

I - 42. 173 Division - Political Soldiers Training Course -
34 pp.

173 Div. Political Soldiers training course
8 weeks.

- San Min Chu I theory - - - 22 hrs. in all.
- History of the Ch. revol.- 6 hrs. in all
- General political knowl. - 48 hrs. in all.
- Army General Knowledge . . 36 hrs. in all
- Geography of China and west-16 hrs. in all.
- War Geography - - - - - 4 hrs. in all.
- Morale lectures 14 hrs. in all
- Health, first-aid, anti-gas 30 hrs. in all
- Singing and plays - - 36 hrs. in all
- Reading and composition - 60 hrs. in all
- Short talks for mass meet. 24 hrs. in all
- Air-raid defence,
 traitor defence- - - 24 hrs. in all
- Public speaking for
 civilians 12 hrs. in all
- Wall newspapers and
 preparation of dramas 24 hrs. in all
- China-Japanese relations 12 hrs. in all.

Daily news reports 2 - 1 fronts
Monday morning review

Sincere, the Divisional weekly magazine.
Bai Yen, or White Bayonet, monthly for soldiers.
The Army Group had a weekly newspaper.

Club rooms for soldiers and officers. ~~officers~~
Newspapers, war booklets of every kind, magazines
and a few paper-bound books.

Walls decorated with maps of China and world,
and various kinds of weapons and air-raid
defence. I saw there a balloon barrage for
the first time. It looked silly to me.

Pin-ups
Prints on walls of Edison, James Watt, Madame
Curie, Benjamin Franklin, Dain, Marconi,
Newton, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington.
At end of room prints of Sun Yat-sen and
Generalissimo Chiang with flags between.

Divisional song: The Marseillaise melody.

In another Division of the 11th Group Army I met a chief-of-staff named Liu and we spent many evenings discussing the problems of China and the state of the world. I wish I had time to tell you all his questions and speculations. He was very much like the ~~Division~~ Commander of the 173rd Division ~~who~~ asked me:

Chung Yi's questions:

"Do you think that Britain, France, and ~~the~~ Holland wish us Chinese to ~~not~~ win this war and ~~emerge~~ emerge a strong, independent power? Don't you think, instead, that Britain and France and Holland fear that if we did, we would inspire their subjected colonial peoples to follow our example?

"Do not these colonial powers hope merely that both us and Japan will become so exhausted by the war that we can be more easily exploited in the future than in the past? How else can we explain American, British and Canadian sale of war materials to Japan?"

~~Of another Division of this 11 Group Army~~
~~The chief-of-staff, ~~also~~, discussed the Finnish-Soviet conflict with me, ~~for it had just started.~~~~
~~His information was as incomplete as mine, but in the light of events that transpired since, I realize how far-~~visioned~~ visioned he was. We discussed the Munich Pact in this connection, and he told me that Finland was ~~now~~ negotiating with the Japanese, ~~about something or other, ~~perhaps~~ perhaps trying to get Japan to attack Soviet Russia from the east. German advisers of every kind were going to Japan and were ~~now~~ working with the Finns and the Japanese.~~~~

This officer ~~considered~~ considered Finland a ^{potential} base of operations against Soviet Russia, and he thought Russia knew all about this and was trying to destroy that base before it itself was attacked.

This officer also thought that Britain and France were trying to influence the Chinese Government to accept the Japanese peace ~~plans~~ proposals ~~to it~~ so that Japan could be given all Chinese territory north of the Yellow River. This would remove Japanese troops from Central and South China, and the threat to Indo-China and India. And foreign

investments were chiefly located in south and Central China, so that this officers thought the western powers merely hoped to get the Japanese out of these regions and induce them to be content with northern Chinese Provinces, which could be a base of operations against Soviet Russia.

He said also that the western powers did not want Japan to exhaust its manpower and resources on China, but to save them for use against Russia. He thought, however, that Russia could not be defeated by a combination of capitalist powers, because, he said, they could not even do that after the Russian Revolution of 1917 when Russia was exhausted. Since then, he said, Russia had had two decades of powerful growth, and its Army the strongest in the world.

