Yellow River where the Japanese had strong concentration of troops and which not intend to evacuate--and where there was semi-famine. So, though the Communists, it was an old trick of the ruling class to throw the Communists against the strongest Japanese concentrations in China, in the hope that the two would destroy each other.

This argument went ~~further~~ further and was heavily supported by fact: In China's northwest, where the Communists had their strong hold at Yen-an, the best-equipped and best-fed

Army of China, commanded by the Fascist General General Hu Chung-nan, had been concentrated, not against the Japanese, but against the 8th Route. General Hu Chung-nan's 170,000 troops were totally immobilized from fighting the Japanese, but had built three lines of blockhouses and other fortifications along the borders of Communist-controlled areas in Shensi Province, and had kept creeping forward against the Communist armies so that one whole division of the 8th Route had been withdrawn from the front to protect the Communist center with its great training schools in and around Yen-an.

It was because of these political considerations that ~~the New 4th Army~~ the New 4th Army argued with the Central Government against the transfer of their troops northward from the Yangtze River. General Ho Ying-ching, Minister of war, therefore, cut off all money and ~~ammunition~~ ^{that Army} ammunition. The Communists ~~demanded~~ finally agreed to move northward, but asked for winter uniforms to face the bitter weather of the north; asked for medical supplies, money to finance their journey, and for ammunition to meet any enemy they might meet enroute--for it is a Japanese-occupied

region. They also demanded that the Government give orders to other Government troops north of the Yangtze not to attack the New 4th Army enroute. For, because of many armed conflicts in the past, the New 4th Army really believe this whole order to them was an invitation to them to commit suicide and to meet destruction. They did not regard it as an order motivated by military necessity, but as a prelude to the betrayal of China to the enemy.

This Communist viewpoint was bitterly contested and challenged by the Government in violent charges that appeared in the press. The Generalissimo violently attacked the Communists later for even insinuating that they were the only patriots, ~~whix~~ that they were the only armies that ever fought the Japanese, while in reality the brunt of the fighting had been born by the ~~Kuomintang~~ national armies. ~~The Government concentrated 80,000 men around its headquarters and one detachment of the New 4th and wiped them out in a week's fighting. But, even before this, two detachments of the New 4th had crossed the Yangtze and begun to move northward in conformity to Government orders. This third detachment, which was wiped out, was supposed to~~

~~be moving to cross the river also.~~

For over ten days the Government tried to prevent any publicity about the New 4th Army incident, then it issued a number of statements which I personally, from months in the New 4th Army region, knew to be ~~untrue~~ untrue. Some press dispatches were utterly shameless and ignorant.

Chuyung-Tanyang-
and the Nanking-Hangchow-Shanghai area.

At last the Government ~~took its stand~~ *merely held that*

~~on military orders.~~ The New 4th had refused to obey military orders. So it had to be disciplined. *In China, things are often not what they seem.*

And the New 4th was declared disbanded. *The New 4* continues to operate, over 100,000 strong, with new commanders to replace those killed or captured. *This was true, yet it was not true.* The issue is not yet settled and there have been many major battles between this army and govt. troops and puppet troops since.

After the New Fourth Army incident, the CCP, with highest commanders of the 8th Route and New 4th Armies, ~~placed 12 demands before~~ *placed 12 demands before* the Central Government, ~~of China, with 12 points.~~ *only one* I am not interested in ~~any aspect of charges~~

~~or counter-charges except to bring out certain aspects of this ultimatum, and the Government~~
~~reply to them.~~
aspect of the demands.

These concern the principle of democracy.

Apart from ~~demanding~~ certain ~~compensation~~
 military demands, such as re-instatement of the New 4th to legal position, ~~compensation for the~~
 release of captive New 4th men (General Yeh Ting), compensation to the families of men killed, and an apology, what interested me were the political demands. These were:

steps be taken towards a
 The immediate ~~introduction of democratic~~
democratic work
~~reform~~ granting other parties and groups other than the Kuomintang to a voice in affairs of the country. ~~This included not only the representation of the Communist Party, but of other parties and groups deprived of a voice in the government.~~

insisted that
 Secondly: the demands ~~were that~~ peace elements in the Central Government should be cleaned out and ~~all potential traitors removed~~
 and placed under arrest.

