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During these events, the writer was with the Chinese Red Army, having gone to it in January, 1937. ~~The~~ <sup>Some of the units</sup> Red Army/had but recently emerged from/~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> epic "Long March", during which tens of thousands of men had been killed or had died of hunger, cold and exhaustion. The survivors were still inadequately ~~xxxxxxx~~ clothed and fed, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and there was ~~xxxxxxx~~ considerable sickness, particularly respiratory infections. ~~xxxxxxx~~ Tuberculosis was widespread, particularly among the intellectuals. The Army lacked qualified doctors and medical supplies. Despite these difficulties, these veterans of a thousand battles were physically tough and--what was of greater importance--imbued with boundless enthusiasm and the conviction that China was entering upon a new era of liberation, and that they themselves were the advance guard in a revolution of the common people.

Of all the armies of China, the Red Army was, and is today, the most literate and the best informed about national and international developments. The political directors in its ranks, all educated men and women--some of the highest university attainments--and all members of the Communist Party, had the duty of educating the troops into that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ unconquerable instrument, a thinking army. The troops were not all Communists by any means, and no party qualifications were necessary to be in its ranks; yet their political educators had instructed them in Marxian principles and in the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen. They were intelligently informed about the rise of Hitler to power, the Italian conquest of ~~the~~ Abyssinia, and the meaning of ~~the~~ the German-Italian Fascist war on the elected Spanish Republic. To these soldiers, Fascism was the last desperate effort of the owning classes to destroy all ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ parliamentary democratic institutions to prevent the final victory of the common people of all countries. Knowledge of this nature had given them what John Brown, in his day, had called "an armor against affliction."

Throughout these events, the writer was with the Chinese Red Army, having gone to it in January, 1937. The Red Army had but recently ~~entered~~ entered northwest China, ~~having~~ following the epic "Long March". Tens of thousands of its men had been killed or had died of hunger, cold, and exhaustion. Most of the survivors were ~~rough~~ physically tough young men enured to great hardship. Tuberculosis was widespread, however. The Army ~~was~~

*[The following text is mirrored bleed-through from the reverse side of the page and is largely illegible. A vertical red line is present on the left side of this section.]*

From the moment civil war was brought to an end by the capture of Generalissimo Chiang in Sian, and while negotiations were secretly proceeding for the formation of the national united front, the Army began intensive ideological ~~xxxxxxx~~ and military reorganization and re-training for the national war of liberation against the Japanese. ~~xxxxxxx~~

Once civil war ended thousands of men and women students and other intellectuals, as also workers and peasants, made their way to the Red Army from every part of China, either to join its ranks as fighters or, in the case of the intellectuals, to study in either ~~xxxx~~ Kangda (Resistance University), in the non-party school, Shanpei, or in the newly-organized Lu Hsun Art Academy, all located in Communist headquarters at Yen-an, north Shensi. Soldier volunteers for the fighting units were so many that the Army could not provide uniforms for them. Thousands of students who studied in Shanpei and in the Lu Hsun Art Academy were not ~~xxxxxxx~~ turned into Communists, but were trained in revolutionary theory and in methods of mass organization and leadership, then--often against their ardent protests--sent back to their original homes to work among the people. They were to become the yeast in the body politic of China.

The Japanese saw the handwriting on the wall and struck at China proper on July 7, 1937. The war began as skirmishes, then full-fledged battles. The Red Army strained at the leash, ~~xxxxxxx~~ but only on September 10th was its name changed to the Eighth Route Army ~~xxxxxxx~~ and incorporated into the national forces. The government ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ provided it with money and ammunition, but no new uniforms and no new guns at all. Still wearing their Red Army caps with the ~~xxxx~~ red star gleaming, ~~xxxxx~~ the troops ~~xxxxxx~~ crossed the Yellow River and began moving by forced marches to get in the rear of the advancing Japanese columns which were ~~xxx~~ scattering the regular armies before them like chaff from a threshing floor. The poorly-equipped regular armies fought ferociously, but wities and vast areas of the north fell into the hands

of the enemy.

The 115th Division of the Eighth Route Army reached the Wutain mountains of northeastern Shansi in late September, split up and deployed its units over a great area in the rear and on the flanks of the Japanese and began a battle which culminated in the ~~xxxxxxx~~ victory ~~at~~ of Pinghsingwan (pro. P'ing-hsing-guan), a pass near the Great Wall. In this battle it shattered the powerful ~~xxxxxxx~~ Japanese samurai Itagaki Division, wiping out one entire brigade of 3,000 men, and capturing invaluable documents, maps, battle orders, arms, ammunition, food, medical supplies, and even the divisional banner presented to Itagaki by Premier Konoye.

This battle, China's first victory, was fought at a time when the people and armies had all but lost confidence in their ability to defend themselves against the Japanese. It was of tremendous significance because it set an example in the kind of military-political tactics of a guerrilla and mobile nature that could be used successfully against a powerfully-equipped enemy.

