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Facing this audience, and considering the title of ~~my~~ my address, The Social Revolution in China, I am reminded of the old Chinese story which recently appeared in Life magazine. It was about an old Chinese artist who had spent a lifetime painting dragons. His house was filled with such paintings. One day, as he sat painting another dragon, he glanced at his window sill and saw a pair of huge claws gripping it; right behind the claws arose the huge head of a dragon that smiled at him in a friendly manner. Instead of welcoming a creature he had admired all his life, the painter fled screaming from the room. ~~Outside the door he tripped on the dragon's tail which had been dropped there, anticipating a friendly welcome.~~

The morale to this tale is: "Be sincere".

When tidied into books, or related from a platform in Chicago, a social revolution may sound exciting ^{and} fascinating, ~~or~~ ~~fascinating~~. But what if one came to pay a friendly visit?

It is strange that Americans, whose history is rooted in revolution, ~~often~~ cower before the words ^{"social revolution," or even "revolution."} Yet Jefferson did not cower before either the American or French revolutions. He said such fermentations were a healthy sign, an indication of common men groping for manhood. His historic words have come down to us ^{word} ~~that have~~ ~~influenced my whole life.~~ That "the masses of men are not born with saddles on their backs, and a chosen few booted and spurred to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God."

There are so many facets of the Chinese social revolution, so many manifestations of it, that the theme is endless. Let us take, for example, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's last will and testament.

The first paragraph of this will read:

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution (with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations.) My experience during these forty years has firmly convinced me that to ~~xxxxxxx~~ attain this goal, we must bring about a thorough awakening of our people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality."

^{Dr. Sun's last} ~~he~~ will then goes on to call on China to continue the revolution until it is completed; ^{without delay} to realize his three principles of national liberation, democracy, and improvement in the living of the people, and to put into effect his plans for national reconstruction.

Behind ^{Dr. Sun's} ~~words~~ ~~of~~ hover a half century of bitter and heart-breaking struggle. ^{and before} that, ~~half~~ ~~century~~ lay decades of other struggles against foreign attempts to ~~xxxxxxx~~ dismember and subject China. Neither the Taiping Rebellion in the middle of the 19th Century, nor the Boxer Uprising of 1900, ~~xxxxxxx~~ nor the many local uprisings which were ^h ~~crused~~ ^{crushed} as these two great events were ^{as anything but revolutionary.} with the help of foreign arms, ^h can be dismissed. They were integral parts of China's struggle against subjection from within or without. ^{once} I spent months writing down the life story of General Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the Chinese Red Army, which is now known as the 18th ~~Group~~ ~~Army~~. He told me tales of his childhood in far Szechuen province. ^{he related,} Wandering tailors and mat-weavers ^h used to come to the poor farm of his family and work for a week or two each year, then move on to other families. As these artisans worked, they told tales of the Taiping ^{such as have} ~~Rebellion~~ ~~tales~~ which never appear ^{ed} in history books, yet ~~now~~ which ^{now} have been ~~xxxxxxx~~ current among the common people for nearly a hundred years. According to these ~~stories~~ stories, the Taipings fought for the poor against the rich; ~~they~~ confiscated and divided the land amongst the peasants; ~~they~~ fought for principles

of human brotherhood in so far as these were conceived in those days. Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself was influenced to some extent by the Taipings, though he was much more deeply influenced by the political ideas of American and British democracy. Branded as a traitor, he lived years of his life in exile. The 1911 Revolution which he led, and the Republic which he and his followers founded, had to struggle for years against internal reaction and foreign imperialist influence.

Many people still ask why China remained ~~economically and scientifically~~ backward, whereas Japan emerged as a great power which today challenges the world. I believe this due to China's great size and its ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ natural resources, far in excess of anything the small Japanese islands had to offer to rising foreign imperialism of the time. China was like a gigantic barn filled with little mice, and the imperialist powers like a dozen eager tom-cats. The ^{British} /Opium ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ War of 1839 ended in the Treaty of Nanking of 1842 which ~~xxxxxx~~ harnessed China to the imperialist cart. From that time, down to the present year, when we abolished the old unequal treaties and made new ones, ~~with China~~, China was a semi-colonial country, with its customs, salt, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ railways and other ~~means of life~~ ^{resources} in the hands of foreigners, who ~~administered~~ ^{administered} them for their own profit and prevented the modernization of the country. The indemnities imposed upon China following the Boxer Uprising, and the many forced loans, and the support of war-lords by various foreign powers, further yoked China to the imperialist cart. Chinese industries could not develop or compete against foreign industries, and those that did grow up were little more than auxiliaries of foreign banks, ~~and industries~~. Statistics compiled by Chinese research scholars in the past two decades have shown that 75% of the ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ manufactured products on sale even in the most remote inland villages of China, were of foreign manufacture.

It was only the jealousy of the great powers of one another that saved China from dismemberment and subjection. In 1932, a Japanese

revolutionary,
 newspaper man, a ~~xxxxxx~~ said this to me:

"The white imperialist powers wish China to remain in a semi-colonial position. Japanese imperialism wishes to reduce it to the status of a full Japanese colony."

Because Chinese industrial life remained weak and dependent upon foreign money, the Chinese middle classes who might have developed and fought through to the completion of the democratic revolution, also remained weak and dependent. China's semi-colonial position, therefore, was the reason that the Chinese Republic, ~~floundered for years~~ floundered for years, ~~xxxxxx~~ and at times was all but destroyed. The foreign powers felt themselves justified, at any time, to intervene in Chinese life, often with gun-boats. The first thing that impressed me upon going to China was the eternal talk of the sanctity of ~~foreign~~ foreign lives and property, ~~xxxxxx~~. Never once did I hear foreigners speak of the sanctity of Chinese lives or property. Chinese simply didn't count. They were "natives". When I expressed horror at ~~xxxxxx~~ the poverty of the Chinese people, foreigners challenged me by saying:

"Well, they seem to like it; what are you crabbing about?"