Thirdly, the Communist ^{demands} ~~ultimatum~~ demanded that the ~~national army of Hu Chung-nan~~ should be ordered to withdraw its blockade against the Communist regions and the 8th Route Army ^{be} ~~of the Northwest~~ and that ^{removed} ~~this Army~~ be used to fight the Japanese instead of Chinese.

^{These demands}
~~These demands~~

~~This ultimatum~~ was not published in the press, for the KMT censors the entire Chinese press. But it was brought up by Generalissimo Chiang in the meeting of the so-called People's Political Assembly of appointed delegates ^{two months} ~~in the~~ following month. Generalissimo Chiang is a great military leaders ~~of the old school of Chinese~~ ^{leader} ~~leaders~~. But he has no conception of what we mean by democracy; of the rights of citizens of a country to have a program of their own, or to make demands on their government. To him, then, these 12 points were nothing less than an atrocity. He compared them to Japan's ^{twenty years} ~~21~~ Demands on China ^{ago} ~~in 1915~~. He accused the Communists of attacking national troops in many regions, and he said the New 4th Army incident was due to

~~the disobedience~~ ~~fix~~ by that Army of a
military order.

~~In a way, he was right about the military
order; but that military order was primarily a
political maneuver.~~

Now perhaps you may think I am prejudiced
in favor of the Chinese Communists. Perhaps I am.
My own origin, as one of the American working
class, has always led me to favor the oppressed
and the poor. Yet I am not a Communist, and many
~~things in the~~ Communists irritate me very much.
~~For instance,~~ I do not like their assumption that
~~they and~~ they alone hold the keys to mankind's
future, that what they do is always right and ~~xxxx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{- at best -} the rest of us ^{are} to be pitied
~~at best,~~ because we do not follow the one true
gospel. I do not believe that the great Communist
leaders like Lenin were so narrow-minded ^{and} ~~as many~~
~~Communists,~~ and, so far as I personally am concerned
it does seem to me that ~~the~~ Marxian ^{philosophy,} ~~philosophy,~~ on a
very, very broad scale, does point the way for
a future society. However, I believe that
many, many principles of true democracy that lie

embedded in the writings and thoughts of such men as our own Thomas Jefferson, ~~and others like him~~, must be preserved, or mankind would be the poorer. So my own outlook is that of an American democrat ~~Ystyxin~~ ---pthough I have never confused democracy with capitalism. I think the two are mortal enemies and that we cannot have ~~xxx~~ real democracy under a system of private profit.

However, in China, it ~~xxxxxx~~ is my observation that the Chinese Communists represent the one and only ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ organized *Whether their future may be, today, they are a dangerous* democratic force. There are masses of Chinese ~~poor~~, who are not Communists and who are ~~democratic~~, *an army* force. But they are not organized and they are utterly powerless--because they do not have ~~arms~~ in their hands, and because there is no form of parliamentary institution ~~in China where these~~ *gubbling them* men may exercise ~~any~~ control or influence over the Government. Because of this, these ~~masses~~ *men --* of democrats, such as professional men of ~~all kinds~~ doctors, professors, editors, reporters, students, clerks--~~xxx~~ *Frankly,* are ~~pro-Communist~~. They have *no one else to defend them*. We complain that the Kuomintang brands

every democratic idea ~~in China~~ as Communist ^{cc.}
~~There is a certain distorted truth in the fact.~~
~~They do, they have destroyed or otherwise~~
~~The Kmt has partially or totally~~
 suppressed such ~~institutions~~ organizations as the
 "National Salvationists" and their great
 publishing house the ~~Nan~~ Life Publishing Companies
 and its magazines and books; the KMT has
 suppressed all youth organizations other than
 its own San Min Chu I youth Corps which it has
 organized and tries to use against leftist
 thought. It has suppressed and closed down even
 some branches of the ~~Ym~~ Y.M.C.A. and Y. W. C.A.
 because these institutions were modern,
 democratic, and wanted the mobilization and
 arming of the common people. In Kweiyang, while
 I was there last year, representatives of the KMT
 came into the assembly hall of the Y.W.C.A.
 and ordered all the women to disband at once
 because they were discussing the ^{subject: "What is} ~~one thing, #~~
 Democracy? The KMT officials stated that no
 meeting could be held to discuss anything without
 the permission of the KMT and unless that meeting
 was led and directed by the KMT. The Y.W.C.A.
 was branded as a Communist organization. Not only
 this, but the Kweiyang branch of the Women's New

Life Movement, (a Christian Moral Endeavour organization) ~~was branded by the~~ of which Madame Chiang Kai-shek is leader, was branded as a Communist organization. That New Life Movement is just a branch of the ruling bureaucracy, and in Kweiyang its head was the old-fashioned wife of the Governor. AND THE Governor of that Province is known throughout China as one of the most reactionary and one of the pro-Japanese clique. ^{an old-fashioned lady,} Yet his wife, ~~was~~ found herself branded as a Communist!