Two nationalist armies, however, were as enlightened as the Kwantung Army. However, now
The Communist guerrillas. 8th Route and New Fourth.

W These Communist Armies must be compared closely with Marshall Tito's Yugoslav Partisans. ~~Once the Red Army of Workers and Peasants, they formed the national united front with the Government troops when the Japanese attacked, and became the 8th Route and New Fourth.~~

I am discussing their political educational and organization work here.

~~As said,~~ they have political workers in all fighting units from the company up to the highest detachments, including ~~in~~ their hospitals. They place prime importance on an enlightened mind, and say "our political training is our life line." Learning is an obsession with them. They are the best-educated Army of China. Even on the march, their courses of instruction continue. I've been on the march ~~with them.~~ When we halted ~~at noon~~ for ~~an hour~~ of rest, the various units were gathered together to continue a course of lectures, with discussions, on the history of ~~the~~ Sino-Japanese relations. Other courses were also given.

The ~~Communist~~ ^{8th Rt.} armies had about 50,000 men when the war began. They now have 500,000 armed regulars, and about 3,600,000 auxiliaries, or people's militia, who continue productive work while defending

their villages, towns, or country.

The 8th Route Army ^{occupies most territory} ~~occupies~~ north China north of the Yellow River, a region west of the Yellow River in northern Shensi ^(Yenan) ~~and~~ a part of north Kiangsu Province ~~bordering~~ near the coast. They have ~~six~~ ^{bases} great guerrilla ~~regions~~ ^{bases} with bases in mountainous regions. One of their bases border the coast of Shantung Province and they even control a part of the coast ~~of Shantung~~ and have a fleet of small boats and junks.

6
bases

~~They now have guerrillas in Kwantung in the South.~~

All the regions they occupy were formerly occupied by the Japanese. They have cleaned the Japanese and their puppets from the most of 455 ^(counties) ~~counties~~ including from 52,850 villages behind the Japanese lines. It's impossible to get exact statistics of population in the regions they control, but ⁱⁿ their reports, state that ~~they~~ estimate ~~over~~ 30,000,000 people live in the regions controlled by them. Of the 455 counties cleaned of the Japanese, a number still have Japanese garrisons in strong walled towns, though the countryside is in the hands of the people. 277 ^{democratic bodies in} ~~totally liberated counties~~

277
Counties
elects
bodies

When the Japanese defeated and drove out the national armies in those regions, the officials fled with the armies, or fled to Japanese occupied cities such as Peiping and Tientsin. Some became heads of Japanese puppet governments in the countryside.

elections

people
organizing

People's
Militia

^{while} ~~after~~ the ~~area~~ territory was ^{being} liberated, the Communist armies ~~sent~~ ^{sent} bodies of educated men and women into ~~organized~~ liberated regions to organize and train the civilian population. They formed every kind of people's organizations, and organized People's Militia in each village. Every man from the age of 16 to 50 was eligible, without regard to class or political beliefs. There was no conscription at all, ~~no~~ in that army. All must be volunteers. Short-term training courses for civilians were organized to train civilians not only in military matters, but politically.

People's
Militia

Training of People's Militia: Over 2,000,000

1. The use of arms, the technique of night fighting, fighting in squads and platoons,

throwing of hand-grenades and the use of explosives.

- 2. Technique of breaking communications of the enemy.
- 3. The art of iron-casting and arm foundering and the manufacture of gunpowder and land mines.
- 4. Technique of village warfare.
- 5. Current news; political knowledge, including the principles and practices of the national united front without regard of class or political beliefs.

Tasks of the People's Militia:

- 1. To harrass and surround the enemy, acting as auxiliaries of the regular armed forces in campaigns.
- 3. The interception and destruction of enemy communications.
- 4. Arresting and destruction of small isolated groups of Japanese.
- 5. In Japanese mopping-up campaigns, to be rear-guards in covering the evacuation of civilians to safe places.
- 6. Checking activities of puppets and traitors; ~~XXXXXX~~ study of Japanese espionage and propaganda methods and methods of counter-espionage.