The Eighth Route followed up this victory by a long succession of smaller ones, and began to recover a great area in the rear of the main Japanese lines. On January 10th, 1938, alone, it recaptured seven northern cities, destroyed hundreds of miles of railway, <sup>and</sup> replenished its losses by volunteers that poured to it. It established its first mountainous guerrilla base in the Wutai mountains, and formed the first regional government in the enemy-rear, known as the Shansi-~~Shan~~ Hopei-Chahar Border Government. <sup>a guerrilla base</sup> In that same month the national government recognized this Border Government as equivalent to a Provincial Government.

The Army sent political workers throughout the north to organize and train the civilian population in anti-Japanese associations of peasants, workers, youth, women, and children, and began a process of military-political

organization and struggle that eventually aroused the deep fears of the ruling classes of China and gave rise to serious internal conflicts. The Eighth Route Army is ~~XX~~ not an isolated military weapon, but a military-political army of liberation affecting every branch of life. With the formation of the national united front, it accepted ~~the~~ Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles of national liberation, democracy, and improvement in the livelihood of the people. Instead of applying the first principle only, it ~~has~~ began to realize all three principles, believing that the war could not be waged otherwise, and that ~~the~~ people fight best if they are granted full citizenship, unjust ~~economic~~ economic burdens removed from their backs, and they are given a goal worth fighting for and, if necessary, dying for. The Army was providing them with "an armor against affliction."

Its success was phenomenal. Thousands of miners, railway workers, ~~and~~ technicians and other intellectual workers from the northern ~~cities~~ and other cities of China ~~have~~ made their way to it. A number of Americans and Britishers within the northern cities secretly helped it. It established a ~~number~~ Military-Political Training Camps in its mountainous base in the Wutai mountains, through which tens of thousands of men and women have since poured, military commanders to study military science primarily and political knowledge secondarily; and intellectuals to be trained primarily as political educators in the Army or as organizers and leaders of the civilian population. Special training schools are founded for the civilian population, ~~from~~ from whose ranks have since come countless local leaders.

Local Self-defence Corps of older men were formed in every village, and a ~~large~~ volunteer People's Militia composed of men from 16-50 was built up and ~~extensively~~ trained for local armed defence and as auxiliaries of the Army when necessary. The total number of persons in these people's military ~~and~~ organizations and in the civilian anti-

Japanese associations is very great. According to a report published in July, 1942, there were 10 1/2 million in the civilian organizations and about eight million in the military. Membership in the local self-defence corps is practically compulsory for able-bodied men and these ~~self-defence~~ corps are also responsible for observation service about Japanese movements and for passport control designed to prevent the movement of Japanese ~~agents~~ agents. They must also undertake a certain amount of work as carriers and guides for the ~~Japanese~~ Army. Women and girls in the people's organizations, ~~as well as children~~ as well as children, serve as passport inspectors in the more settled ~~regions~~ regions. The women and girls in particular have been drawn into the net-work of industrial cooperatives which have spread throughout the liberated areas. Today they manufacture almost all the ~~shoes~~ shoes worn by the Army and all the cloth used by the Army and the civilian population.

Chinese miners, railway workers, and engineers, as well as women organizers, helped establish the industrial cooperatives, and the men established small foundries in each hsien (county) to teach the People's Militia iron foundering and the manufacture of gunpowder, hand-grenades and land-mines. The Militia possess some kind of weapons--old guns or spears and big swords--but their main weapons, hand-grenades and land mines, are made by themselves. Special training schools taught them guerrilla tactics and methods of demolition, destruction of enemy communication lines, current events and political knowledge.

The primary school system in the liberated areas have been ~~fairly well~~ fairly well established. Reports state that 438,000 pupils were in school west of the Peiping-Hankow railway line, and another 400,000 in central Hopei Province. <sup>One</sup> ~~Senior~~ senior primary schools exists in each hsien and high schools and normal schools have been established. Two universities have been founded. By 1942 there was one special school of 800 ~~students~~ ~~for~~ for mass movement local leaders.

Local  
Self-  
Def.  
Corps

Coops  
+  
Women

People  
Militia

Education

Great emphasis is laid on the eradication of adult illiteracy, and ~~night~~ <sup>high</sup> schools for this purpose are held during the winter seasons when there is little farm work to do. In the areas west of the Peiping-Hankow Railway, 300,000 adult have learned to read and write, 1,200 characters being taken as the standard of literacy.

