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### III

## China and America

TONIGHT I want to talk especially about China. We know, and the larger part of the American people are coming to know, that the bombs that are dropping on Shanghai today and blowing into bits tens of thousands of women and children, as well as men, that inhuman and bloody unprovoked attack upon the Chinese people about which we read every day, is something that affects our lives here in New York and in Kings County just as much as the threat of Tammany does.

Our lives in America cannot be separated from those of the people of China. Just as we recognized our close relationship with the Spanish people when Hitler's and Mussolini's airplanes began to rain bombs upon Madrid, so have we to recognize our close connection with our Chinese brothers now that they are suffering from the same enemy.

This attack upon the peace of the world by Italian and German fascism and Japanese militarist-fascism is not alone upon those who suffer at this moment. Let us not have any illusions that America can be separated from the world. The worst enemy that America has today is the one who would lull you into thinking that America can be kept separated, can be isolated, that these are troubles only of the rest of the world, that we just should keep out of it, that it doesn't concern us.

We Communists have been shouting this warning from the house-tops for the past several years. We are glad to see that slowly but surely the whole country is coming to understand that there can be no security for us in America from the horrors of war unless we take deeper and more active interest in preserving the rest of the world from these same horrors.

We have been given several general expressions of this truth by official leaders of the American people. The official spokesman of the United States a few months ago, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, addressing the Pan-American Conference in Buenos Aires, stated this very aptly and excellently. He said:

It is now as plain as mathematical truth that each nation in any part of the world is concerned with peace in every part of the world.

If we are concerned with peace in every part of the world, we certainly have to be concerned with war, the absence of peace. In China today we have a terrible war being waged against a people which stands before the whole world as the very symbol of peacefulness.

The Chinese people have been too peaceful. The Japanese imperialists have found, however, in the past couple of weeks, that even an extremely peaceful people can be driven too far, that finally they will turn and defend themselves. One of the most glorious pages in world history is the news that the Chinese people have begun to defend themselves effectively, that the Japanese imperialists have been cracking their shins against the defense in Shanghai.

But let us have no illusions! While the resistance of the Chinese people, which is only beginning, will surely bring the Japanese imperialists to grief finally, a great deal depends upon what we and the rest of the world do with regard to this struggle. If we allow Japanese imperialism, with all of its modern implements of warfare, to proceed unhampered against the Chinese people, while we of America actually join in this Japanese aggression, we are preparing trouble for America. The United States is accepting the blockade of China. We continue to allow scrap iron from the United States to be shipped from the docks of Brooklyn every week. Scrap iron from Brooklyn is going to Japan to be made into shrapnel and bombs to be dropped on the Chinese people! Washington issues orders that American ships shall stay away from Shang-

hai. But Washington doesn't issue any orders that all ships shall stop carrying shrapnel from Brooklyn to Japan.

It is here that we begin to understand that we Americans have a duty, a responsibility towards the Chinese people, and that that duty and responsibility is exactly the same as our duty towards world peace, our duty to ourselves. We cannot protect the peace of America, the peace of New York, the peace of Brooklyn, if we allow scrap iron from Brooklyn to destroy the peace of the Chinese people.

America had to go through a long revolutionary war to establish itself as an independent nation. Modern China is going through its war of independence today. When we had our war of independence, we found friends from other parts of the world, who came to help us. It is an established part of American history that we won our war of independence largely because of the help of our friends from other parts of the world.

It was only a few weeks ago that the President of the United States acknowledged this truth, in a speech that he made on the occasion of the unveiling of a monument in France to the American soldiers who died in the World War. President Roosevelt said:

We, of this country, have not forgotten, nor could we ever forget, the aid given us by France in the dark days of the American revolution.

If it was correct for France to give us aid in the dark days of our revolution, is it not correct for America to give aid to the heroic Chinese people in the dark days of their revolution?

But now Congress has decided that in the United States we are going to remain neutral. Neutrality is a strange word. It means that we shall "not take sides," we shall merely join in the blockade of China and give Japan the freedom of the American markets. That's what it seems neutrality means. The damnable consequences of the application of this false and hypocritical neutrality to Spain brought about the complicity of America in the fascist destruction of world peace. The same thing is happening in regard to China.

The bombs on Madrid, and the bombs on Shanghai, are surely going to bring bombs on New York and San Francisco, unless America changes this policy, and clasps hands with the peace-loving peoples of all the world, to remove this fascist, militarist menace from the world.

Comrades and friends, China is no small nation. If we could possibly think that after all, we could, for the time being, abandon some small nations to the aggression of the fascists, and still think that America might keep out of the mess—we still could not apply such reasoning to China. China is no small corner of the world. China has a population of 450,000,000, three and a half times as many as in the United States. Here is a people that has been exploited and oppressed by the Western capitalist nations ever since they “opened up” China, as they called it, with warships some hundred years ago.