*Training with
for. Chinese
& militia.
Night literacy
classes for
adults
300,000
adults
learned
(S.)
W. P. P.
Kang
Ky
(1943)*

To fill up the vacuum left by the evacuation of officials, the 8th Route Army's Political Department began huge educational campaigns in democracy, which lasted for short or long terms, as the needs called for. A number of Kuomintang, or nationalist Party members, or a few scattered old officials who had not fled, but remained to fight the Japanese, took part in these campaigns. Then suffrage rights were granted to all men and ~~over~~ ^{over} over 18 years of age and ~~five~~ democratic elections held. A decree was passed that no more than one-third of any elected body could be Communist. In this way, 277 counties of north China now have ~~democratically~~ democratically elected bodies composed of men and women without regard of party beliefs, religion, ~~sex, or class.~~ Some ~~of~~ old officials and Kuomintang members were re-elected to office.

*through national conferences held.
Marriage by choice introduced*

10

Monogamy & marriage by choice introduced.

Economically, the entire regions under the 8th ~~XXXX~~ Route Army is more or less cooperative. This region is rich in wheat, cotton, coal, iron, and hides. Some wool. ~~TEX~~

g
The 8th Route guerrilla base in northeastern Hopei Province, north and northeast of Peiping, led the miners in the great Kailin coal mines near Tientsin into a general strike two or three times. There were slaughters by the Japanese, and during one strike, 1,000 miners joined the 8th Route ~~and~~ became a great force in technical development. Railway workers and arsenal workers joined them. Engineers and other technical men from Tientsin and Peiping joined them. Now there is a vast network of ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ small industries in the 8th Route Region. Industrial cooperatives have been founded, not only on a large scale, but home industries, especially spinning and weaving, are largely in the hands of women and girls. ~~The~~ All the cloth used by the ~~XXXXXX~~ troops and the people is now made in this way. Small arsenals have been founded, soap on a large scale manufactured, many kinds of medicine manufactured from medicinal herbs.

~~The Japanese had planned on using the cotton, hides and wool of the north in their war industries. The guerrillas prevent this.~~

g
In 1942 there was even a great congress of Natural Science in the 8th Route Region, composed of educated men and women from the universities of the north who have joined the 8th Route. Prof. William Bland, Prof. of physics at Yenching Univer. who escaped with a number of other foreigners from Peiping, addressed this Congress.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Korea
Shanghai
In its great mountain bases, the 8th Route and New Fourth Armies founded great Army and Administrative Training Camps, through which thousands of men and women have passed, learned not only military science, but political knowledge. The ~~XXXXXX~~ length of courses depend upon the war situation in the area. They sometimes last six months, sometimes a year. The Medical Training School in North Shensi give three-year courses.

Radio Training School.

Some of the political courses given in these Training Camps are:

1. Principles and Tactics of the Nat. United Front.
2. The three people's Principles of Sun Yat-sen.
3. ~~Social Science~~ - The study of Marxist theories.
4. History of the Chinese Revolution.
5. History of Chinese-Japanese Relations.
6. History of Chinese-Foreign Relations.
7. Theories and practices of Fascism.
8. History of Human Progress.
9. The Japanese language.
10. Mass education and mobilization.
11. Natural science.

enemy work
Sept
The
General cultural subjects, such ^{as} ~~as~~ world and war geography, reading and writing for the illiterate, hygiene, physiology, anatomy, first-aid, are taught.

Espionage and counter-espionage are taught.

Public Speaking and singing and acting are taught.

In the North Shensi base there is a great ~~art~~ Academy, the Lu-Hun Art Academy, in which educated men and women engaged in various branches of cultural work--music, ~~xxxxxxx~~ the drama, painting, wood-cuts, ~~xxx~~ acting, etc., continue their studies and then utilize their knowledge in the ranks of the Army and with the people.