*Medical work*

A few qualified Chinese and foreign doctors have found their way to the Eighth Route Army and are in charge of ~~the~~ the wounded who are housed in villages that serve as hospitals. The New Fourth Army, now located in North Kiangsu Province and southern Shantung, has its own excellent medical training school. The main medical training school, three years in duration, is located in Yen-an, north Shensi. The foreigners who ~~have~~ taken part in this medical work include one American, ~~xxxxxx~~ known as Dr. Ma Hai-teh, Dr. Norman Bethune, one German anti-Nazi refugee, one Russian, a Canadian, and five surgeons sent to China from India by the Indian National Congress. Dr. Norman ~~Bethune~~ Bethune died at his post, as did the Indian who took his place, Dr. Dwarkanath Kotnis. These two foreign doctors lie buried in the Wutain mountains near a monument to 25,000 soldiers who fell ~~in~~ in the defence of that region.

*Foreigners*

After Pearl Harbor, a number of foreigners, ~~xxxxxx~~ aided by the Eighth Route Army, escaped from Peiping and joined it. Among these were the American banker, G. Martell Hall, who spent eight months with that Army. One was Prof. Michael Lindsay, an Englishman from Yenching University, who remains with it, ~~xxx~~ Two were ~~xxxxx~~ Prof. and Mrs. William Band. Prof. Band, ~~xxxxxx~~ professor of Physics at Yenching University near Peiping, spent a year and a half with the Army, primarily teaching in the Army's Radio School.

*Liberated areas*

Up to 1944, the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies together had liberated wholly or partially 455 hsien, 277 of these wholly. In the others, the Japanese hold strategic wall cities, but the countryside remains in Chinese hands. The population embraced in these regions

total approximately 50,000,000 people.

When the Eighth Route Army penetrated to the rear of the Japanese Army of occupation and liberated an ever-growing territory, it faced the problem of administration. The ~~regular~~ regular nationalist armies had been driven out by the Japanese, and most of the old officials as well as the great landlords ~~had~~ fled ~~with~~ with the nationalist armies or had ~~moved~~ moved into Peiping or Tientsin, under Japanese rule. ~~The~~ The Eighth Route Army political workers then began to carry out the second of Sun Yat-sen's Three people's Principles--democracy. Following weeks or months of educational campaigning in the principles and practices of democracy, all men and women over 18 years of age were given suffrage rights. Only criminals, the ~~insane~~ insane, or Japanese agents were denied the vote. Elections were then held in the villages, in the higher ~~ex~~ chu administrative unit, and then ~~for~~ for the hsien <sup>assemblies,</sup> councils. ~~The~~ elected The/regional governments, located in mountainous guerrilla bases, of which there are now six, have the final say on all questions of policy. These regional governments, like the hsien councils, may ~~have~~ have 10% co-opted members to represent special interests. For example, the Shansi-~~Hopei~~ Hopei-Chahar Border Government's central council <sup>of 300 members,</sup> has twenty Army representatives, three from the university and ~~the~~ factory workers, five Mohammedans, and one each from Manchus, Mongols, ~~and~~ and Tibetans.

*Democ. election*

*Special co-opted groups*

Candidates for election ~~are~~ are generally put up by the ~~people's~~ people's organizations. The Communist Party, which is the largest party in north China, limits its participation in elected organs to one-third, the aim being to have one-third Communist, one-third non-party, progressive elements, one-third from the upper classes such as landlords, merchants, etc. In some regions, there are no upper-class elements, and in others the Communists have not been able to achieve

a representation of even one-third of the elected bodies. The Kuomintang contested the ~~elections~~ 1940 elections for the central council, but has not put up candidates for the village elections. Peasants, workers, teachers, students, ~~and~~ artisans and small merchants have generally been returned in such places. However, there are a number of Kuomintang representatives in the regional governments, and in the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar Border Government there are a number; the chairman, Mr. Sung Shao-wen, and the vice-chairman, Mr. Hu Jen-kwei, are both Kuomintang members. In other regional councils, non-party men hold high positions and a number head the ~~councils~~ councils. ~~Every effort has been made to make the elections truly democratic. The people's organizations are the means by which~~ Every effort has been made to make the elections and the administration truly democratic, that all groups of the population may take part in and be educated in popular government. Laws governing all liberated areas guarantee the rights of free speech, press, assembly, religion, residence, movement, and the right to own property. Though the main economic organization is cooperative, private trade and industry is permitted.

Methods of election

Civil rights laws

In efforts to realize Sun Yat-sen's third principle--that of improvement in the people's livelihood--rent has been lowered and may not exceed 37.5% of the produce. ~~A single progressive land tax, with a fixed minimum, has been introduced. Free choice in marriage, with the right of ~~divorce~~ divorce, has been established, the legal age of marriage raised, concubinage forbidden, and there are special provisions to protect soldiers' wives. All court fees have been abolished and there are no lawyers. Mass organizations may take part in any legal proceedings in which they are interested. War-profiteering, hoarding of food and other life essentials, traffic in opium, and collaboration with the enemy are crimes against the nation.~~ The local currency, originally issued against Central Government notes,

Suppr. in people's livelihood land policy

Currency



but down to 1944 not one member even of a village government has been elected by the people. The villages, in particular, are considered the property of the old feudal landlords, and the village administrative organs have always been their means of oppressing and exploiting the people. Village elections arouse terror in the hearts of the landlords, who see "their" peasants organized, educated, and in arms. In the post-war world, it is quite obvious that such men and women will never return to their age-old helotry.

