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Nor a few concluding facts:

Two days before General George Marshall ~~issued~~ <sup>issued</sup> his <sup>recent</sup> statement, Dr. Lo Lung-chi, spokesman for the Chinese Democratic League, gave an interview to an American correspondent in Shanghai in which he stated that General Marshall shows a lack of knowledge of Chinese psychology and of Chinese history since 1911. *What did he mean?*

The history of China <sup>since 1911</sup> is a long and bloody <sup>struggle.</sup> ~~history in which Chinese people have had to struggle against the policies of~~ foreign imperialist powers and the ~~many Chinese~~ <sup>many Chinese</sup> long series of governments which they propped up with recognition, loans, and money. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ On October 10th, the anniversary of the Chinese 1911 revolution against the Manchu Dynasty, our press has recently begun to praise the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of

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the Chinese Republic. I presume they do this because Dr. Sun is dead, Certainly, in his lifetime, they would have no truck with him.

Let me take one ~~XXXXXX~~ episode from Chinese history since 1911.

When Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his colleagues, established the Chinese Republic, ~~XXXXX~~ they drew up a draft democratic Constitution, and elected Dr. Sun ~~XXXXXX~~ Provisional President.

The foreign powers, our own country included, refused to recognize that Republic unless Dr. Sun resigned in favor of General Yuan Shih-kai, to whom they promised a big loan ~~if~~ <sup>if</sup> he became President.

Dr. Sun then resigned in favor of General Yuan, though General Yuan was a monarchist and a reactionary. Our press presented

Yuan as a liberal, a great administrator, and the only "strong man" capable of holding China together. ~~XXX~~ President Wilson forced American bankers to withdraw from the foreign loan to him, but five other western powers gave him that ~~loan~~ <sup>big loan</sup> ~~which~~ which he used to destroy the Republic.

General Yuan remained in power for four years and a half. In the first ~~XXXXXX~~ two years he dissolved the elected Parliament, ~~XXXXXX~~, began the assassination of Republicans throughout the country, and appointed his own henchmen in every Province in the country, thus laying the ~~XXXXXX~~ foundation of warlordism that harrassed China thereafter.

In the second year of his rule he replace<sup>d</sup> the democratic Draft Constitution ~~with~~ <sup>with</sup> a so-called Constitutional Compact<sup>t</sup> by which he became dictator. That Constitutional Compact was drawn up ~~by~~

by an American, Dr. Frank Goodnow, Professor~~or~~ of Constitutional Law of Columbia and, later, of John Hopking University. That was the first Fascist Constitution in the world.

In the third year of his rule, General Yuan had Dr. Goodnow draw up a Memorandum describing the virtues of a monarchy over a Republic. With this Memorandum as his chief propaganda instrument, General Yuan. ~~XXXXXX~~ engineered the restoration of the Monarchy, and ~~XXX~~ set January 1st, 1916, as the date of his coronation as Emperor. All the foreign powers ~~XXXX~~ announced their intention of recognizing the new Monarchy. There is some unclarity about our own intentions, but General Yuan stated that America would also recognize it.

~~The Chinese people revolted twice within those ~~XXXXXX~~ years.~~

In any case, our press at the time began to refer to Yuan as the King, or Emperor, of China.

The Chinese people ~~repeatedly~~ revolted twice within those four years, and in the second revolt (at the end of 1915 and ~~in~~ early 1916) they shattered General Yuan's armies, forced him to abandon his monarchist plot and announced the <sup>restoration</sup> ~~restoration~~ of the Republic. He died ~~xxxxx~~ in June, 1916. Some sentimentalists said he died of a broken heart at the age of 54. In fact, he died of kidney trouble due to a dissolute life.

One episode in General Yuan's career is interesting. In 1913, when <sup>Dr.</sup> Sun Yat-sen and his followers were appealing to the western world against <sup>the</sup> a huge Reorganization loan to Yuan, General

Yuan appealed to the Christian churches of England, ~~and~~ the United States, and China, for a day of prayer for ~~ex~~ "China". The Christian world fluttered, saying Yuan intended to become a Christian and would turn China into a Christian nation. The Archbishop of Canterbury announced that after inquiring of the <sup>British</sup> Foreign Office, ~~in~~ ~~London~~ he was convinced that General Yuan really believed in the efficacy of prayer. So the ~~Christian~~ Christian churches of China, England, and America, went on their knees in prayer for General Yuan on April 13, 1913.