Newspapers and magazines devoted to many subjects--news, medicine, natural science, political subjects, are published. There are literary magazines. Educated youth organized in Front Service Corps tour the regions giving plays to the troops, teaching new songs. Women are as active as the men, ~~as all~~ such work. In fact, it is a renaissance of the woman's movement.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

When I was with the New Fourth Army, I once got some magazines and newspapers through the Japanese lines from Shanghai. One was Foreign Affairs, giving a 29-page article on the Munich Pact. That article was done into Chinese at once and published in two issues, with maps of Czechoslovakia, in the Army

8 / monthly political, Kangdi (Resistance). This article furnished the text for an Army study of the Munich Pact. *The whole Army studied the Munich Pact.*

Kangdi.

In another issue of the same magazine I found an article by General Chen I, now commander-in-chief of the New Fourth Army. It was a study and analysis on the state of learning in General Chen's detachment.

One paragraph in this comprehensive article will give you an idea of its content. It read:

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

General Chen called upon the troops to preserve "the ancient spirit of Chinese learning", and ~~he~~ quoted maxims which are like termites in the Chinese language. Some of them read:

Tie your head to a pillar with 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.

Slogans I saw written on walls of towns and buildings in the guerrilla regions:

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.
Our last drop of blood for the final victory.
Only unity can lead to the final victory.

Compare these slogans with the one you see in the nationalist armies affected by Fascist thought:

"One party, one principle, one leader."

I mentioned the mass-educational movement among the soldiers of the Kwangsi ~~11~~ 11th Group Army. Had I time, I would extend that to a study of the 21st Group Army, another Kwangsi Army, and to the nationalist Army of General Tang Enpei. I have not time. General Tang Army, the Kwangsi Armies--nationalists--, and the Communist guerrilla, all pursue broad and deep movements of general education among the soldiers. ~~But~~ They all have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ competitions between the various units of their armies in learning words--"the 500 word campaign" it is called. ~~xxxxxxxx~~

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ The Communists carry this program through far more thoroughly than other armies. Even the ~~xxxxxx~~ wounded in the hospitals must learn at least 5 new words a day, if they happen to be illiterate.

"Movements"
 1. Mass Education
 2. Democratic Traditions
 3. Study of 500 Characters
 4. Study of 500 Characters
 5.

The Communist guerrillas have not only this mass educational movement among the troops, but they initiate various other movements. I watched a "democratic movement" and a "~~Florence~~ Nightingale" movement in the New Fourth Army. The "democratic movement" lasted for months, off and all and all ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the educational organs of the army were mobilized to its end: there were mass meetings where speakers spoke on the democratic traditions of the Army; the theatrical groups presented plays

about it. All the Army newspapers, wall
newspapers, and the monthly magazine carried
articles on it. Down in each company the soldiers
 ✓ ✓ studied and discussed the principles of democracy.

In their various Training Camps, their night
discussion ~~xxxxxx~~ classes were devoted to it.

✓ ✓ Their democratic traditions were these: the
 4 right of soldiers and officers to free speech,
press, and criticism; equality between officers
and men save in combat, when the soldiers obeyed
without question. Every attempt was made to educate
 them so that their obedience and discipline would
 be voluntary.

d) Democratic traditions meant also a close
and brotherly treatment ~~of~~ of the civilian population
 --a basic need in all China. There are rigid Army
 rules about this subject, and men who violate them
 are brought to mass trial by the soldiers and
 punished.

Conf. after captured by Carlson
 ✓ It may interest you that, apart from death for
 the most serious offences such as (rape or murder),
the next most serious punishment is expulsion from
the Army forever. The soldiers fear that, for the
 ✓ Army is their father and mother; it is the only
educational and cultural ~~xxxxxx~~ institution most

phenomenon in the present world. Here are thousands and thousands of boys who have grown up in an Army, disciplined by it in thought and action. Their basic thought is ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Marxism--the completion of the Chinese revolution. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ So you find masses of young men around the age of 20, in the army, who have had no experience in sex ~~at all.~~

Speaking of "movements". There was the "Nightingale movement" to popularize science in general, and the medical care of the wounded in particular.

Songs, theatres, club discussions Songs, theatres, papers, discussion clubs, all studied this problem during this yearly movement.

