

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Leader of China's Fight for Freedom

FOREWORD

BY THE HON, LADY CRIPPS

HE writer of this little book is one who knows and loves China and her people. He has lived amongst them and shared their everyday joys and sorrows. There are qualities in our own Nation and in China which should give us special understanding of each other. We, too, have known the horrors of bombing, though we have not had our land ravaged by a brutal and invading enemy. During all this time China's inspiring motto has been "Resistance and Reconstruction," and of it she has made a living truth. As the enemy have advanced and destroyed, so she has built up again and again, carrying on the education of her people and developing her public health services. The students have carried back with them their books and their equipment each time they have been driven out from their schools and universities by the enemy. The Induscos -Manufacturing Co-operatives—have grown to meet the needs of a war economy, from a small experiment launched by Chinese and British enthusiasts, into a national movement helping to train disabled soldiers and the wives of those too badly wounded to help themselves.

China is fighting, as we are fighting, to save the world from the domination of violence and aggression. This tribute to China is a token to show our realisation of what her resistance has done for us all, and indicates the terrible suffering through which her people are passing. The need is great; the response throughout Britain in contributing to help China has been widespread and it shows how greatly the British People desire a close and equal friendship with our Chinese allies, so that our two Nations may be better equipped to join together in building the new World of the Future.

These are the words of her own poet written over two thousand years ago:—

"They were more than brave, they were inspired,
Steadfast to the end, they could not be daunted."

I sobel & This.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED AID TO CHINA FUND.



CHINA'S FIGHTING MEN ON THE MARCH

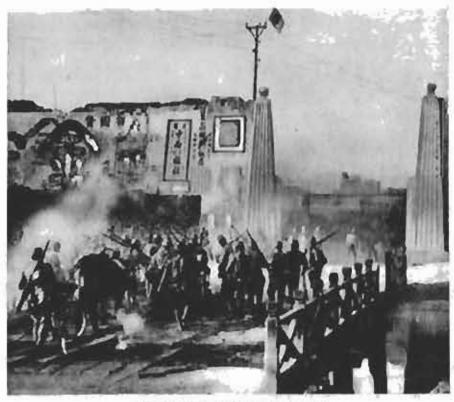
CHINA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Why China and Japan went to War

HINA is at war with Japan. How has this war come about? What are the character and the aims of the combatants? What shape is the war taking? These are the questions I shall try to answer here. On the one hand is China. Up to four hundred and fifty million people, intelligent, hard-working, peaceable, inhabiting a continental area of nearly three million square miles. Their birth rate (37.07 per 1,000) is the highest in the world. Their civilisation, one of the most ancient and glorious in the world, is 4,000 years old. Their past has been creative, in wisdom, in invention, in the production of things of beauty. Through the ages they have tilled the soil of their vast plains, cherished and perfected their own culture, and have neither waged war nor held it in regard. On the other hand is Japan, with a population of some ninetyeight million people, living in the islands off the Chinese mainland, They inhabit an area of some 260,000 square miles. Their civilisation has been adapted from that of China. An imitative race, they have borrowed also the technical developments of the West. They are aggressive, industrialised, militaristic. They believe in conquest and war. The reason for the struggle between China and Japan lies in that fact.

Japan has set herself to dominate the Far East, to bring all Asiatics under the banner of the Rising Sun. It has been her intention to master China, Indo-China, Siam and all the islands down as far as Australia. The programme of conquest includes Australia and India. This programme once completed, Japan would have an Empire completely independent of the rest of the world and secure against any coalition.

The political slogan of Japan is "Asia for the Asiatics," that is to say, Asia under the heel of a "master race"—the Japanese. They think in the same distorted terms as the Germans, in the West. They covet what does not belong to them. China is an industrial prize. China can provide Japan with coal and iron, with cotton and other raw materials. She offers a huge market where Japanese goods can be disposed of, so she was marked down as the necessary prey of the feudal barons of the Japanese factories and the Japanese war machine. The plan was put in action by insidious degrees. As long ago as 1895, when Japan was entering the lists of industrial competition, she grabbed the island of



JAPANESE TAKE NANKING

Japanese troops are seen advancing towards the southern capital, till then seat of the Chinese Republican Government. The city fell on December 12th, 1937, after terrible bloodshed, the Chinese putting up fierce resistance.

Formosa. In 1905 she got a foothold on the mainland, at Kwantung. Korea was annexed in 1910, and China's three northern provinces, collectively known as Manchuria, which was renamed Manchukuo by Japan, between 1931 and 1933. This was the last stage before the long-suffering Chinese turned against the foreign warrior in their midst.