And woe to the Chinese who showed that he didn't like it. ~~When we~~ ^{did,} we heard tales of "riots" and "anarchy" and of the danger to ~~maintain~~ peace and order. What I saw was the peace and order of a cemetery.

For decades, the ~~xxxxxx~~ modern educated classes ^{of China} drew revolutionary strength from their own history, and from the principles of the American Revolution. A few missionaries were a modernizing influence in so far as they ~~advocated~~ advocated social reform such as the ~~xxxxxx~~ equality of women, the unbinding of feet and other social evils. They did pioneer work in introducing modern medicine into China. Beyond this, I question their usefulness or desirability. ~~for most of their converts were neither Chinese nor foreigners, but~~ ~~unmanned creatures who were taught to despise their own people.~~ The

word "heathen" ~~xxxxxxx~~ on the lips of a missionary always sounded like a curse to me. I was often intrigued ~~by~~ to see the huge images of demons which guarded the entrances of some Chinese Taoist temples. ~~I was intrigued~~
~~by~~ The Chinese had given them blue eyes.

In regard to China and all Asia, and perhaps to the world, ~~the~~
~~the~~ the Russian Revolution of 1917 ~~was an event that~~ opened a new era
 in world history. This revolution brought the ^{dispossessed} working class to power, to
 take the place of the owning class. It proclaimed the emancipation of
 the dispossessed and the right of subject peoples to equality and
 independence. It practiced what it preached, and one of its first acts *in China*
 was to make new equal treaties, ~~with China~~, surrender extra-territorial
 rights, and give up ~~its~~ Russian territorial concessions. ~~xxxxxxx~~
 These acts were a challenge to imperialism, and many white writers referred
 to ~~the Soviet Union~~ ^{the Soviet Union} as "the enemy within the ~~xxxx~~ gates of the white world." The old
 cry of the yellow peril was raised again, though no mention was made of
 the white disaster that had condemned a billion people of Asia to poverty
 and servitude.

The principles of the Russian Revolution percolated through
 China, ~~xxxxxxx~~ fermenting and bubbling over in countless bloody
 incidents. Dr. Sun Yat-sen sent men to Moscow to study and invited
 Russian military and political advisers to ^{Canton} ~~China~~. Thousands of Chinese
 students and workers made their way to Moscow to study the theories and
 technique of revolutionary struggle. They returned to China, some of them
 to found the infant Chinese Communist Party. It was the Chinese Communists
 who organized ~~the~~ and led the first trade unions and, later, the peasant
 leagues. From its very inception, therefore, the Chinese mass movement was
 not merely an economic movement for higher wages and shorter hours, but
 it was political. It aimed first at the liberation of China from foreign
 domination. In 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the nationalist party,
 the Kuomintang, to include the Communists. Workers and peasants became
 Kuomintang members. ^{Common} The Chinese people, ~~in other words~~, began to emerge

as a conscious, organized force. For the first time, the Kuomintang became not merely a party of the educated middle classes, weak and floundering, but a mass party of tremendous potentialities.

But Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925. Many men within the Kuomintang, ~~as well as foreign~~ ^{They asked} saw the writing on the wall. ^{Who,} ~~what~~ ^{national} principles and tactics, should lead China to liberation? There were serious breaches within ^{Kuomintang} ranks, but they were patched up temporarily. ^{From 1925-27,} ~~the~~ the new national revolutionary army, given irresistible force by the mass movement, swept all before it in south China. The trade unions and the student unions of Shanghai, arose to welcome ^{the revolutionary Army} ~~them~~ in gigantic general strikes, and the workers had found some arms. But Shanghai was the Far Eastern stronghold of imperialism, and also the center of Chinese nascent industry. Once again it seemed that the foreign powers would intervene in China ^{to crush the revolutionary upsurge.}

Chinese industrialists did not object if workers in foreign factories ~~struck work and~~ demanded higher wages, ~~and~~ shorter hours, and civil rights. But when they demanded the same from Chinese factory ~~we~~ owners that was a horse of another color. ~~If workers gained some rights in foreign factories, those in Chinese factories might claim the same.~~

The interior ^{regions of China were} ~~also~~ also in ferment, ~~Peasant~~ ^{national} Peasant Leagues had been organized in support of the/revolutionary army, and the peasants demanded that the landlords carry out reforms advocated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen: that is, that rent be reduced by 25%.

A combination of all these factors, with many more in which Chinese and foreigners alike were involved, led to the split in the Kuomintang. ~~and beginning of~~ ^{began in 1927.} The terror to purge China of Communists. And almost anyone of ~~revolutionary~~ revolutionary ideas, ~~Communist~~ ^{Communist} was branded a Communist and hunted down and killed.

I arrived in China on New Years day, 1929, when this had been going on for a year and a half. The country seethed with turmoil.

The conservative elements of the Kuomintang had founded a new Chinese Government in Nanking, which had been almost immediately recognized by the great powers--all except Russia. ^{The new Nanking} ~~Government~~ Government had ~~split~~ broken off relations with the Soviet Government and driven the Russian advisers out. Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of Dr. Sun, with many other middle-class intellectuals of leftist or democratic outlook, had ~~gone~~ fled to Europe. The new Chinese Government was trying to industrialize the country on capitalist lines. German military advisers had been called in to train and arm the ~~new~~ Kuomintang armies, ~~and~~ Americans were financial advisers, and an Englishman was adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But ^{at} ~~with~~ every step ^{approved by the foreigners} this new Chinese Government ^{was} hampered by the unequal treaties; and ~~its foreign advisers and~~ foreign influence saw to it that these treaties remained ~~in force~~ intact.