Since political theories are no longer confined within geographical borders, the Kuomintang has been deeply influenced by the dictatorial ideas of ~~xxxxxxx~~ Mussolini and Hitler. Long before the Japanese invasion began, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek had Mussolini's biography translated into China, after which he distributed free copies to each of his officers. Kuomintang documents and publications quite frankly hailed the theories and practices of the Nazis as the most applicable to China, while Generalissimo Chiang sent one of his sons to be trained in the Nazi Army. This son was a captain in ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the Nazi Army that invaded and occupied Vienna. Kuomintang officials sent to study in Germany brought back German Military Advisers ~~xxxxxxx~~ and German Gestapo organizers who were attached to the Chinese Government for over a decade. The ~~xxxx~~ chief of these advisers before the war was General von Seeckt of the German Reichwehr, then General Alexander von Falkenhausen. At the demands of the Japanese, Hitler withdrew these advisers in July, 1938. von Falkenhausen began Nazi military governor of Belgium after Belgium was occupied. ~~xxxx~~ The Germans inspired and helped the Kuomintang to build up the secret "Blue Shirt" secret military-political police, which is but one of three secret services maintained by the government. The others are the political police of the Kuomintang, ~~xxxx~~ led by Mr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education, and the other is Generalissimo Chiang's own personal secret police which investigates any person suspected of

W  
 Deep  
 Lawlessness  
 suppress  
 not  
 how  
 growth  
 Fascism

Secret  
 Political  
 police

of opposition to his personal dictatorship.

*Conc. camps  
no trials*

These proto-Fascist methods now embrace almost every field of life in territory under Kuomintang dictatorship. Concentration camps for men and women holding ideas other than those approved by the Kuomintang, have been established, and leading men who criticise ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Kuomintang practices simply disappear, without trial.

*Blockade*

The Eighth Route ~~Army~~ and New Fourth Armies have therefore been accused of almost every conceivable crime. For near to four years now the government has maintained a blockade of those armies. One of the best-equipped and fed armies of China, a body of men commanded by General Hu Tsung-nan (pro. Hu Dzung-nan) have maintained this blockade in the northwest, instead of fighting the Japanese. They have prevented any supplies of any nature, even medical supplies, from reaching the Eighth Route Army. To prevent medical supplies from reaching even the enemy wounded is a ~~xxx~~ violation of international law.

*Do Com. fight Japanese  
Jap. troops*

Official charges that the Communist-commanded armies do not fight the Japanese is disproved by Japanese military campaigns. ~~xxxx~~ During the period of time that General Hu Tsung-nan has cut the Eighth Route Army off from all supplies, the Japanese have ~~XXXXXXXX~~ used 13 1/2 Divisions, or 44% of their total divisions in China, against the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. <sup>June</sup> From ~~July~~ 1941 to June 1942 alone, the Eighth Route Army alone suffered 63,847 ~~xxxxx~~ casualties, and in the preceding year 48,383 casualties, in battles with the Japanese. While their suffered heavy casualties, the Japanese ~~xxxxxxx~~ had still more, including hundreds of captives.

In early 1944, American military men in China asked the right to send observers to the Eighth Route Army regions to study Japanese installations and positions. These regions ~~xxxx~~ would be invaluable bases for operations against the Japanese. Generalissimo Chiang is

reported to have refused this request, saying the Communists are "rebels" who have established a new "war-lord" regime in the north. The Communists have declared their desire to have such American military observers today, just as they welcomed Lt. Col. Evans F. Carlson, of the United Marines, in 1938. Carlson went where he wished to go and saw what he wished to see, and later successfully applied what he learned against the Japanese in the southwest Pacific. American and British men in China have also been prevented from visiting the Communist armies, but continue to demand this right.

*Democracy in KMT China*

The struggle for a new, democratic China, however, is not confined to the Communists alone. The Communists, however, are the only group in China able to protect themselves to some extent. The masses of educated men and women who live under Kuomintang rule have no army to enforce their demands or to protect them, and in a government ruled by a dictatorship no individual or group has a voice in the government that rules them unless they have an army. This is the basic reason why the Communists have up to now rejected all government demands to disband their armies and allow them to be absorbed by the regular nationalist armies; or to dissolve the democratic administrative organs in the north and allow the old appointed officials to return to their old haunts.