The Western capitalist world smashed the old social and economic system of China by forcing the Chinese people to open up their doors to the machine-made goods of the West. The Chinese people have been suffering from that ever since, because no matter how backward their old system may have been, it was at least a system and was their own. But Western capitalism, Western imperialism, forced the products of the capitalist nations of the West on this great people, and at the same time prevented the Chinese people from developing their own capitalism.

The Japanese have learned the lessons of our Western imperialism with all of its worst trimmings. Now they are trying to apply the same imperialist methods, especially as exemplified by the brutal assault on the body of China.

If the Chinese people are not able successfully to resist this attack; if this great country and people are really forced by superior military power to submit to Japanese domination, let us have no illusion that this is something that will not affect us. Can you imagine what it will mean for the future of America if the Japanese militarists and imperialists are able to harness the great continent of China and 450,000,000 people to their particularly backward form of modern imperialism?

The peace of the whole world will be shattered and America will really be faced with a peril, a million times more real than that old bugaboo that Hearst used to trot out, the “yellow peril,” the peril of the East. Since the peril of fascism in Asia has become real, Hearst has forgotten about the “yellow peril” and has become an open apologist of fascism, as it really menaces the future of America.

And that is significant, because Hearst represents the development of fascism in the United States. We will not be able to prevent fascism from seizing our country unless we help to prevent fascism from seizing Spain and prevent it from seizing China.

The Chinese people will have to do the biggest part of that job. They are organizing themselves to do it. It was five years ago that plans for uniting the Chinese people to save their country from the Japanese aggression were formulated and published by the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China has been, from that day down to this, moving forward to mobilize the whole Chinese nation for its salvation and independence.

During most of these five years the Chinese Communist Party, leading the Chinese Soviet government and the Chinese Red Army, has been suffering from the military attacks of the Nanking Kuomintang government. Within the past year, however, under the continued Japanese aggressive attacks, the Chinese people have awakened to the fact that it was the voice of the Communist Party which showed them the only road to their salvation.

Under pressure of this awakening consciousness, the Chinese masses have forced their Kuomintang government to stop their war against the Chinese Soviets and Red Army, to enter into negotiations for the establishment of a united national front against Japan. When the latest hostilities broke out in China there was already the beginning of the united front of the Chinese people, looking towards the amalgamation very soon of the Chinese Red Army into the Chinese Anti-Japanese National Liberation Army of the Chinese People.

You may be interested to know that a few days ago I received some letters from the leaders of the Chinese Soviet government and the Chinese Red Army, written just before the Japanese invasion at Shanghai, on June 24, from the city of Yen-an, in the province of Shensi, the headquarters of the Chinese Soviet government. They came from the three principal leaders of the Chinese Soviets, the organizers of the Chinese national liberation movement, the men who very shortly will be in the news cables as leaders of that great armed struggle of the Chinese people. With your permission, I am going to read these letters to you. The first letter is from the President of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Comrade Mao Tse-tung. He says:

My dear Comrade Browder:

Taking advantage of a comrade's visit, I am sending this letter to you, our respected Comrade Browder, good friend of the Chinese people and leader of the American people.

Both the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of U.S.A. are confronted with a historic task, the task of resisting and overthrowing the aggressive policy of Japanese imperialism. The Chinese Party is endeavoring to bring about an anti-Japanese national united front. Although our work is passing through a difficult period, we have already made progress and we are doing our best to bring about the desired result.

From several American friends, and from other sources, we learned that the Communist Party of the United States and the masses of the American people are deeply concerned with China's struggle against Japan and have given us assistance in many ways. This makes us feel that our struggle is by no means isolated and we are heroically assisted from abroad. At the same time we feel that when we achieve victory, this victory will be of considerable help to the struggle of the American people for liberation. The world is now on the eve of a great explosion. The working class of the world and all the peoples who desire liberation must unite for the common struggle.

Revolutionary Greetings,  
MAO TSE-TUNG.

The second letter I want to read to you is from Chow En-lai, one of the greatest political thinkers, writers and organizers of the Chinese people. He writes on the same day:

Comrade Browder:

From the comrade who visited us we learned what concern you and the Communist Party of the United States have for the Chinese revolutionary movement and what enthusiastic assistance you have given us. This news gives us great stimulation.

Comrade, do you still remember the Chinese comrades who worked with you in China ten years ago? I am among those who made your acquaintance at that time. Unfortunately Comrade Su Chao-chen, whom you knew best, is no more with us. He died of sickness in 1929, when he was working under the most difficult conditions.

Since the Sian incident, the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang have again started negotiations. We are dealing with a new problem of the united front which is not exactly like the united front negotiations between the Communists and Socialists in Europe and America. It is also different from the kind of co-operation which we had with the Kuomintang between 1924 and 1927. The objective of the united front at the present time is to fight Japanese imperialism. Thus, in China at the present time, the concrete process of bringing about the united front and the content of the united front is very devious and complicated. As to what actually happened and what is the present status of the negotiations, I have already transmitted this to you.