One of the first things I heard in those days was of the rising Chinese Red Army, in south China. When the terror against the ~~mass~~ ^{mass} ~~movement had~~ begun in 1927, some of the Kuomintang armies had revolted and fought, and ~~planned~~ planned to make Canton in the south the basis of a new revolutionary government. They were defeated in a series of battles, and the remnants, under General Chu Teh;--an army commander and a Communist;--had assembled in Kiangsi Province. Mao Tse-tung, a peasant leader, had led thousands of peasants and troops to join this new ^{revolutionary Army,} ~~which had~~ ^{which had} ~~and after a few years it~~ became known as the "Chinese Red Army of Workers and Peasants." It captured its arms from the Kuomintang armies sent to suppress it. ~~Five great military campaigns were waged against it.~~ ^{In all, over a period of ten years,} Peasants arose in revolt and streamed to ^{the Red Army,} ~~as~~ as did miners, factory workers and poor intellectuals. This growing army ^{captured and held} ~~great~~ great areas, ~~and~~ ~~introducing~~ introducing countless reforms: they confiscated and divided the land amongst the peasants, established networks of schools, hospitals, small industries, and many arsenals. Universal suffrage was introduced. ~~The~~ The people elected their own representatives to what they called

Soviets, which is only the Russian word for Council. The ~~main~~ two main lines of thought of this new revolutionary ^{upraise} ~~idea~~ were: anti-imperialism, and the agrarian revolution. ^{The Communists, who led it,} ~~They~~ did not introduce Communism, ^{Instead,} they believed that they were completing the Chinese democratic revolution which the middle classes, ⁿ ~~like~~ with foreign interests, ^{had been} ~~too~~ too weak to carry through.

Of course, the swamp of poverty of the Chinese people was sufficient cause, in itself, to have given birth to another peasant revolution, ^{However} ~~such as have characterized Chinese history for centuries,~~ ^{those of past centuries} this new revolution differed from ~~the~~ in its goal and ~~the~~ tactics. It envisaged, in some distant future, a new society with the means of life owned and managed by the ~~XXXXXX~~ people instead of by a ~~XXXXXX~~ small ^{owning} ~~class~~ class. Within the ranks of the Red Army, ^{still,} Political Departments were formed to educate and inform the soldiers and imbue them with a ~~XXXXXX~~ conviction that they were instruments of history, ^{destined to} bring ~~to~~ a new society to birth. The same kind of educational ^{ideas were propagated} ~~work~~ was ~~carried~~ on among the people.

I have always considered the social revolution, as represented by the Chinese Red Army and the Chinese Communist Party that led it, as the triumph of the human mind over all material difficulties. Had it been a bandit army, as its enemies charged, it would have been crushed. The people alone would have crushed it, and every man's hand would have been turned against it. As it was, only the hands of the ^{owning} ~~XXXXXX~~ classes of China, and of foreigners, ^{were} ~~was~~ turned against it. ~~Craving for news and information about this growing power, I fought many a verbal battle in the great cities of China, and became known as a Communist. Foreign Communists told each other that I was not a Communist at all, but only a Jeffersonian democrat.~~ ^{So he is.} ^{our Thomas} I often thought of Jefferson in those days, and of Hamilton who referred to our ~~the~~ common people as "that great beast, the People." And I recalled that Jefferson had been

called a "filthy democrat", an atheist, a panderer to the mob. ^{In those days}
~~felt in good company, Jefferson's company. I used to~~ urged
 Americans in China to remember our own ^{history,} ~~Revolution,~~ but they
 seemed to think that our Revolution ^{was} ~~was~~ fought by men dressed ^{up} in
 striped pants and silk hats. They spoke ^{with} horror of the violence of
 the Red Army, ^{as if violence had never been heard of before.} But who was it, after all, that started the violence?

It is to the eternal credit of the Chinese masses that they did not lie
 down and take a beating, ~~from their betters, backed and spurred to ride~~
~~them by the grant of aid.~~ Instead, they arose and fought, often with
 their bare hands, for their future as men. ^{I should think that} Every Chinese, ~~even enemies~~
~~of the Chinese Red Army,~~ should have respect for this fact, at least.
 They should be proud of their ~~common~~ ^{people} who ~~have~~ dared arise from
 ignorance and destitution ^{and struggle for a just more just} ~~to reach for the highest aim of life in this~~
~~social system.~~

But ~~the~~ Red Army was defeated in a series of battles, ^{That was} in 1934.
 The strategy that defeated them was drawn up by ~~the~~ General von Seeckt,
 one of the many German military advisers connected with the Chinese
 Government. If you want to know what kind of men ^{helped defeat} ~~defeated~~ the Chinese
 Red Army, look at this ^{last} week's copy of Life and see the picture of General
 von Seeckt. Nothing I can say can ~~ever~~ ^{a better} tell ~~the~~ tale, ~~of the mind behind~~
~~black picture.~~

After defeat, ~~more~~ 100,000 men of the Chinese Red Army
 started on their epic "Long March" across from 8,000 to 12,000 miles
 of Chinese territory. There has never been such tenacity and courage
 in history except, perhaps that of the Russian Red Army today--and ^{The Russians}
 is equipped with all the weapons of war, whereas the Chinese ~~XXXXX~~ had only
 what they could carry on their own backs. After nearly two years,
 what remained of the Red Army emerged in China's far northwestern
 provinces. More than half of their men had died of hunger and cold.
 Other Red Armies from other regions joined them in the northwest.

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The war against them began again, with all the foreign powers ~~in~~ crying "wolf", until the Sian incident in December, 1936, brought it to a close and in the months that followed the national united front was again formed to meet the one real menace of Japanese invasion.

What is this bundle of flesh and bones we call man? What is the power of the human spirit? That I glimpsed, dimly, when I met the Chinese Red Army for the first time, in 1937. They were the veterans of ~~thirty~~ ten years of civil war and of the Long March. I had expected to see dejected, desperate, half-dead men. Instead, I found young, laughing faces with gleaming eyes--and a boundless conviction that they were the advance guard of history. ~~They~~ They carried books and pamphlets with them, they published their own newspapers and posters, they sang eternally, and the first question a group of them asked me was:

"What's the latest news from Spain?"

