

I - 21. Lecture Notes - Undated - Untitled - 34 pp.

I am requested to speak here on the struggle of the Chinese people for democracy, and to include something about political education of Chinese armies, ~~which means, above all, the Chinese Communist commanded armies.~~

I find it impossible to ~~discuss~~ ^{consider} such matters without discussing the nature of Chinese feudal ~~control in the villages,~~ or without considering our own policy toward China as expressed recently by General George Marshall.

First I wish to state that I regard General Marshall as an American citizen of the highest integrity, a man more liberal by far than his predecessor. General Marshall is an American patriot and a man of the highest capacities. When I speak of him as a good American citizen and a patriot, this does not mean, however, that the Chinese people themselves should accept his solution of the Chinese situation; for ~~the~~ ^{the} Chinese ~~people~~ ^{people}, ~~as patriots,~~ also have the right to be heard, ~~and it is their viewpoint I shall try to present here.~~

In his recent statement, ~~China~~, General Marshall blamed the failure of his mission ~~on~~ on what he called the "extremists" in both the Kuomintang Party, and the Kungchintang, or Communist Party.

a few basic issues, such as ideas in Gen. Marshall's report, the nature in China, the Ch. Dem. League, and the pol. situation in the Ch. Commun. also Gen. Marshall's pol. toward China

regardless of what they did.

I was surprised to note that ~~General Marshall~~ ^{he} used the word "feudal" in connection with Kuomintang reactionaries who, he said, had opposed almost every step he had proposed to form a coalition government. These reactionaries, he said, had openly advocated force as a solution of all issues, and they had expected American aid. (I must add that they received that aid).

General Marshall ~~also~~ blamed the Chinese Communists for what he called their refusal to reach a "fair compromise" with the Kuomintang Government, for their destruction of lines of communication which, he said, caused suffering to the people, ~~and for~~ ^{and for} ~~accused them of~~ carrying on propaganda designed to arouse hatred of America.

~~General Marshall, I believe, did not tell the facts by any means, and he seemed to even consider what Americans would do if they troops of a foreign government were on the soil of our country, supporting a government which the American people hated.~~

General Marshall advocated as a solution of the Chinese problem that liberals within and without the Kuomintang Government form a new government under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He thought this government could function advantageously under the ~~Constitution~~ Constitution which was recently passed in Nanking by the so-called National Assembly which was called by the ruling party the Kuomintang. This new Constitution, General Marshall stated, retained the basic

me absolute monarchical power ~~unchecked~~ unchecked by popular will. The landlord gentry, he says, are the unproductive, privileged class living on the peasants whom they rule. ~~The methods of their exploitation, other than administrative, he says, include usury, exorbitant rents, and taxes of every description from the cradle to the grave.~~ *Extending through generations.*

Throughout all Chinese history, ~~he~~ ^{he} states, the gentry has never once rejected any ruler able to seize power and who recognized the special privileges of the landlords. The gentry, he says, has always ~~abhorred public duty, public responsibility,~~ ^{to be} "gentleman." To protect their special position, through all Chinese history down to the present day, he says, the gentry has ~~filled~~ filled the administrative ~~machinery~~ machinery of whatever government ~~came to power.~~ They became officials, not because of any sense of public responsibility, but to protect their own kin and relatives, and while holding position they are the representatives of their kin and relatives.

This set-up explains to us the ~~neptotism~~ nepotism of ~~the present~~ the present Chinese Government. The ruling classes take the system for granted, and see nothing wrong in officials ruling on behalf of their own ~~families~~ families, or in collective fortunes during the war and depositing them in American banks.

Since the rights of the people are not protected by law, Prof.

Fei states, and since the welfare of the people hang by a threat on the conscience of the power hierarchy, justice, so-called, ~~must~~ must be achieved by personal influence with ~~the gentry,~~ and by the gentry, by bribery, or--and this is of prime importance--by armed force.

The Chinese gentry have only one code of professional ethics: that of order. Every person is expected to behave according to, and be satisfied with, the position he occupies in the social structure. Regardless of who holds power or how it is administered, the people--which means the peasants, are expected to obey. When the peasants revolt, ~~as they have for the past 20 years under Communist leadership,~~ the gentry always fights on the side of the ruler in power.

If you wish to see this system in operation, right in the midst of war, I suggest you read the new book, THUNDER OUT OF CHINA, by Theodore White and Annalee Jacoby.