The consequences:

Platoon A platoon of new guerrillas north of Hankow spoke of a "new ~~progressive China~~ *progressive China*" for which they were fighting. I asked what they meant by the "new progressive China". They said:

Boy south of Nanking--20 years of age.

*Guerrilla
S. J.
Nanking*

~~Questions asked:~~

The leg -

some feudal-minded Chinese Generals say, that a soldier's duty is to die on the field of battle. That a man's duty is not to ~~question why~~ question why, but to do and die. They thought that a man's due is to question why, and then to fight. To live if possible, to die only if necessary.

In the light of all this, you can well understand just why conflicts have arisen between the ~~Nationalist~~ ^{Soviet} and communist armies of China, and why the Chinese Government, ^{in 1940,} ~~is mortally afraid of~~ the Communist guerrilla armies and has thrown a blockade of half a million men around them.

The Chinese Government, ^{excuses its blockades} declares that the Communist guerrillas do not fight, but only "move about and stir up the people and disturb the social system." ^{They do stir up the people.}

The Japanese know well enough that the ^{400,000 casualties} Communist guerrillas fight. American, ~~many of~~ ^{them,} have been with the 8th Route Army and know that it fights, ~~ceaselessly~~. In fact, most of its arms and other military supplies have been captured from the Japanese. ~~They have hundreds of Japanese prisoners of war--and it is not easy to capture~~ Japanese. But they retrain these Japanese, and

after a number of months release some of them to return to their troops or to the Japanese-occupied cities to spread their knowledge. A number of Japanese ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ and Koreans are in charge of the education of Japanese prisoners.

Nearly a year ago

~~recently~~, American newspaper men, and also

✓ American military men in Chungking, have asked

Generalissimo Chiang to permit them to ~~send~~ ^{go} observers to the 8th Route Army to study ~~Japanese positions and~~ ^{conditions}

~~installations,~~ for that region is the nearest

base for the bombing of Manchuria and western Japan.

For months

^ The Generalissimo has flatly refused to let them go,

saying the 8th Route Army ~~consists of~~ ^{are} rebels. ~~We~~ ^{They have}

~~are supposed to be content with the propaganda which~~ ^{at last gone.}

~~the Government puts out about the 8th Route Army.~~

We had almost the same situation formerly about

Marshall Tito's Yugoslav Partisans.

~~I do not ask you to believe my words if you~~

~~do not wish to, though I spent about two years with~~

~~the Communist guerrilla armies, and another two~~

~~years with the nationalist armies of China. xxx~~

~~but~~ the 8th Route Army wants, and would welcome our

military observers--which indicates clearly that

they are not afraid of anything. If the Chinese

Government wishes us to believe the rumors which

I have related here today about economic and political conditions in that region, was given me by him. ~~He brought back all kinds of material, including photographs.~~

Com. rep. in Chungking. Statewide.
The Chinese Government ~~now~~ ^{has ~~been~~ demanded} demands that the

Chinese Communist guerrillas disband their army and ~~enter~~ come under the exclusive command of the Government. They demand that the elected democratic bodies in those regions be disbanded and the Government be permitted to send back its own appointed officials. It charges that the 8th Route people have introduced their own currency and taxation system.

Now, considering the present ^{disastrous} ~~state~~ state of ^{inflation ~~there~~ in China,} Chinese national currency, considering the fact that the price of rice has gone up as much as 2,500% in some regions; that there is widespread ^{famine,} hoarding and war-profittering, you would not think the Government could possibly expect ^{any human being} ~~that~~ the 8th Route people ^{to} ~~will~~ accept ^{its} ~~such~~ a system.

The Chinese Communist ^{demand that the} armies refuse to ~~accept the present military, political, or economic~~ ^{system of the Chinese Government.} ~~They demand that~~ ^{the Government take immediate steps to introduce} ~~the Government take immediate steps to introduce~~ ^{its secret Gestapo & ~~that~~ the concentration camps.}

a democratic system ~~in which the entire~~
~~people will have a voice in the government that~~
 rules them. ~~In other words, we hear a great echo~~
~~of our own history.~~ Neither they nor the people
 want Government-appointed officials ^{to replace} sent in to them.
~~the elected officials.~~
 They charge that the Government is merely ~~merely~~
 manoeuvring to prevent the ~~immediate~~ introduction
 of democracy, by saying it will call a National
 Assembly and draw up a Constitution within one year
 after the war ends.