They all knew that Hitler and his hordes had come to power, that Abyssinia had been occupied and Spain attacked by the Fascist powers. They were convinced that ~~thirteen~~ these events, with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, was the prelude to a second world war in which America and all the other powers would be drawn.

This line of thought, with its innumerable connotations and expressions, was the fruits of the Political training carried out in that Army.

In order to consolidate the national united front against Japan, the Communist armies gave up their policy of confiscating and dividing land, gave up their Soviet institutions and accepted democracy ~~as~~ as their immediate goal. They changed their name to the Eighth Route Army, and another of their branches became known as the New Fourth Army which soon began to fight along the lower reaches of the Yangtze.

The 8th Route Army, now called the 18th Group of Armies, placed itself under the supreme command of the National Defence Council of the Chinese Government, but refused to liquidate its political department or allow any but their own men to direct this department. The system of political education carried on in the army was called the Army's "life line". In other words, the Army considered that an Army was as strong as its thought.

The 8th Route Army was ordered to penetrate to the rear of the Japanese Army in north China. It did so. I went with it. It was the only army in China able to meet the powerful Japanese Army and defeat it, and liberate vast areas which up to then had fallen into Japanese hands. It was an army experienced in guerrilla warfare. For the ten years of the civil war, it had ~~perfect~~ perfected a technique of meeting an enemy ten times its strength in men and arms. To this technique it wedded its political indoctrination system of intellectual and spiritual conviction. Springing from the masses, it had also perfected a technique of mass organization, training, and education, which enabled it to mobilize, train and lead millions of the common people in north and northwest China. They formed Anti-Japanese associations of peasants, merchants, youth, women, and children, and drew every person into the war of resistance. It established great Training Camps in liberated areas, through which tens of thousands of men and women have since studied. It is a vast, all-permeating system, and its chief weakness is its lack of ~~XXXXX~~ military supplies. After the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives ~~XXXXX~~ began to be organized in 1938, in Hankow, it seized upon this technique and covered the liberated areas with industrial cooperatives to manufacture essential supplies for the Army and the people.

~~these, thus enabling people to earn a living while on a cooperative basis while manufacturing essential goods for the Army and the civilians.~~

Our press often reports on internal conflicts in China, and official Chinese charge that the Communists have again introduced Soviets within the territory they control. Since I spent many months with the Communist armies, this is what I saw:

When the Japanese occupied north China, they defeated and drove out the regular armies, ~~who still fought by positional warfare. As these armies retreated,~~ Many wealthy people, and officials, retreated with them. The Communist armies came in, ~~fought by guerrilla warfare,~~ liberated ^{occupied} territory and destroyed the puppet governments established by the Japanese. Mass organizations were formed. Educational campaigns ~~XXXXX~~ in democratic elections were ^{carried out,} ~~waged for months,~~ after which all men and women over 18 were called upon to vote for new officials to take the place of the old. A few old officials had indeed remained behind, and some of them also ran for ~~the~~ re-election. Other candidates were put up by the mass organizations. Some of the old officials, and many new ones were elected, among them a number of women. The ^{new officials} ~~new officials~~ had records of public service, incorruptibility, and unwavering courage in the war. The Government disapproved of these ~~elections and~~ ~~these~~ elected bodies, ^{and call them} ~~called~~ Soviets, ^{and demand} ~~but to~~ ~~prevent Communist domination of such elected bodies,~~ the Communists ~~made a ruling that not more than one third of any elected body could consist of Communists.~~ ~~These elected bodies are one of the chief points of friction in China, because~~ The Chinese Government holds that democracy cannot be introduced into China during the war and that a Constituent Assembly and a Constitution can be realized only a year after the war comes to an end. ^{Perhaps you believe the same;} ~~because of this talk, democratic institutions have been introduced in vast areas. The Chinese Communists believe that they give the people a sense of citizenship and strengthen the war effort. You may not like the existence of such elected bodies, but then perhaps~~

^{you} also still say of giraffs: "There ain't no such animal." ~~Perhaps some~~
~~of you also do not think that Americans have the right to elect their own~~
~~officials. And perhaps they don't really elect them either, but only someone~~
~~set up for them to elect.~~

But all this aside.

After Nanking, the capitol, fell to the Japanese in late 1937, the influence of the Communists and of the democratic elements in China was very powerful in the councils of the Chinese Government. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
 Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had become convinced that the war would be
 long and bitter, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and the soldiers would have to make up in
 intellectual and spiritual conviction for what they lacked in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
 military equipment. Political Departments were formed in ~~XXXX~~ most of
 the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ regular armies and men trained to direct them. The
 system of ^{political} training in the nationalist armies ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ followed
 the Communist armies, ^{but not} ~~the content, was different.~~ In
 some backward provincial armies the political departments did not exist
 at all but were only a paper plan.

Simultaneously with this development, Generalissimo Chiang established a training center in which officers from the regular armies were taught guerrilla and mobile warfare. Some of the teachers were from the 18th Group of Armies.