No ~~such~~ consideration of the great social transformation taking place in China would be complete without ~~the~~ mention of the democratic ~~the~~ individuals and organizations in regions directly under the control of the Kuomintang. The famous Chinese Industrial Cooperatives are of such basic significance in the transformation of China that they can be called only social revolutionary. Organized in 1938 by the New Zealander, Rewi Alley, from civilian refugees who fled before the Japanese carrying what tools and machinery they could, these cooperatives today support some ~~thirty~~ 13,000,000

civilians. The cooperatives are owned ~~by~~ and managed by the men and women who work in them, producing goods essential to the armies and ~~xxxxx~~ civilians. Though regionally federated, the individual cooperatives are small, self-governing republics which maintain primary schools for their children, night schools for adults, hospitals, theatres and newspapers. These cooperatives have been harrassed by officials and the secret service, and for the same reasons as the Communist armies; because they are democratic. Only British and American protection has so far given them a lease of life.

The medical workers of Kuomintang China have also achieved very much since the war began. Not only were they able to found medical institutions that maintained qualified doctors and nurses in the field, and educated poorly-trained Army medical personnel, but they have laid the foundation for socialized medicine in China. If their work is not too badly disrupted before the war ends, China will have a net-work of free clinics to care for all people without charge. But many of them have been driven from their work because they were non-party men and women and wished to keep their work on this basis.

*Democratic*  
*men*

Because of official censorship, the western world has heard little of the great body of Chinese educated men and women who ~~xxx~~ are democrats. On March, 1941, these democratic forces organized a Democratic Federation which is very similar to the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It is composed of a number of small parties and unaffiliated individuals, such as the Young China Party, the Third Party, the National Socialists (i.e., Social Democrats), the ~~Ry~~ Rural Reconstruction Association, the Vocational Guidance Association, the National Salvation Association--and many unaffiliated individuals. On October 10th, 1941, anniversary of the Chinese Republic, this Federation issued a ten-point "program for democracy", some of

*10 point program of democracy*

which points are:

1. Termination of one-party rule.
2. The government to cease financing the Kuomintang.
3. The Government to cease using political power to force people to join the Kuomintang; and the educational officials (Mr. Chen Li-fu, Minister of Education) cease forcing teachers, professors, students and other to join.
4. Abolition of Kuomintang organizations within the armies.
5. Abolition of concentration camps for men of unorthodox Kuomintang ideas.
6. Introduction of free speech, press, and free newspaper circulation.
7. A clean-up in the Government to abolish inequality of war economics "by which profiteers are becoming fantastically rich and the poor poorer."

Some members of the Democratic Federation hold a few seats in the People's Political Council which the government, under pressure of the people, inaugurated in 1938 as an approach to democracy. Three days before the Council convened on November 20th, 1941, a government spokesman informed foreign correspondents that the Council "provides an auspicious opportunity for introducing democratic institutions into China in wartime." The government also declared that it was willing to hear criticism. The Democratic Federation therefore presented its "bill for democracy" to the Secretary of the Council, for consideration. The Secretary gave it to Generalissimo Chiang who, according to reports, forbade it to be presented. The bill was not only suppressed, but the entire Chinese press was forbidden to make mention of it or of its suppression.

On September 18, 1943, the anniversary of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Dr. Chang Piao-fang, President of the Democratic Federation and former President of Chengtu University, issued a lengthy manifesto entitled "China's Need for Democracy". Following an analysis of the dangerous internal situation and a defence of international democracy as the system "fitting modern times", the document challenged the Kuomintang dictatorship as a ~~xxx~~ violation of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles upon which the Kuomintang is presumably based.

Fate of  
Bill

Asia

The war has reached its seventh year, the manifesto declared, "yet neither the Kuomintang nor the government can reach the people with the propaganda, nor arouse or encourage them in continued resistance." It continued:

"For the past several years the officers of the government ~~XXXXXX~~ have been openly corrupt. Juniors have imitated their seniors. Laws and decrees have become scraps of paper. . . the government is hated on every hand, the people are harrassed. . . people have no grain, yet must ~~pay~~ pay grain. . . homes that have no men must still provide men. . . Ever since the single-party dictatorship was established, able men outside the Party are wasted and all political parties and groups have been severely repressed. No open activities are permitted. Many able men feel this to be a great injustice. A specific case is the Communist Party with several hundred thousand troops in seven or eight provinces, under the continual threat of another civil war. . . ."

*S*  
*Refer to Asia for May*

Our British and American friends feel that China, the so-called democratic ~~xxx~~ country, has not really been carrying out democracy. . . AS regards China, they naturally will not wish to support and help a government which is democratic in name, but carries out anti-democratic single-party rule. China is fighting shoulder to shoulder with the United Nations, but unless true democracy is carried out soon, it will be difficult for us to gain freedom, equality, and independence either during or after the war. . . ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

In middle April, 1944, Dr. Sun Fo, son of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and a high government official without power, delivered a frank, hard-hitting speech in defence of democracy before the Central Training Institute in Chungking. Had there been a realization of democracy during the past twenty years since the ~~XXXXXX~~ 1924 reorganization of the Kuomintang, he said,

" . . . the ~~the~~ democratic spirit of the Kuomintang would now be an inspiration to the rest of the country. Unfortunately we have failed to do this. . . The practices of the Party have not been entirely consistent with the Party constitution drafted by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924. . . The suppression of outside criticism of our Party, and the withholding of criticism within the Party by our own Party members bespeaks this fact. . . We, the Party, have come to regard ourselves as the sovereign power in the state, entitled to the enjoyment of a special position and to suppress all criticism against us."