But we need not speak of ~~them alone.~~ ^{Committee alone.} There
 are great bodies of educated men and women in China
^{a democratic form of Govt.}
 who want the ~~same.~~ They are professional men and
 women, and students of every class. Three small
 political parties, and two educational groups, ~~of~~
~~them~~ all non-Communists, have now organized what they
 call a "Democratic Federation", ~~and have~~ and have
 put out a "Bill of Democracy", with 10 points ^{They} demanding
 a Bill of Rights, ~~demanding~~ the abolition of the
 present Kuomintang dictatorship; ~~they demand~~ that
 the Kuomintang cease using governmental power to force
 professors, students, educational administrators to
 join the Kuomintang; ~~they demand~~ that the Kuomintang
 dissolve its Party organs in the Army and cease ~~to~~

just when ^{it} it will end. ~~xxxx~~ From July to November of last year, the nationalist army surrounding the 8th Route began fighting the 8th Route, and it appeared that there would be civil war. American intervention prevented this. That information I have not only from men returned from China in recent weeks, but from a letter which I just received from a British Bishop of the Church of England who is in Chungking.

All my information shows that the national united front, formed when the war began, has ^{been} broken ^{since} ~~late~~ 1939. The great democratic upsurge of the people which existed from ~~xxxxxxx~~ nearly two years after Nanking fell to the enemy in December, 1938, has long since been suppressed by the secret police, modelled on the German Gestapo. There is total suppression of the press and of free speech and the right of criticism. A violent wave of reaction has spread through so-called Free China, with one of the most reactionary Cliques, the so-called C.C. Clique controlling all organs of public opinion, including the ~~xxxxxx~~ Ministries of Education, Information, and Social Welfare.

While this goes on, and educated men and women prevented from utilizing their knowledge and energy

and among Americans who had some of it translated, that it has now been withdrawn from sale, in Chungking.

In October of last year, the Ta Kung Pao of Chungking published Government regulations about Chinese students who are self-supporting and may wish to come abroad to study. There are 18 clauses in this regulation, many of them designed to prevent what the Chinese officials call "dangerous thoughts", -- just as the Japanese do. Clause 14

reads:

Students "Self-supporting students residing abroad must absolutely receive direction and control from the Superintendent of Chinese Studies and the Embassy abroad in connection with all their thinking and deeds."

It goes on to say that if a man's thoughts are contrary to the ruling party, "his qualifications to study abroad will be promptly cancelled and he will be compulsorily required to return to China."

A number of Americans have exposed this upsurge of reaction in China in the past months. Some them are Pearl Buck, in May 10th issue of Life of last year, Dr. T. A. Bisson of the Foreign Policy Association, and others. Hanson Baldwin, of the N.Y. Times published a rather scathing and, in part, prejudiced article against the fighting capacities of the Chinese armies.

These articles, and a number of new books by Americans, have aroused a tremendous turmoil in

The Chinese Government even tried to suppress some of the books through our OWI, ~~and I know one American who was in China for a few weeks, then came back here and, on behalf of the Chinese Government, asked our President to suppress~~ ~~articles of~~ ~~and such~~ ~~critics.~~

The Chinese Government has branded all such articles and books as forms of American imperialism. *Red inspired.*

But the Chinese people do not. Those articles of criticism have been translated by Chinese, and copies by the thousands made and circulated from hand to hand. One high official in the Chinese Government, himself a democrat who bitterly opposes all totalitarian thought, had bound copies of those critical articles made and presented hundreds of copies of them to his subordinates. One Chinese General, commander of 50 divisions, presented copies of those articles to his officers in the field and asked them to read them and think well about conditions who make foreign friends criticize them.

I know for a fact that the democratic elements of China welcome friendly criticism of reactionary trends in China. They say that they do not expect

Americans to fight their battles for them, but since they themselves are denied any form of expression, they welcome the criticism of foreign friends. They are glad that they are not compelled to fight a disillusioned and deluded American public as well as their own officials.