The fall of Nanking led to further great developments ~~of a democratic nature, developments~~ which I ^{regard as} a part of the social revolution. Chief of these was the formation of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives. As the coastal regions fell to the enemy, people carried out what machinery they could to the far west, and when Hankow fell in ~~the~~ late 1938, the same procedure was followed. Today there are 2,000 ~~of these~~ Industrial Cooperatives, owned and managed by the men who work in them. They manufacture US\$1,550,000 worth of essential goods each month, and support about one million people, most of them refugees or

number of highly-trained medical men from the National Health Administration and the Army Medical Service, had to depend ~~almost~~ ^{overseas} ~~entirely~~ on aid from Chinese, ~~in other countries, primarily from the Dutch East Indies, and the Malay States, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the United States and Canada.~~ Only one American organization helped ~~them.~~ ^{them.} ~~the Red Cross Medical Corps of China.~~ ^{This} was the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, whose organizer was a Chinese professor of medicine. He was aided by many men of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The ~~Chinese~~ ^{Chinese} development of medical ~~care of~~ ^{care of} the sick and wounded of the armies, and for the masses of civilians, as conducted by the Chinese themselves, is one of the great ~~stories~~ ^{sagas} of this age. It is a story too long to relate here. Suffice to say that today the foundations of socialized medicine have been laid in China, with clinics caring for people without charge. There are ~~now~~ ^{now} nine great medical military training schools located near the various fronts, in which thousands of medical ~~officers and other medical personnel~~ ^{workers} from the various armies have been retrained. Out of such efforts ^{also} grew the so-called "Friends of the Wounded Society", the first civilian organization even to exist in China to act as auxiliaries in the care of the sick and wounded. The whole attitude of China ~~has~~ ^{became} changed toward the soldiers-~~a~~ ^{it was} tremendous transformation which is not yet complete by any means; but the change is a facet in ~~the~~ ^{China's} social revolution.

The leg-
~~As you see, I cannot regard a social revolution as nothing but armed uprisings, ~~and the shedding of~~ disorder, and the shedding of blood. These things may accompany a social revolution, but this is because the old order which ~~maintains~~ battens on injustice, resorts to violence to protect its ill-gotten gains. It is doubtful if the poor and dispossessed ever start violence. As a rule the poor and dispossessed and disarmed, while the old order is armed--holding power as it does. It is no light thing for unarmed poor men to resort to violence. But~~

My main work was with the Chinese armies, and my greatest interest, the revolutionary changes taking place in the minds of the soldiers. In our country, it is the civilian population that generates new progressive ideas in the midst of war. In China, the armies are one of the great seed-beds of new thought about the future. ~~They~~ I found the armies at the front much more progressive than the officials in the rear. When you stand forever under the shadow of death--and often almost certain death--men think long thoughts. What is it all for? Are you fighting for something better than you had in the past? Remember, China has no past worth returning to, ~~as~~ the history of the past century shows. If poor men are asked to fight and give their lives, as have five million Chinese soldiers, they want to know what for. Since they are an intelligent people, and since political training, at least to some extent, has brought them much new knowledge, ~~they~~ what the Chinese soldier thinks is all important. #

Most of these men know about the democratic system that prevails in the Communist Armies. News travels by other means than radio and telegraph, or even by newspapers, ~~and~~. And the Chinese people have a long revolutionary tradition. Not only the soldiers, but many of the officers from divisional commander down, are not only nationalist, but militantly democratic in outlook.

I once asked General Li Chung-jen, commander-in-chief of the Fifth War Zone, what he considered China's gains in the war. He replied:

"We have traded space for time. By surrendering space we

Handwritten notes:
 ... - \$ 5 (one) ...
 Tom Paine - reveal ...
 ... planning ...
 ... troops ...
 ... soldiers ...
 ... patriot

have gained time in which to develop guerrilla and mobile warfare and wage a war of attrition. We've reformed our administrative and educational institutions, built new industries; and though we have lost territory, still our national consciousness has increased with each step of Japanese advance."

Repeatedly commanders stated that the greatest gain in the war for China was the development of national consciousness. Before the war, millions of people living in small interior villages, hardly knew what China was, let alone Japan or other parts of the world. ~~Mixix~~ Tens of millions ^{of uprooted people} ~~have been uprooted~~ by Japanese deprivations, so that ~~the word Japanese has all but ceased to exist in the war zone; and Japanese are merely referred to as "devils."~~ These uprooted millions have had to tramp the face of China, learning what their country is, ~~and what it would mean if they were conquered by Japan.~~ Soldiers drawn from these villages to fight, have moved over the entire face of the country, ~~learning its extent.~~ Wherever Political Departments in the armies did their duty, wherever "Student Armies" and "Front Service Corps" did ^{political educational} ~~their~~ duty, the soldiers learned not only about the history of their ^{own} country and of the causes of the war, but they learned about all the countries of the world, some friends of China, some enemies, ~~allied with their ally.~~ They were forced to think long thoughts about the causes leading up to the war and about what they wanted ~~for~~ in the ~~future that would give them a new life.~~ They learned patriotic songs and saw patriotic plays by the thousands, heard lectures and participated in discussions; and these new ideas they imparted to civilian everywhere in whose homes they lived--if there were any homes left. For the Chinese soldiers possess no ~~such things as~~ tents at all, but life in the homes of the people. So the armies have been a mighty force in awakening the people. ~~Lacking military weapons such as we have, they have had to make up for military weaknesses by the use of their brains to meet every~~

usage, Army Medical Services are also neutral institutions. ~~the~~

When the present war began in China, the Army Medical Service was not prepared or able to meet such a situation as this. Few or no qualified doctors or nurses were in its ranks and it was only the Chinese Red Cross units in Peiping, and later in Shanghai and Nanking, that enabled adequate care to be given to some of the Army wounded. But, reluctantly and sadly we must admit that the care of the wounded when this war began, and down to the present time in most places in China, recalls conditions of the British wounded in the Crimean War and the American wounded in the American Civil War. This ~~xxxx~~ does not mean that there is any perfidy in Chinese character; it means that China is in the same historical period as was England and America in the past.