In the years I spent in China, and in the midst of war, the one crime which I heard laid at the door of the Chinese Communists was that they were "disturbing the social order." ~~That was the xxxxxxxx main crime which Americans also laid at the door of the Communists--they were an armed power disturbing the social system.~~ I used to ask Kuomintang Generals if they did not think the social system should be disturbed and changed, and I even was naive enough to suggest that they themselves take the lead in introducing democratic reforms. They replied

that "democracy is nothing but the outer defence works of Communism". I sometimes suggested that they themselves become more advanced than the Communists, and thus steal their thunder, they were shocked,

Disruption of Social System

In the first two years of the war against the Japanese, the Communists and the Kuomintang worked together, at first satisfactorily, and then with increasing friction. The trouble began to develop after the Communist-commanded guerrillas had penetrated through the Japanese lines, got into their rear, and began to recapture, and hold, regions which had been occupied by the Japanese. Many of the landlord gentry officials in these regions had fled with the retreating Government armies, others had merely become local officials under the Japanese.

1st: Kmt; 2nd: Jap; 3rd: Kmt. Rules always.

Into these regions, the Political Departments of the Communist-commanded armies began to introduce all kinds of changes. They organized the people to take part in the first, they mobilized, armed and trained young able-minded men to fight, and they trained and armed the older men to form local Self Defence Corps. At the same time they carried on widespread educational work about civil rights and democratic practices. They also granted suffrage to all men and women over 18 and held village and town elections at which new administrative bodies were elected by the people.

It was at this point that serious friction with the Chinese Government began to develop. The Kuomintang insisted that

these elected bodies were illegal, and it claimed the right to send appointed officials in to take over the liberated areas. Both the new elected governments, and the Communist armies objected. When the Govt. tried to send in troops with their old appointed officials, there was often fighting.

In other words, the ancient feudal social system had been disrupted and power had passed from the old landlord gentry into the hands of the people, primarily the peasants who are the majority of the population.

The newly-elected administrations were not Communist. To draw all the people into the war and into these bodies, the Communists themselves issued a decree that at no place should more than one-third of any administrative body be Communists. The others were to be drawn from the people's organizations and from the merchant and gentry classes. In some place the Communists most certainly dominated; but in many others there was no Communists at all.

The first big regional mountain base in the rear of the Japanese, known as Chin Jia Ji, the most powerful democratic administrators~~xxx~~ were ~~the~~ leading Kuomintang officials who cooperated with the Communists, and who lead that region to the present day, That was, and remains, a real united front democratic base.

If you follow the press dispatches from China, you will now notice that the Chinese Democratic League, and many Chinese public organizations, sympathize with and generally stand on the same platform with the Chinese Communists. That does not mean they are Communists--for they are not. It means that all of them struggle for the same ~~immediate~~ democratic goals. How long that situation will last I do not know.

If you follow press dispatches from China these days, you will also read of many developments which Americans find difficult to understand, but which can be traced only to ~~xxx~~ feudal practices which still obtain in those regions ruled by the Kuomintang Party.

Conscription (Feudalism in action)
You will read, for example, of ~~xxx~~ conscription of Chinese soldiers ~~xxx~~ to replace those killed in the civil war which began last July, and you will read that this conscription has aroused the ire of the Chinese people.

On September 1st, last year, the ~~Chinese~~ Chinese

Two days before General Marshall's statement, Dr. Lo Lung-chi, spokesman for the Democratic League, declared that Marshall was operating under misconceptions. One year ago, ^{Dr. Lo} ~~he~~ said, the Communists were ~~willing~~ to surrender their armies to a new democratic government. Since that government was ~~never formed and~~ ~~ruled by the Kuomintang~~ ~~reactionaries who dominate~~ the Kuomintang ^{began} ~~for~~ civil war, ~~the~~ Communists have ^{presented} ~~two~~ demands before they will ^{again} deal with the Kuomintang. They are:

1. That the Kuomintang armies withdraw to the positions they held one year ago.

2. That the new Constitution be annulled.

Sen To's - Chen Li-fu's "read proposals". Sen To "economic bankruptcy"
The Chinese people hold American policy in China responsible for the civil war. Without American aid, the Kuomintang could not

have aborted the PCC of a year ago or have started civil war.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Why are the Chinese Communists so powerful, and in what way do they differ from American, Russian, and other Communists?