During that same period, the women of Kweiyang was supposed to ~~select~~ elect a certain number of women delegates to attend a Kuomintang conference in Chungking, the capitol. ~~and the~~ Kuomintang ^{members} talked with went through the streets and ~~said~~ coolie and other women who could not read or write, who did not know what in the devil it was all about. These KMT men asked those women if they wanted to earn ten cents that day. Of course they did. So they took their 10 cents and were given ²⁻³ names and sent to the place where the election votes were cast, ~~and voted for the women whose names they were given.~~

It sounds something like some parts of

racketeering in this country, doesn't it?

Let us take the entire problem around the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives as another instance: There is a good article on this subject in the Sept. 22nd issue of the Far Eastern Survey of the I.P.R. The CIC in China has for months been fighting for its life, ~~against destruction~~. The ruling party does not understand, or want, any ~~voluntary~~ voluntary association or organization not under its control. Because the CIC is not ~~KMT-controlled~~ *it is suspected. It is also* only that, but is an economic power, ~~is an~~ *an* institution that places economic power in the hands of millions of ~~common men~~ *the people, and so* of China, it is branded as a ~~harbinger~~ *harbinger* of Communists and ~~leftists~~ *many of whom had been imprisoned*. I have heard officials say that the CIC is a danger ~~China~~ because it makes workers masters of their own lives; and, after the war, these workers will not want to return to privately-owned factories. So we come down here to another ~~fundamental problem of internal conflict~~ *fundamental problem of internal conflict*; ~~economic foundation of internal conflict in the~~ *industrial field*: shall China be a capitalist *truly democratic one?* society, or a Socialist, ~~in the future?~~

~~It is the same problem as with the peasants~~ *when the Communists arm. Will those peasants lay*

using Red Cross trucks to transport "Communist literature". *None of which was true.*

The Chinese Gestapo, known in China as the Blue Shirts,--it was inspired by the German Nazi Brown ~~Shirts~~ and Black Shirts and it is modelled on Hitler's Gestapo and with the same sort of men--has therefore tried to put a Chinese Fascist in the place of Dr. Robert Lim, just as it has managed to place some of its Fascists in commanding positions in the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. It has now attached to our CRCMC one of its men to each mobile Red Cross Unit. This man has no other purpose than espionage and political control to prevent any kind of thought other than the KMT.

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

Or, let us take the schools. I was in Lihwang, the capitol of Anhwei Province in the enemy rear, when ~~180~~ high school ~~students~~ graduated ~~from provincial high schools~~ in the province competed in examinations to get state scholarships for higher studies in far western China--or abroad. 180 high school students passed these examinations and were then entitled to ~~free~~ scholarships for higher studies, with all expenses paid. When they were

down their arms after the war, and return to their old semi-serfdom under the landlords? Rather than run this risk, the KMT does not want China totally mobilized and totally armed--unless those men are mobilized by it, ^{and} ~~kept in ignorance, or~~ impregnated only with ideas of their own; and then put under the military command of KMT officers who want the ~~present system to be introduced~~ ^{present system to remain. Yet} ~~the present system is a backward and cruel~~ ^{China after the war.}

Or, take the CRCMC, ^{of which} I am a member, ~~and have worked with it.~~ Our Director, Dr. Robert Lim, is one of China's greatest of scientists and administrators. Without him there would never have been the great medical development (and scientific development) there has been since the war began. He is one of history's great scientific pioneers. But he is a ~~true~~ ^{type} democracy of the British ~~type~~. Also, he is a true humanitarian. He believes that sick and wounded ~~Chinese~~ soldiers must be cared for, regardless of their political opinions. Because he gave medical aid to the Communist armies, as well as to the national armies, he has been accused of ~~being a dangerous man~~ harboring Communists and using the CRCMC as a training institute for Communists, and

called up for the final answers, the leading provincial KMT authority stepped before the 180 successful candidates and told them they were expected to become members of the KMT. They asked all who objected to raise their hands. Of course, no one dared.