There is a skeleton of a medical service in all the regular Chinese armies, and in some of the best organized the service is better than in others. There is one guerrilla Army along the lower Yangtze that has the best medical service of any armed force in China, of whatever nature. It does not have enough personnel or supplies, but it has some excellent qualified doctors and nurses. However, that is the only ~~guerrilla~~ guerrilla force that has a medical service. Other local guerrilla ~~detachments~~ detachments and self-defence corps have none at all. This is understandable when we consider that the guerrilla detachments and self-defence corps sprang from the civilian population in the regions where I have been. In peace times, the civilians had little or no medical care; in wartime, ~~xxxx~~ none at all.

begin ~~However,~~ ^{all} the general condition of ^{of China} the wounded is terrible. In most ~~of them~~ ^{hospitals} there are no beds; the wounded lie in mud peasant huts on packed earth floor, often with straw under them banked in by mud bricks. In most there are no covers for the sick and wounded. I found wounded and seriously sick men lying uncovered in every regions where I have been.

There are no hospital garments in use at all. No qualified doctors or nurses, and no conception at all of what a nursing system is. There are no splints at all, the wounded being carried on stretchers or ~~xxxxxx~~ ox-cart caravans for two or three weeks before they reach a field or base hospital--and even in them I found no splints. Arm and leg fractures are merely bandaged, and during the transport to the rear, many of them die from pain or from internal bleeding. I found three or four ~~thermometers~~ thermometers in my journey, and sometimes a group of thirty dressers would have four or five pairs of forceps among them--and did not know how or understand the reason for their use. There was sometimes some medical supplies, but inadequate, and generally none of the most essential; and, except on the Central Hupeh front, no pain-killing drugs, and even then only with two of the regular ~~armies~~ armies. And these were few indeed. Sometimes there was only the local, non-absorbent cotton, little gauze, and when there was gauze it was cut up into small one-or-two-inch squares, which were put on even big wounds. The cotton and gauze were not sterilized--the medical personnel do not know the meaning or need of sterilization, and even if they did, still they have no means of sterilization. So even light wounds soon become serious wounds from infection, resulting in a heavy loss of life. Infectious diseases were not separated from non-infectious, but lay side by side, under the same bits of thin cotton gray blankets--if there were any--side by side with the wounded.

While on the North Hupeh front with one of the national armies in the winter offensive, we had 2,600 wounded over a period of three weeks. I followed the wounded, going from dressing station to dressing station, from the battlefield to the first field hospital two weeks in the rear. Of the 2,600 wounded, 1,000 had reached the rear. The others had died enroute. Along that route I saw long lines of ox-carts jolting along, carrying gray-faced wounded. The last wagons were filled

with the dead.

In the entire region where I have been I found no medical journals, no medical reference or text-books, except in the one guerrilla army along the lower Yangtze which I have mentioned. I found that, apart from that army, there was no medical workers qualified to diagnose sick cases. ~~They~~^{They} could recognize simple malaria, tuberculosis, ~~and~~ dysentery or, perhaps pneumonia. They could recognize scabies, of course, but classed this skin disease as a blood disease that could be treated with salvarsan.

The hospitals I have seen are terrible places. On the earthen floor, in dark, insanitary huts, lie long rows of sick and wounded men, like sardines in a ~~can~~^{tin}. The place is filled with the moaning of men who cannot control their suffering. Haggard men stagger up now and then to make their way to a big urinal bucket, and no one helps them even reach it. In other dark little rooms I found men, long since dead, lying side by side with the living. Repeatedly I bent over living men who ~~was~~ whispered up ~~to~~^{hoarsely} to me: "Help me! Help me!" My heart turned to ice and my blood seemed to congeal. I am not a doctor ~~and~~ or nurse and I could not help these men. I shall carry their faces with me to my grave.

They help each other.

~~Sometimes I could help wounded men--until my own first-aid supplies ran out.~~ The wounded are ~~then~~ grateful, as are children, for every little thing done for them. They have never had anything from life, and they expect little now. Their gratitude, their kindness, touched every string in my heart. I ~~found~~ found wounded men who expected death only in this war. Once I found a 19-year-old peasant boy who was dying. He asked me if he would die and I replied: "No, you are a brave, young, strong lad, and heroic." He answered: "You say that because you think I am afraid to die. But when I entered this Army I knew I would be killed. I am not afraid because I have fought for my country."

At another time I saw a machine-gunner brought in with a wound in the head. To me he said: "It is such a little thing--it is for my country."

the Army's monthly magazine, Resistance, and was an analysis of the state of learning, of knowledge, among the troops. It was a critical yet optimistic report. One paragraph read:

Men who have spent years in this Army will have listened to thousands of reports, attended thousands of conferences, read hundreds of books, and taken part in tens of hundreds of battles. If, after that, he has not yet learned to drive forward to create a new world, there is something wrong with him, not with the system of training.

Commander Chen called upon the soldiers to preserve and emulate what he called "China's ancient spirit of learning". He quoted maxims which are like termites in the Chinese language, indicating the methods by which poor men must study under difficulties. Some of these maxims were:

Tie your head to a pillar by your belt to prevent falling asleep while you study.
Put a pin in the back of your jacket.
Cut a hole in your wall and steal light from a neighbor.
Study by the reflected light of snow.

I was once with a detachment of Commander Chen's army not far from the Japanese-occupied capital of Nanking, ^{and one day} ~~once~~ watched a review of a detachment of about 1,000 men. ~~Wishing to know how many such~~ This detachment had once ^{been composed} ~~been made up~~ entirely of ~~old~~ Red Army ~~soldiers~~ ^{guerrillas} from the civil war days, ~~before the war~~. ^{Red Army} Wishing to know how many such men were left, Commander Chen asked for a raising of hands. ~~Altogether~~ ^{some} 45 hands went up. All the others had been killed in action, ~~examined~~ ^{villages} ~~and put out of action~~. The others were new volunteers from the ~~villages~~. I ^{talked with} ~~selected from this detachment~~ a number of ^{the soldiers} ~~to talk with~~ to ~~see~~ see what they ~~had learned before the war and what they~~ had learned since joining the Army. One young soldier of ~~about~~ 20 was typical. He was a poor peasant who, before he joined up, had been ~~able to read his own name and about a dozen other words~~ able to read his own name and about a dozen other words. Within the two years he had learned to read the Army's weekly newspaper, but not ^{it} ~~the~~ advanced ~~monthly~~ monthly magazine. He could write for his batallion's wall newspaper. He ^{had learned} ~~now~~ the essentials of Chinese and world geography

but ~~not~~ did not know how to use maps. The detachment had no maps. He didn't know the world was round, and smiled at me and asked:

"What of it?"