*cc*

*KMT represents less than 1% of people*

Dr. Sun declared that ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ the Kuomintang represents less than 1% of the people of China, and after sixteen years of theoretical political tutelage, not one member of a ~~xxxx~~ hsien council has been

elected to office. Criticism from America and Great Britain, he stated, is not due to "Communist influence" as officials state, but is due to the fear that "China is taking the road to Fascism."

✓✓  
 "There is a great deal of harmful talk by Chinese so narrow in vision as to hide behind the Communist body, and worse, to accuse critics of very over-friendly toward the Chinese Communists and influenced by ~~xxx~~ them. . . . China must find her own democratic path, but it ought to run in the same general direction as in the democratic countries, rather than along the courses of Japan, Germany, and Italy as--let it be candidly stated--has been the recent tendency."

Student  
decree  
 One of the most pronounced instances of Fascist tendencies in China was the publication of a government decree on October, 1943, affecting Chinese students who wish to study abroad. The decree imposes drastic restrictions on the "conduct and thinking" of students who wish to go abroad. <sup>Its</sup> ~~xxx~~ provisions would prevent any but rich men, or men totally without intellectual integrity, to get a passport. After complying with countless provisions, the candidate for study abroad must first pass through the Kuomintang training school in Chungking to be indoctrinated with orthodox Party ideas. Following this, the candidate must pass an ~~xxx~~ oral examination "in deportment and thinking". Clause 14 of the decree reads;

"Self supporting students abroad must absolutely receive directions and control from the Superintendent's Office (Supt. of Chinese students abroad) and the Embassy in connection with all their thinking and deeds. If one's statements are contrary to the Three People's Principles and his deeds are ~~xxx~~ irregular, after they have been verified and reported to the Ministry, his qualifications to study abroad will be promptly cancelled, and he will be compulsorily required to return to China."

When challenged about this decree, Chinese official spokesmen defended it on the groups that a similar decree was passed in 1873--when the tyrannical Manchus ruled China and sought to prevent Chinese students abroad from becoming contaminated with democratic thought. The decree introduces a system of thought control over Chinese such as the Japanese Government utilized against Japanese studying in foreign countries. In fact, many of the more recent practices of the Kuomintang closely

~~xxxxxx~~ parallel Japan's development in the past few decades. This development became more pronounced after December 7, 1942, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and occupied most of southeastern Asia. Powerful Chinese officials were greatly influenced by Japanese prowess and seem to wish to emulate it in all respects.

For the ~~xxxxxx~~ ten years preceding the Japanese invasion, for example, ~~xxx~~ Japanese secret police/~~xxx~~ activities were ubiquitous among all Japanese institutions of learning and in the struggling trade unions and peasant leagues. The same system applies today in Kuomintang China. Censorship also transcends all military necessity, but is designed ~~xxxxxxx~~ primarily to prevent "dangerous thoughts". Newspapers, magazines, plays, historical essays, and literary reviews are rigidly censored. The word "Fascism" may not be mentioned in them. Even the poems of Robert Burns and the novels of Sinclair Lewis have been censored. Censored manuscripts are filed for evidence against the author and publisher. Entire universities, from the study body to the professors and administrators, are coerced into joining the Kuomintang, and if the professors and administrators refuse, they are not given rice allowances--which means starving them to death. Students are spied upon through the Kuomintang Youth Corps, members of which are paid monthly sums of money by the Ministry of Education's secret police. University authorities are required to present names of students who should join the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Youth Corps, regardless of the student's wishes. Newspaper men going abroad are required to pass through indoctrination courses and eventually become Party members. Journalists or individuals seen with foreigners in China are watched and frequently hauled up for questioning.