Just before I left Hongkong in May, I met a high health official from one of the Provinces. He ~~was~~ is a man of some 45 years, a highly-qualified doctor educated in America. The KMT had introduced, months before, a system whereby every official and every Army officer over a certain rank, was forced to go to Chungking for a 6-weeks course in political training, under the KMT. This was what the Japanese call "thought control". This doctor sat on a bench for 6 weeks, with others, and listened to KMT politicians lecture him on how he should think. He told me that 9-10 of everything was ~~against the~~ nothing but anti-Communist propaganda of a low and stupid brand. He was supposed to believe all this, as he were a boy of 15 or 16 and had no brain of his own. I asked him how other men took it. He said that, after

each day, one of his friends, a surgeon from the RCMC would grimly say to him in a low voice:

"Well, we've got just eight more days of this stuff to sit through"; or "we've got seven more days."

This doctor was disgusted and insulted.

My own impression of the Chinese is this: that they are a highly intelligent men, with creative and independent minds; even individualistic minds; and that no organization can sit them down on a bench, tell them what to think and then make them think that way.

What is the result of all this: ~~XXXXXX~~
Well, I will tell you truly. Thousands of men in China have never met a Communist. But, far away they know there is a Communist army growing in power and magnitude, and now and then that Army comes into conflict with the KMT army and its ~~xxx~~ demands for democracy get around somehow. I will tell you truly that thousands of men look to the Communists as their defenders, as their representatives. The Communists make many mistakes,

have many faults, but thousands of Chinese professional men are willing to overlook these because they seem insignificant in comparison with the reactionary internal policy and the corruption that has disfigured the name of the KMT in the past few years.

I know all kinds of Chinese, and when the Chinese trust you as a friend, they tell you all kinds of things that are never in the press. I have talked with members of the CEC of the KMT and from them learned of discussions when that body meets. In one such conference last year, one leading KMT spent an hour attacking the Communists. He said:

"The Japanese are but a skin disease that itches a little and can be easily cured. But ~~the~~ Communism is a disease of the heart. But still worse than the Communists are some of our own KMT comrades who talk of democracy. They are but the outer defence works of the Communists". ~~He~~
~~referred to the Communists~~

He referred to a number of leading KMT members, such as General Feng Yu-hsiang and General Li Chi-tsen, and Dr. Sun Fo.

~~When~~ When I left China, the problem of "Communist suppression" was the uppermost one in the minds of the KMT. General Ho Ying-ching,

Minister of War, went to Sian in the northwest and called a conference of high military commanders in that region to lay down a plan for an Anti-Communist campaign. ~~xxxxxx~~ Among others present were Generals Wei Li-hwang, chief commander of the 2nd War Zone (in which the 8th Route operates), General Hu Chung-nan, who commands the Fascist army that blockades the 8th Route; General Tang En-po, commander of the veteran nationalist army, the 31st Group Army. Generals Wei Li-hwang and General Tang En-po command the most experienced and able regular armies of China, and General Tang En-po's Army is one of the great iron armies of China. ~~xxxxxx~~ Both men are strong nationalists, untouched by Communist thought. Yet in that conference both those Generals refused to fight the Communists, but argued on national grounds that the 8th Route Army has bravely fought the Japanese and that Chinese should not fight Chinese.

In this instance, we find one of the most powerful influences against civil war in China-- Chinese military commanders in the front do not want to become tools of politicians sitting in the rear manoeuvring to safeguard their private fortunes.

I have been with some of the great national armies at the front and have known some of their commanders. No country on earth has greater or ~~more~~ more patriotic men--nor more able. Living always in the shadow of death, they think of the future for their country and people. Many of these men are members of the KMT. But they are at the front. However, I do not believe that such men can be used as pawns in a political game. I have also been with the Communist armies at the front, months on end. And I know that their commanders love their country and their people and want only their welfare.