Apart from their agrarian and democratic reforms in the Liberated Areas which ~~they took back from the Japanese during~~ *gained the support of the peasant millions for them,* there are other factors.

I will describe to you the political-military system which they follow and which many American correspondents and military men have seen.

In the second year of the war with Japan, one of the Communist leaders at the front described that system to me.

~~to me by some of their leaders, and which I personally witnessed in action.~~

"Our political work is the line-line of our Army", ~~he~~ *he* ~~said.~~ *Because we are weaker than the Japanese, we will* ~~of them said.~~ *Today that* ~~we are weaker than~~ *we are weaker than* ~~the Japanese, they~~ *we are weaker than* ~~said,~~ *we must strengthen ourselves with knowledge.*

Their political educational activities may be divided into three main parts:

1. Education of the Army.
2. Political-educational work among the people.
3. Work about the enemy; and work with the enemy.

The purpose of this political educational work during the war was to raise the anti-Japanese spirit of the army and the people.

political-educational The system in the army ~~expanded~~ *expanded* ~~from~~ *to* every ~~unit,~~ *army* from the Company to the Co ps. The Company, the fighting unit, was also the political

educational unit, so the work in the Company was more complex. In each Company there were four branches of work:

1. The general cultural (or educational) branch, which included reading, writing, geography, ~~xxx~~ history, etc.
2. Military studies.
3. Recreation.
4. People's work.

Men had to study in the first two branches--general educational and military. The other two were voluntary. Men could join all groups if they had the time.

In every Division, Brigade, and Regiment, the Political Propaganda Corps was in the hands of educated men and women, most of whom left the schools and colleges of the big cities. They drew up ~~the~~ and directed the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ work: ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Dramas,
Published newspapers and wall newspapers.
Deliver lectures; conduct classes of every kind.
Mass Meetings.
Clubs. Wrote slogans.

About equal time was ~~directed~~^{given} to military and political subjects. ~~xx~~ These ~~men and women~~ worked by schedule.

The content^{of work} covered every aspect of the war with Japan, reasons for the war, comparisons of the strength of China and Japan, methods to be used to be finally victorious.

Also: Current world events, Chinese affairs, the history of China's revolution.

~~xxxxxx~~

They said to me: "Since our cultural standard is closely related to our political knowledge, we aim to eliminate illiteracy in the Army and among the civilian population."

One of their most important means of "Political Mobilization" ^{of their armies} consisted in meetings of the main fighting units before and after each battle at which both the military commander and the political director spoke. The fighters were given exact information about the ~~positions~~^{positions}, weapons, strength, and objectives of the enemy. They were also told what defeat would mean to the nation; and what victory would mean.

When time permitted, after each battle, meetings were held to analyze and criticize the battle. Every man had free ^{down} ~~speech~~ to criticize his comrades or commander, and the men criticized had to ~~reply~~. Weak or incapable or cowardly men were weeded out in this manner, and men promoted on merit. In time such promoted men were sent to the highest Military-Political Academy of the Army for advanced studies. There was no ~~officer~~ ^{caste}; all officers came from the ranks and the majority of them are former peasants.

During marches, political work continued during rest periods or at night.

"The People's movement is very important," ^{I was told,} ~~we~~ "because we have seen the regular Kuomintang armies retreat, often in great demoralization; ~~some~~ ^{some} of them loot the people, and ^{some} turn bandit.

The Kuomintang armies, given no political training, often did not know why they were called upon to die; in defeat they were demoralized. ~~Thus~~ Also, since they ~~were not linked~~ ^{were not linked} with the people, they were further weakened and demoralized.

"WE BELIEVE THAT FINAL VICTORY DEPENDS ON THE MOBILIZATION AND ARMING OF THE PEOPLE, on the DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, and on the IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVELIHOOD OF OUR PEOPLE."

~~Always brutally oppressed,~~ Our people must be given the status of citizens, with full democratic rights, that they may feel that they have a stake in the country.

"~~They~~ must be educated to know what the war is about that they may help us. Above all, they must be given something worth

4. If the livelihood of our people is improved, the people can give their whole-hearted attention to the anti-Japanese war.