Such coercion does not affect the Communists, who are primarily located in north China. They affect the great mass of democratic intellectuals in western and southwestern China. The Chinese

*Censorship  
press,  
books,  
etc*

*China's  
reaction to  
Korean  
thought*

people, however, are the most difficult people in the world to regiment. They have a long revolutionary history, and the present turmoil is but a modern manifestation of their creative independence. Unwittingly, by even mentioning the word "democracy", the government has aroused hopes that cannot be stifled. These hopes find ardent expression in all armies in which political training has been introduced, as it was introduced to a large degree in some armies from 1937-39. During that brief period of democratic upheaval, when the fate of China hung in the balance, the people's movement had considerable influence upon the Chinese Government. One expression of this influence was the introduction of political training in some of the best nationalist armies, training fashioned in form, though not in content, on that of the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies. Soldiers subjected to such training are not all dead, and some armies still retain political directors who try to educate the ~~XXXXXX~~ troops instead of merely trying to ferret out "dangerous thoughts". Such troops learned to read and write, and heard lectures on the history of their country, the history of China's relations to Japan and ~~XXXXXX~~ other foreign countries, and ~~XXXXXX~~ all three of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. While democracy was not realized, yet they learned that it was one of those Principles for which they were called upon to fight and die to introduce a new, progressive era into their country.

The military and political training of the Communist Armies, has been deep and broad. It extended from the fighting companies right up to the highest organs, into the hospitals, and into the people's organizations. The thousands of cadres training in the big Military-Political Training Camps of those armies lasted from nine months to a year, and all commanders and political workers had to pass through them. The following are some of the political and general courses studied there

Army  
Education  
Courses  
+  
Hopes  
+  
Pines  
Knowledge

Principles and Tactics of the National United Front.  
 History of the Chinese Revolution (1939-1944)  
 History of China's Relations with Japan.  
 History of China's Relations with other powers.  
 The Three People's Principles.  
 Social Science (Marxism)  
 Theories and Practices of Fascism.  
 Theories and Practices of Democracy.  
 The History of Human Progress.  
 The Japanese Language.  
 Natural Science. Hygiene. Anatomy. Physiology. First-aid.  
 Methods of Mass Organization.  
 Propaganda Work among the Enemy and among Puppet troops.  
 Espionage and Propaganda Methods of the Enemy and methods of  
 combatting them.

*Enemy work  
 a full  
 dept.*

xxix A fleeting conception of the nature of this training  
 as applied by the political workers right down to the company, is given

in an article written by General Chen I, commander of the New Fourth Army, in that Army's monthly magazine, Kangdi (Resistance). The article consisted of a study of the state of learning among the troops. One paragraph read:

"A man who has 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 or hundreds of battles. If, after this, he has not yet learned to drive forward to help create a new world, there is something wrong with him and not with the system of training."

General Chen concluded his article by calling upon the troops to preserve and emulate China's ancient respect for learning, and he quoted maxims which ~~xxxxxxx~~ indicate how poor men in the past studied under the most difficult conditions. Some of these read:

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 while you study.  
Cut a hole in your wall and steal light from a neighbor.  
Study by the reflected light of snow.

Slogans, written on the walls and buildings throughout China, are expression of hopes and aspirations of the soldiers and the people. In western China, where proto-Fascist armies are under the direct control of the Kuomintang, one of the chief slogans, reminiscent of Nazi ideology, read:

"One party, one principle, one leader."

In the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, slogans read:

Where there is no struggle, there is death.  
Only by knowledge can youth be strengthened to reconstruct the new world.  
Men should be proud of all things constructed by labor and intelligence.  
Carry out all the Three People's Principles.  
A more equitable ~~xxxxxxxx~~ distribution of war burdens.  
China fights for world democracy.  
Men should be proud of all things constructed by labor and intelligence.

In the stretching war-zones of China, ~~the writer~~ <sup>9</sup> made a practice of asking soldiers what they were fighting for. A group of New Fourth Army guerrillas once ~~xxxxxxx~~ explained what they meant by "a new

My  
question

progressive China". After the Japanese were driven from Chinese soil, they said, there would be no rich or poor in China, but all would be equal. "Men who grow rice will have rice to eat; men who grow cotton and ~~weave cloth~~ weave cloth will have clothing to wear and not go in rags; there will be work, education, and medical care for all," ~~and~~

~~There is no doubt that the~~

*Armies  
the  
school  
for  
soldiers*

The armies are the only "educational institution" that most of the soldiers of China have ever attended, and the better the education given them by the political directors whose duty it is to educate them, the better fighters they become. Many nationalist armies give no education at all to the soldiers, and some interpret Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles only as nationalism--~~and~~ war against the Japanese. Many merely give the soldiers orders. In such armies, the relationship between officers and men remains feudal, with the right of officers to beat soldiers. This accounts in large part for the low morale of many of China's armies. But this is not the fault of the soldiers, who are avid for learning. No men on earth are more hungry for knowledge. In armies with good political education, there is little problem of discipline, and soldiers fight voluntarily and face death bravely. Despite efforts of some proto-Fascist officers to ~~train~~ train their troops to hate the ~~Red Army~~ Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies, the soldiers nevertheless talk amongst themselves about ~~the~~ ~~practices~~ the practices of those armies. It is not unusual to hear soldiers say that the officers and soldiers in those guerrilla armies have the same clothing, food, and right of study. "Officers can't beat soldiers in those armies," they say, "and there are schools and clubs for the soldiers." The only difficulty, they say, is that neither officers or men ~~are~~ ~~get~~ paid ~~more~~ just enough for their pocket expenses, ~~and~~ ~~and~~ Despite this consideration, however, armies stationed for any length of time in the neighborhood of the guerrilla armies, ~~lose~~ <sup>lose</sup> many of their men, who

the Dutch for the people of the Dutch East Indies? Do not ~~think~~ the western nations rather hope that both China and Japan will become so exhausted by this war that we will be more easily exploited in the future than in the past? How else can we Chinese explain the sale of war materials to Japan by America and Britain?"