*Since then
I have
Jap threw 120,000 men in N. China*

I am sorry that history often deals with the Kuomintang in a very harsh way. For instance, look at the Chinese traitors who have betrayed their country and formed puppet governments for the enemy invader. I wish a list could be made of them. I have studied them as far as I could, yet I have never yet found one Communist among them. But there are dozens of former KMT members among them, among them Wang Ching-wei, former leader of the KMT and premier of the

Chinese Government. They all sprang from
 the middle or higher ruling classes, and they had
 bank accounts, lands, and factories, to think of,
 and they betrayed their country in ~~order~~ an attempt
 to save them. ~~There is a great advantage in~~
 life in having nothing but your principles. ~~ix~~
~~heard~~ Recently of a California politician
 said to a friend of mine:

"My dear, you speak of principles. But there
 is no future in principles".

Most Chinese have nothing but principles to
live and ~~is~~ fight for. In fact, I may say that
 the basic problem in China is a struggle for
 principles. In fact, isn't that what the entire
 world war today is about--between Totalitarianism
 or democracy? From my viewpoint, we ought to define
 the word "democracy" more clearly so it will have
 concrete meaning for the soldiers who fight and die
 for it.

I believe that the reason the 8th Route
 and New 4th Armies have grown so phenomenally
 strong is because they fight not just for the
 national independence of their country, but for

a future principle that appeals to the millions of Chinese who own nothing, but have a world to gain.

I will give you an example of what I mean:

A New 4th Army platoon took me through a mountain range from the enemy rear, to a national Army, the 29th Group Army. Between the New 4th guerrillas and the 29th Group Army was a new guerrilla force of a few thousand men who, ~~had~~ with the 29th Group Army, had received orders from the Minister of War to liquidate that New Fourth Army detachment. The guerrilla detachment was one that had been organized by 5th War Zone authorities, and many of them had been bandits. The Japanese had used these bandits for their own purposes, and the government was trying to win them over and educate them.

(Tell how I got through their ranks; of my discussions for hours with their Commander in chief.

He said: "The New 4th is holding elections to elect lower officials."

"What's wrong with that?" I asked. "Don't you believe in democracy".

"That is Communism, and the elections are by force of arms."

I argued: "I have attended the elections. There was no force of arms. There was a great educational campaign led by educated men and women. There was no force."

"It is nothing but Communism" the man said.

"Then my own country is 100% Communist," I said. "For all our ~~elections~~ officials, not just lower ones, are elected."

"The Communists attack the people," he said.

"How and where--give me examples," I asked.

"They force rich men to give money ~~to~~ which they give to the poor to build their houses. They themselves keep part of this blackmail money."

Then I found out who the rich men were. They lived in Japanese-occupied cities, in towns called Kingshan and Fengshuiji. They were rich landlords living under Japanese protection. They worked with the Japanese and some were heads of puppet governments.

The New 4th Army had a civilian secret organization helping it, the Ten Man Group. Men of this group went to rich Chinese living in Japanese-occupied regions and serving the Japanese, and demanded that they help the guerrillas with money or take the consequences. This money helped rebuild the homes of the people burned or bombed by the Japanese.

There are many things like that in China.

I am sorry I can see nothing wrong in it. It is a fact. China is a bitter place.

This commander said the New 4th, by organizing the people to fight, was driving China into a well of despair, for the Japanese would come and destroy villages where people opposed them. That is true. If the people would lie down and let the Japanese loot their villages and rape their women, the Japanese would not destroy a village. If the people fought, the village would be destroyed. The people fought if under New 4th Army direction.

The choice is this: Do you prefer to live on your knees as a slave, or ~~xxxxx~~ die on your feet like a man? I prefer the latter. We all have that choice before us. In China, the method of the New 4th was not wrong. What was regrettable was that the people were not yet adequately armed enough to defend themselves. But if they are not taught to fight, they will never even try to get guns to fight with in self-defence but would become slaves.

With great difficulty, I was able to get through that region occupied by those guerrillas.

. They were so bitterly hated by the peasants that they were called the "little Japanese Army".

They looted the people and they took women , and almost every soldiers among them had a woman with him. When I told the commander that the people hated his troops he replied that the Government did not give him enough money to maintain his troops. But the Govt. did not give the New 4th even a cent of money in that region, yet the people worked as brothers with that Army and even many rich Chinese taxed themselves large sums of money each month and sent it over long distances to the New Fourth.

We marched through the night through that region, with a guide from that "little Japanese Army". Around 2 we came to a village , the last on the border garrisoned by that guerrilla detachment. The guide did this:

(Tell of what happened)

*"I knocked on door of
my beloved -"*