"Many elements both inside and outside the Kuomintang are afraid to arouse, educate, and arm the common people, because they fear the people would then never return to the old feudal conditions under the landlord gentry. *That is correct.* ~~They are right in this.~~ *But we are not afraid of the people.* ~~Our PEOPLE'S~~ ~~work departments have the obligation to organize, educate, and arm~~ ~~the people, and teach them how to use weapons for self-protection.~~

"We have special FRONT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEES, with branches everywhere, the members of which are elected directly ~~thru~~ by the people.

It is ~~these~~ *that* ~~these~~ COMMITTEES carry out the mobilization, education, and

arming of the people. They, working jointly with the elected governments, carry out ^t measures to improve the living of our people.

They do the following:

1. Reduce taxes, rent, interest on loans,
2. Organize industrial and consumers cooperatives,
3. Plan ~~needed~~ crops,
4. Direct breeding of live stock,
5. Form Local Guerrilla bands.
6. Form and train Local Self-Defence Corps, or Minute Men.
7. Found schools for children and schools to eradicate mass illiteracy.
8. Organize and direct special training schools for mass organizers.
9. Take care of the families of soldiers. They hold meetings of families to discuss their problems and need, and mobilize the community to help such families cultivate their land.
10. Take care of and settle refugees from other regions.

In addition to this, when our Army is not otherwise engaged, they must help the people cultivate the land and harvest the crops.

~~troops~~, Troops garrisoning certain regions, must cultivate their own land and become self-supporting.

"Our Army also ~~has~~ has a number of military rules which all men must obey in their relations with the people. Eight of them:

1. Never enter the home of people without permission.
2. Before leaving such homes, ask if anything has been broken or has disappeared.
3. Return anything borrowed. Pay for anything broken.
4. Keep homes clean; sweep and clean before leaving.
5. Treat the people kindly. No cursing or insults. No molestation of women.
6. Use sanitary arrangements of the people; if insufficient, dig special latrines and fill them up before leaving.
7. Pay for everything at market prices.
8. Never rob or kill captives.

This system of activity ~~is~~ is the reason ~~for the existence~~ ^{have a million soldiers and the allegiance of the} ~~of~~ the Communist-commanded armies of China, ~~rooted in the people,~~ ^{plants.}

~~they have, as General Marshall stated, an army of a million men, and millions of additional supporters.~~ ~~xxxxx~~ The political

system they have introduced has broken feudalism and introduced a form of ~~primitive~~ ^{primitive} democracy of benefit to the people. ~~That they~~

~~are not perfect is true, and that they admit.~~ Their ^{agrarian reforms} ~~political~~ ^{and their election} ~~activities~~ constitute a vast agrarian revolution, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ This aspect of their activities had ~~nothing~~ to do with persuasion and knowledge, not with violence. Their

~~crime, in the eyes of the ancient feudal forces, is that they~~ ^{system has} ~~been~~ transferred power from the hands of the ancient rulers to the people, ~~most of whom are not Communists at all.~~

These facts are the basic reasons for the civil war today.

^{Some people believe} ~~are told~~ that the democratic activities of the Chinese Communists

are but transitory, and that their ultimate goal is ~~to establish~~
 a totalitarian dictatorship. ~~From my viewpoint,~~ ^{I may be wrong, but} it seems ^{to me} that
^{that} will depend upon what ~~xxxxx~~ our approach to them becomes. If we
 approach them as friends, as democrats, showing them that we have
 no intention of crushing or aborting the Chinese revolution,
 I believe China would develop and progress peacefully. If we
 set out to exterminate them, even indirectly through support of
 Chinese reaction, they ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~may be forced to~~ fight to the
 death. ~~All kinds of terrible things are generated in the midst of a~~
~~life and death struggle.~~

~~Furthermore, I doubt very much if the men who direct our~~
~~destinies are really opposed to totalitarianism. Had we been so,~~
~~opposed, we would never have supported the Kuomintang dictatorship,~~
~~nor recognized and aided Mussolini and Hitler's government in the past.~~
~~Nor Franco's Spain today.~~

Colonial Woes in
 Revolution - greet to China
 Report to nation - Marshall
 P.C.C. - 1946
 Nat Assembly
 "Liberals"
 "Constitution"
~~Collapse of~~
 Collapse of Chinese economy
 Fortunes made
 millions die
 Feudalism
 Landlord monarchial control
 Heavy - rents - poor
 absolute rule
 Corruption agents
 4 families
 500 billion in USA,
 UNRRA - from us