It didn't seem to matter if the earth were flat.

This boy had fought in twenty large battles and in innumerable smaller skirmishes, had been wounded twice and had had malaria once. He didn't know what caused malaria but thought Florence Nightingale or Pasteur had something to do with it. He had heard about these two *great* foreigners because the Army celebrated Florence Nightingale's anniversary once a year as a means of scientific education generally. The doctors and nurses had composed a song for the occasion which ran:

Preserve the spirit of Nightingale
And the achievements of Louis Pasteur.

This soldier knew nothing of the laws of science, ^{my knife} ~~but explained~~ ^{that he} ~~that he had been in the Army for two years only,~~ and had not yet had a change to study in the big Training Camp of the Army where natural science was one of the subjects taught. A man couldn't learn everything within two years, he explained.

But when it came to political knowledge, the lad ^{had learned} ~~was~~ a lot. He knew which were the Fascist countries, ~~enemies~~ and what made them Fascist. Fascist countries he explained, had theories of racial superiority, ~~they therefore~~ ^{and} advocated war and the conquest of weaker and smaller countries. In ~~these~~ ^{Fascist} countries, he explained, great landlords and industrialists owned the means of life upon which the people depended. Such nations were enemies of China, ~~he said~~. Discussing the Soviet Union, he said ~~it~~ ^{it} was the only socialist country. ~~The people owned~~ There were no landlords and great industrialists who owned the means of life, he said, but these were owned and managed by the people; so the Soviet Union believed in peace and in the freedom and equality of all races. This was quite proper, the lad declared.

Somewhat anxiously, I asked ^{him} ~~the young soldier~~ about the

democracies. He named them ~~by name~~ and said they were friends of China-- in a way,--though they still supplied Japan with war materials. Great landlords and industrailists also existed in those countries and owned the means of life upon which the people depended, he said, and some of them believed in racial superiority. ~~xxxxxxx countries, he said, the~~

~~xxxxxxx did not believe xxxxxx things and did not want~~
~~xxxxxxx~~ I asked the ^{soldier} ~~man~~ what the difference was between the Fascist countries and the democracies, ~~and~~ He smiled as he replied:

"Not so very much; a matter of degree; you'd better look out."

I asked him to define democracy for me, but he said his study

groups had not yet got around to that. Mao Tze-tung, the general secretary and theoritician
 X of the Chinese Communist Party had published a number of ~~xxxx~~ important books, one of them entitled "The New Democracy", and this boy had not yet ~~xxxxxxx~~ studied it. It was widely read ^{everywhere} ~~and~~ ^{also} was/a text-book in the big Training Camps of the 18th Group and New Fourth Armies. This book interpreted democracy as both political and economic democracy, xx combining political democracy--the Bill of Rights, etc.--with the *essential* socialization of ~~xxxxxxx the means of life~~ land, industries, natural resources, etc.

In another guerrilla region of China, I asked a group of guerrillas resting by the wayside what they meant by saying they were fighting for a "new progressive China." They replied that, after the Japanese were driven out, there would be no rich and poor, but all would be equal. Men who grew rice would have rice to eat, men who cultivated cotton and wove cloth would have clothing to wear; there would be work for all and no one would have to beg; and all people could get an education.

This is the Chinese soldier's/^{concrete} interpretation of ~~the~~ the Four Freedoms.

As I said, ^{ideas} ~~concepts~~ are revolutionary weapons in China.
~~So decisive are they that the country, while fighting the Japanese, is~~

~~an armed camp, and it yet remains to be seen which ideas will be~~
~~the victory.~~ The Communist armies call their political thought their
 "life-line", and I think all China considers ~~the~~ political consciousness
 its life-line. The big Training Camps of the Communist Armies have put
 tens of thousands of men and women through ^{political and military training} courses lasting from six
 months to a year; sometimes longer. Some of the ~~the~~ political courses--I'm
 speaking only of political thought here--are:

Principles and Tactics of the National United Front.
 History of the Chinese Revolution.
 History of China's relations with Japan and other countries.
 The Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen.
~~and~~ The History of Human Progress.
 Hygiene, physiology and anatomy; ~~etc., etc.~~ *The Japanese Language.*
 There are a great variety of other subjects, but please note

"the History of Human Progress." Studying the note-books of ~~the~~ men and
 women ~~who studied in these Training Camps~~ I saw that this course traced
 the history of human society through stages of savagery, barbarism,
~~into~~ feudalism, and capitalism, with the finger of history pointing to
 a socialist form of society. I noticed that great emphasis was laid
 upon Darwinism, ~~as opposed to the Christian teaching of the supernatural~~
~~origin of life.~~ In ~~the~~ lectures on the History of China's relations
 with ~~Japan and other~~ foreign countries, "I noticed ~~that~~
~~of the~~ ^{about} military, political, and cultural aggression against China,"
 and under the heading of "cultural aggression", I noticed that Christian
 missionaries were ~~xxxxxx~~ put on the spot.

how let us
 The regimental training camps of the regular nationalist
 armies which I visited also taught political, as well as military subjects.
 Their basic political training was centered on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three
 people's principles--nationalism, democracy, and improvement in the
 people's livelihood. But emphasis was only on nationalism. Under orders
 from the government, democracy and improvement in the living conditions
 of the people were relegated to the future and left in the hands of the
 Government only. The Communist regions tried to realize all three

principles simultaneously, believing this the only way to strengthen and the people the country and to give the soldiers/a goal worth fighting for. At this point internal conflict arises, and is reflected in our press.