Dr. Sun Fo. Letter to Life

If American critics of China exercise criticism from the viewpoint of democracy, just the same as they criticize reactionary trends in America, they are doing China and America a service. Dr. Lin Yu-tang, the Chinese writer, published a book "Between Tears and Laughter", a few months ago. It was a bitter attack on our treatment of China before and after Pearl Harbor. It criticized all imperialist tendencies and thought, including Prof. Spykman's Geopolitical theories, and it attacked Churchill's imperialistic and monarchical trend of statemanship.

I do not agree with some things in Lin Yu-tang's book--his defence of Confucianism, for instance. That's simply silly. But I think that we Americans of this age have to do some quick and clear thinking and we must do it quick. So I think Lin Yu-tang's book has done us a service.

However, I think we American democrats

also have the right to criticize the Chinese Government just as Lin Yu-tang criticizes us. I will fight for Lin Yu-tang's right to say anything he wants to say in this country, but I also demand the right to say what I know to be facts about China. I am certain that the American Government did not send a wire to Chungking and demand that it suppress Lin Yu-tang, and the Chinese Government demanded that the OWI suppress articles and books about China.

~~I know that what I say and think is often branded as Communism by both Chinese officials and by some Americans. Now, if I were a Communist, I would not hesitate to say so. The Communists are a legal body in this country. It just happens that I am not a Communist, and never was a member of their Party or any other Party. I hope the tendency in our country to brand everything democratic and revolutionary ~~as~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~name~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Communist~~ ~~Party~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~the~~ ~~best~~ ~~way~~ ~~to~~ ~~brand~~ ~~it~~ ~~as~~ ~~Communism~~.~~ It is a bad day indeed if we Americans, with our roots in revolution, should become another Holy Alliance against social changes of benefit to the common people. If we here, or if the Chinese Government, wishes to avoid ~~the~~ the charges of Communists against them, we might at least go the

go the Communists one better by showing that we ~~xxxx~~ are better and more advanced democrats than they are.

We have great traditions of our own-- the most precious of all the right of free speech, press and assembly, the right of criticism. We have allowed great evils to develop in our country, among them racial and color prejudices and discriminations, and our enemies take great advantage of them. But ~~we~~ as I said we have a rich history of struggle for the rights of the common man everywhere. For instance, returning to America before Pearl Harbor, after many years abroad, it was a great thing to me that I did not jump and listen in fear if a knock came on my door at night. When I register at a hotel, the police does not step in within an hour to examine my papers and my luggage and to question me about my family for the past five generations; and they do not try to find out if I harbor thoughts of which policemen disapprove. It is a great thing that I can stand here before you and speak, even if some of you may doubt or disbelieve.

I would not have you believe that in speaking critically of certain policies of the Chinese Government that I apply my criticism to all Chinese. *Official*
~~I spent years with the various Chinese armies. Most~~

Chinese officers and men in the field are wonderful men, hungry for knowledge of every kind. They do not suppress free discussion and opinion. The young officers of China, and some of the older ones, are just as frank and open as Americans, military men. *Problems same as ours.*

The usual attitude, that Chinese are inscrutable and mysterious, cunning and strange, is ~~just so much hooey.~~ *nonsense. Made* The new generation of modern Chinese men and women are much like ourselves. ~~Their~~ *modern educated youth* ~~Officials in the far rear~~ are often the kid-gloved, inscrutable variety. *not educated youth* ~~There~~ When men stand under the shadow of death, and know that they may die any minute, they think ~~xxxx~~ straight and ~~frankly~~ speak openly and frankly. They speculate on what they are fighting for, and if the future is worth dying for. They are determined that that future shall be worth while.

Ward I believe that our place is beside these modern men and women of China, builders of the new world. They can learn many technical things from us, but many of them are ~~more~~ *more* politically ~~more~~ enlightened and far-visioned than we are. We can learn from them in this. I see no value in suppressing any facts at all. Facts that have to be suppressed are generally those that should be exposed.