I fervently hope that you and the Party under your leadership will give us more support. I am also anxious to get your opinion on our united front work. I am confident that with our two parties on both sides of the Pacific working to overthrow the devil of aggression in the Pacific and later to overthrow all aggressors, we will surely succeed.

Enthusiastic Bolshevik greetings to you.

CHOW EN-LAI.

And the last of these letters is from Chu Teh, the great military genius of the Chinese Red Army. He writes:

On behalf of the Chinese People's Army, I am sending to you and through you to the Communist Party of the United States, the American workers and farmers and all American friends of the Chinese national liberation movement our enthusiastic greetings.

We are determined to exert our utmost to unite the Chinese people for the purpose of driving out Japanese imperialist bandits and struggle for the freedom and liberation of China. In this struggle we hope you will give a great deal of fraternal assistance. Let us join hands and destroy the dark and barbaric system of fascism. Our

future is bright, and is bound to be illuminated by the progress that is bound to shine in both hemispheres.

Long live the solidarity of the Chinese and the American people!  
Long live the victory of our struggle against fascism!

CHU TEH.

Comrades, what can I say of these messages from our Chinese comrades?

We have a great duty to perform. We must make the American people understand that the cause of the Chinese people is our cause, the defeat of the Japanese imperialism is our concern. We shall not allow America to be used as a base by Japan to make war against the Chinese people. We have to organize, first of all, to shut off the flow of all commodities and credits from this country which help the Japanese imperialists.

A good beginning would be to organize a few mass demonstrations around some of these Japanese scrap iron ships on the docks of Brooklyn. Most important of all, we must make our government in Washington understand that the will of the American people is to throw the moral influence and economic power of our country into the scales of battle to help the Chinese people.

Can we afford that America shall do less than is being done by the Soviet Union? The Nanking government of China announced a few days ago that they had just signed a pact of mutual non-aggression with the Soviet Union. This gives serious pause to the Japanese imperialists, who understand this is of practical help to the Chinese people blocking their way to conquest; they cannot laugh it off. But when our good Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, gave a very valuable and excellent reminder to the world of the existence of very solemn agreements—the Kellogg-Briand Pact of Paris, by which Japan had pledged itself to America and to China and to the rest of the world not to resort to war to settle any disputes, and the Nine-Power Pact, which guaranteed the integrity of China—the answer that Mr. Hull got to this very valuable reminder was the word from the Japanese War Office that in

their consideration this reminder required no answer, that it was not serious. The only kind of argument that the Japanese militarists are able to understand today is the argument that is backed up with economic and material action.

The Chinese people are organizing the military side of the struggle, but if we want the word of America to have any influence on the future of world peace, we had better make use of American economic power, at least, if we want to influence world events.

A necessary step for the honor of America, for the interests of America, for the interest of world peace, is for America to sever all economic relations with Japan until Japan withdraws her armed force from China, and respects her solemn covenant with the United States to keep the peace of the world; her solemn pledge that she made when she signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact and the Nine-Power Pact.

We further propose to the government of the United States that they shall begin to negotiate with all nations of the Pacific who want peace for a particular agreement to act together for that purpose.

The American people are interested in peace, and we hope our government is. We know that the Chinese people want peace, and they are all united now to fight for peace in that country. We know that that great Pacific power, the Soviet Union, wants peace. A pact for mutual defense of peace in the Pacific between China, the Soviet Union and the United States will certainly guarantee peace in the Pacific.

If we want peace, we must strive to unite the peace forces of the world. Perhaps if we look at Europe, we might say it is very complicated and difficult. But when we look at the Far East—at the Pacific—it becomes much simpler. Three powers have it within their grasp. All that is required is an agreement to work together, and peace can be guaranteed.

We propose to secure the peace of the Pacific and on the basis of that to develop a real world peace program for the United States.

By helping our Chinese brothers and sisters, we can, at the

same time, help the cause of peace throughout the world. We can hasten the day of the destruction of the fascist and war-making governments, and the installation in their place of people's peace-loving governments. We can protect the interests of the American people, we can keep America out of war, by keeping war out of the rest of the world.

The only alternative to this program is the speedy engulfment of America into the new world war.

We say with the Chinese people—THEY SHALL NOT PASS; with the Spanish people—THEY SHALL NOT PASS; and here in America also, the war-makers and fascists SHALL NOT PASS.

The American people will unite their forces to control our government for democracy and progress; unite with the progressive and peace-loving peoples of the whole world to defeat the fascists and keep peace and progress for the peoples of every land.

*Address delivered at the Coney Island Velodrome, New York, September 2, 1937.*