~~But~~ ^{But} Subjects taught in the nationalist divisions were :

The Three Peoples Principles.

General political knowledge about China and the world.
 History of Chinese-Japanese relations.
 War Geography; morale lectures; singing and acting; speaking.
 Composition; preparation of wall newspapers.
 Japanese espionage and propaganda tactics, and methods of combatting them;
 First-aid and anti-gas knowledge and air-raid defence.

The nationalist armies, universally, hold regimental Monday morning services, at dawn, when the national flag is raised, the national Kuomintang song sung, ~~and~~ news report given,

~~the soldiers~~, a pep, or morale lecture ^{delivered:} The last will and testament is ~~repeated~~ ^{repeated} by the Political Director, ^{who always stands with his back to the soldiers and} ~~repeated~~ in a low voice, like an incantation. Few soldiers know ^{the words of the last will} though they know its principles.

~~In all~~ ^{often} I was asked to deliver lectures to the training camps or to ^{Army} staffs or ~~the~~ Political Departments. Subjects given me were:

The international situation, particularly the coming second world war and how it would affect China.
 Reports on conditions in the rear of the enemy; guerrilla activity; ~~and~~ the people's movement; methods used by provincial authorities to blockade Japanese goods.
 Foreign attitude and aid to China.
 The Indian independence movement.
 Japanese espionage and propaganda in England and America.

Please note the first lecture: the "coming second world war and how it would affect China." This was ~~before~~ before Pearl Harbor. All Chinese ~~believed~~ believed the China war ^{was} but a prelude to a second world war; they believed that ~~China was a part of the world and that~~ nothing happening ^{in the Far East} was of local significance only, but had world-wide significance. All informed Chinese knew ~~that~~ Japan's plans for world conquest. They could not understand America's so-called neutrality pact, ^{with} its "cash ~~and~~ ^{clause} carry" ~~principles~~ which aided Japan

~~only~~ but militated against China; they thought ^{our} sale of war materials to Japan a suicidal measure induced by ~~political~~ ^{political} ~~morons~~.
~~to~~ ^{to} ~~divisional and regimental~~ The Chinese ^{divisional and regimental} commanders in the field were often of a very high type, ~~particularly divisional and regimental and lower commanders~~. Their speech was permeated with ~~advanced ideas~~, often of a democratic and socialistic ^{ideas}. Perhaps they did not know the origin of such ideas; nor did they care. They judged an idea by its effectiveness. In evenings we often gathered in regimental or divisional headquarters, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ around camp fires, or ⁱⁿ ~~men came to~~ my quarters, for hours of discussion about the future. ~~The present and the future were always discussed, for China has no stake in the past. It has no only a future.~~

One divisional commander, General Chung-yi, asked me a series of questions which other ~~similar~~ commanders repeated in other forms everywhere. Here are some of them:

"Do you believe that America, France, and Britain really wish us Chinese to win this war and ~~emerge~~ ^{emerge} a strong, independent power? Aren't they, instead, afraid of the effect of our victory upon the people of India, Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies? How else can ~~we~~ ^{we} explain the sale of war materials to Japan? Do they not hope that both China and Japan will become so exhausted by war that we can be more easily exploited in the future than in the past?"

~~How~~ ~~Commanders~~ ~~all~~ ~~asked~~ me a thousand questions. Some were: the state of various political parties in America; the difference between the Republican and Democratic Parties; the effect of the Hearst press upon American public opinion; Japanese propaganda and espionage in America and its effects; ~~why~~ if members of the American Congress has been bribed by the Japanese to prevent the fortification of ~~Guam~~ Guam; ~~they asked~~ if I thought China should adopt the capitalist system which led to wars and

Tolerant & open
(to the world)
to the world
a
past

conquest of other countries, ~~and to insecurity and hunger from~~
~~Some suspected me of being~~ a Christian, ~~and~~ Christianity ~~is~~ ^{in the Chinese mind}
~~connected with imperialism~~ ^{recently} Chinese professor, speaking before the Conference on Science, Religion
and Philosophy at Columbia University in September, challenged the
Christian concept of the universe and of the post-war world, and reminded
us that Christian nations have ~~always fought~~ ^{a long record of}
bloody wars. The fact that some Chinese leaders are Christian makes
no impression on the Chinese mind and they resent the imputation
~~that the world of a nation and people can be judged~~ ^{worthy because}
~~the religious beliefs of~~ ^{are Christians} some of its rulers,
~~that some Chinese leaders became Christian in an attempt to~~
~~neutralize~~ ~~the hostility of foreign nations to China~~

I've not been back in America long enough to get the habit
of ~~prophesying~~ ^{prophesying} --which seems to be a kind of ~~XXXXX~~ fortune-telling
to take the place of ~~thoughtful~~ study and thought. So I can't say
what the future of China will be. One clause in Dr. Sun Yat-sen's last
will has been ^{fairly well} realized: it is ^{now} "the awakening of the Chinese people."
Many men are mortally afraid of an enlightened, awakened people. In any
case, China ^{now} stands at the most decisive point in its history and, as our
Tom Paine said: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer ~~XX~~
soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink". I would
pay tribute to the dictatorial party, the Kuomintang, in-so-far as it
has firmly ~~held out in~~ ^{pursued} this war, risking the ~~fortunes and~~ ^{lives of its members,}
Though some indeed have made great fortunes out of the war, just as
~~XXXX~~ some Americans are making great fortunes out of the blood of our
soldiers. Some leading Kuomintang members, among them one of its chief
leaders, Wang Ching-wei, became a traitor and joined the Japanese--such
men were the summer soldiers and the sunshine patriots.

Since I was always fascinated by the power of ideas in China,