Behind this smokescreen, General Yuan <sup>secretly</sup> negotiated ~~the~~ <sup>the Foreign Loan.</sup> ~~the Five Power Consortium was~~ the huge Reorganization Loan. While Republicans protested in vain, this loan was secretly signed in the ~~xxxxx~~ Peking Headquarters of the British Hongkong and Shanghai

Banking Corporation. It was denounced by every Chinese patriot.

When General Yuan died, <sup>three years later</sup> there was not one cent of this loan left, ~~and~~ Peking was bankrupt, its currency worthless, and the peasants refused to transport food into the cities to exchange for the worthless ~~money~~. The various departments of <sup>Yuan's</sup> government worked independently, and demanded only foreign currency in transactions. Mr. Liang Shih-yi, the richest man in China, called the "Pierpont Morgan of China", who served variously as Finance Minister and ~~the~~ <sup>Yuan's</sup> confidential secretary, <sup>spent the last hours of Yuan's life</sup> ~~of~~ ~~General Yuan,~~ ~~as~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ and who had been one of the chief monarchist agitators, cornering the copper coin market of Peking, <sup>He</sup> ~~as~~ ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~his~~ ~~master~~ ~~lay~~ ~~dying.~~ ~~He~~ ~~then~~ cornered a few last thousand dollars of this currency of the poor, ~~then~~ fled with all his wealth to British Hongkong.

Thus ended the man, and the regime, of the ~~XXXXXX~~ General whom ~~XXXXXX~~ America, Britain, and France in particular, had propped up as a "liberal", <sup>a great</sup> administrator, and the only "strong man" able to hold China together.

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 With ~~the~~ <sup>of the foreign powers</sup> able assistance, he ruined China and left a country in the hands of warlords who ravaged the country, <sup>for all the years</sup> ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~that~~ ~~followed~~. They continued their depredations today.

Perhaps this is the most eliquent episode in Chinese history since 1911 which Dr. Lo Lung-chi meant when he said that General Marshall ~~lacked~~ ~~his~~ knowledge of Chinese history since 1911. For Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is also being called a "liberal", an administrator,

Specifically, I share the proposals now being discussed in Washington: that we withdraw all our troops and equipment from China and allow the domestic forces there to settle the issues as they can. I have no doubt, if we withdraw support from the Kuomintang Government, that there would be a democratic government within a few months time at most.

There is still another possibility: a short time ago a group of Far Eastern experts, led by Dr. Owen Lattimore, Prof. Harley F. MacNair of this University, and Senators Murray and Fladers, proposed that all the parties and groups of China meet, jointly with the representatives of the Big Three Foreign Ministers who signed the Moscow Agreement of December, 1945, and reach a decision within the framework of the United Nations. These Far Eastern experts

and the "only strong man able to hold China together." General Yuan did not become a Christian, nor would it have altered him in the least even had he done so, for Christianity does not necessarily alter any person who adopts it. I regard Generalissimo Chiang's Christianity as nothing but propaganda directed at the American people.

### Solution

You might wonder what I think the solution of the China problem is. I believe that we should approach that problem basically. The late Wendell Willkie stated shortly before his death that "the best answer to Communist is a living, vibrant, fearless democracy--economic, social and political. All we need to do is to stand up and perform according to our professed ideals."

proposed that General Marshall chair such a conference, yet they also stated that American self-interest automatically ruled us out as an impartial judge.

I do not know just how the ~~xxxx~~ various political parties of China view that proposal. What what I have read, the Communists of China made a somewhat similar proposal.

In a statement from Yen-an in November, General Chu Teh, the CC of the Communist armies, said America could follow two courses of action: One was to make China a bridge of friendship with Russia; the other could turn China into a battleground for war on ~~xxxx~~ Russia. General Chu Teh also stated that the Chinese Communists have never received any foreign support, nothing at all from Russia. The only foreign support they have tried to get for a democratic China, he said,

was from the American people. He expressed faith in the American people, but not in the American Government. Since the American people put the present Congress in power, I do not know if his faith in the American people amounts to much. It is certain that large numbers of informed Americans have disagreed with our policy in China and have tried to influence our government. Up to now they have failed. And what General Marshall will do in the future in respect to China remains to be seen. Perhaps the subject will come up soon in the Moscow Conference.

China and the U.S.S.R.