~~They~~ This same commander and his staff, asked if the writer thought China ought to adopt the capitalist system, which, they said, had failed even to care for its own people in the western world, and had led to wars of conquest. They even thought the Japanese had bribed members of the American Congress to follow the policies Japan wished, one of them being the refusal to fortify Guam. They had no doubts that many Americans and Englishmen were paid agents of the Japanese.

Before ~~xxxx~~ December 7, 1942, most Chinese had tremendous respect for America's presumed unconquerable armed might. When Japan struck--as they believed it would at some time--they believed that Japan would be defeated within a few months. When, after Pearl Harbor, and the fall of all southeast Asia, the Chinese were disillusioned and China cut off from outside supplies, many powerful Kuomintang officials and military men might have made some kind of settlement with Japan--that is, had they not feared that many of the regular armies at the front, instead, would form a block with the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies and continue the war. However, many Chinese officials took deep emotional pride in the defeat of powerful white imperialist powers at the hands of an Asiatic power. This is perhaps one of the origins of the reactionary trend in China since Pearl Harbor. The recent decree concerning Chinese students <sup>is an example of</sup> who wish to study abroad is very similar to Japanese practices in the past decades; as are many other reactionary measures introduced in China ~~xxxxxx~~ in the past few years. Powerful Kuomintang politicians are emulating Japanese history.

The Chinese Communists approach such issues through other channels. Viewing world history ~~through~~ from the angle of historical materialism, they believe that capitalist societies have all but run their course, and are on the brink of a modern advanced and humane form of social life. To them, the victory of Japan would give a new lease of life to capitalism--and lead to the subjection and exploitation of Asian peoples for many decades. Though Chinese ~~Communism~~ Communism is colored by the soil from which it springs, still it is the ideological blood-brother of the common people in every land. Consequently, they feel themselves a branch of world-wide forces destined, not by God, but by history, to help bring a new and more just form of society to birth. Ignore it ~~or condemn it~~ or condemn it though we may, this ideological conviction is more powerful than weapons of war. This conviction alone explains the birth and growth of the Red Army of China in the first instance; and its persistent growth into a body of 500,000 regulars since the Japanese invasion began. ~~It~~ It explains the ~~infinitesimal~~ infinitesimal number of "mental casualties", or neuro-psychiatric cases, to be found in soldiers of that Army who fight and exist under ~~indescribable~~ indescribable hardships. The Japanese perhaps know this, for they have never yet made peace proposals to the Eighth Route or New Fourth Armies; ~~instead~~ instead, they offer nothing but death to those armies. \*

No one can understand the situation in China today if he ignores ~~these~~ these facts. The Kuomintang senses, without understanding it, and in addition they have but to take a glimpse of Chinese history for thousands of years, with its many peasant revolutions, to realize that their own people are not a passive people and will never submit to regimentation. Proof that the Chinese ruling class knows this is not only the ten years of terrorism against the social revolution before this war began, but their fear and suspicion of the Eighth Route and

of the Fourth Armies which has resulted in the blockade of those armies. They are also fearful and suspicious of every breath of criticism or independence of thought of the democratic elements under their direct control.

In the past, ~~xxxxxxx~~ certain Kuomintang leaders looked to Hitler as a means of meeting such problems; today they raise the bogey of Chinese Communism to scare the American ruling class, constantly agitating in Washington and elsewhere that if they are not given the right-of-way to "clean up the Communists", China will go Communist. The support which the United Nations, the British in particular, are giving <sup>M</sup> Marshall Tito's Yugoslav Army of Liberation, is like the handwriting on the wall. When told that the introduction of a democratic form of government would solve these problems and prevent a disastrous civil war, many of them reply that "democracy is only the outer defence works of Communism."

Chinese, like others, who have a stake in the present order of society may temporarily distort and hamper the growth of new ideas and social forms, but in the long run they will fail. As Harold Laski, the British political economist, recently wrote of the era in which we live:

We can recognize its advent (the new social order) and prepare for it; in that event, we might build a civilization richer and more secure than any of which we so far have knowledge. Or we may choose to resist its onset; in which case, it will appear to some future generation that our age has sought rather to sweep back the tides of the ocean than to oppose the decrees of men."

Agnes Smedley

Yaddo,  
Saratoga Springs, N.Y.  
April, 1944.