The Rise of Chinese Nationalism

While Japan was growing as an industrial nation and shaping her plans of conquest, China was passing through a difficult time. An obsolete form of government had to be replaced. In 1911 the Manchu dynasty, dating from the period when Charles I was King of England, was overthrown and a republic was set up. Old conventions were given up. Symbols of the new freedom brought by revolution were the disappearance of men's pigtails, and the custom of binding the feet of



FALL OF THE ANCIENT CAPITAL, PEKING Chinese inhabitants watch in silence as the Japanese, with banners flying and bugles blaring, march into the city. Peking, former capital of the Manchus, renamed Peiping by the Republicans, was occupied in August, 1937.



HOW CHINA'S AGRICULTURE AND

Agriculture is most intensively developed in the North China Plain, the Yangtze Plain, and the Szechwan basin. The Five Northern Provinces are potential centres of the biggest heavy industry in the Far East, having



INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES ARE DISTRIBUTED

large coal and iron deposits. Cotton production is spread widely over China, the country being one of the five great cotton-producing countries of the world. Iron, antimony, zinc and tungsten are found in the south.



CANTON FIRED

Scores of fires were started by the Chinese as they retreated from Canton, most important city of South China. Smoke rises above the waterfront.

women. The nation was ready to receive all that the technical civilisation of the modern world could give her. Six years later the Tsarist regime in Russia also fell. The Chinese and the Russian were thus almost twin revolutions, enormously significant for history, significant to-day because of their fight against the totalitarian powers of East and West, and perhaps still more significant also for to-morrow.

The sweeping change in government was not carried out without friction. This is what happened. The statesman Yuan Shi-kai was made responsible by the old regime for stamping out the revolution of 1911. Failing in this, he determined to put himself at its head. He "accepted the revolution." The real leader of the new movement, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who holds in the Chinese Republic to-day the place that Lenin occupies in the U.S.S.R., was so impressed by this apparent change of heart that he withdrew from the Presidency in favour of Yuan Shi-kai. The experienced diplomat won the day against the philosophical idealist.

During the last years of the first World War, Yuan Shi-kai tried to turn the clock back—to found a new dynasty with himself as Emperor.



FALL OF CANTON

Canton fell to the Japanese on October 24th, 1938. This photograph tells grimly of the havoc wrought, and the loss of innocent lives. A Chinese coolie, who failed to run before the arrival of the invaders, hes shot.



ADVANCE ON HANKOW

Enemy troops trudge through a village, en route to Hankow, which fell on October 25, 1938, fifteen months after the fighting had begun. Inhabitants watch grimly, determined that the day of reckoning will not be far off.

He therefore set up generals favourable to himself in various parts of the country and allowed them to build up large armies. The generals fell out. They became rival war lords; and as Yuan Shi-kai died before he could realise his schemes, a group of contending local commanders was left, each eager to secure for himself leadership of the country.

Meanwhile, Dr. Sun Yat-sen saw that both he and the people had been taken in: and he set to work to restore the original republican ideals. Car ton was the centre of this move. Chiang Kai-shek was one of Sun Yat-sen's main supporters. Others were Dr. H. H. Kung (now Vice-Prime Minister of China), Mr. T. V. Soong (brother of Madame Chiang Kai-shek)—now China's Foreign Minister and for many years her very able Minister of Finance—and those who are now the leaders of the Communist Group, notably General Chu Teh and Mr. Chou En-lai.

Sun Yat-sen died in 1924 and Chiang Kai-shek took over. In 1926 he

led the armies of the Republic from Canton to Hankow and established in Nanking what has been ever since the National Government.

Chiang Kai-shek established his government by means of an alliance between Liberals and men who were Communists. The People's Party, founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and known as the Kuomintang, was Liberal and Socialist in leanings, and was based on the model of American and European Liberalism. But there was a group of young men, now known as the Communist Party, who had absorbed some of the doctrines of Karl Marx. The two parties fell out. Their alliance had made possible the unification of China in 1926. Their differences now caused a bitter and distressing civil war. On one side were the communists, who set up their own government in Southeast China. On the other were General Chiang Kai-shek and the armies of the Kuomintang. There was heroism on both sides. The skilful and determined General drove the communists before him, but they showed amazing courage and endurance. Ten years of this Civil War came to a climax in the city of Siam in December, 1936. It began to dawn on the

FLIGHT FROM JAPANESE AIR RAIDS

A mass exodus was the result of the Japanese advance in China and of the air raids on unprotected cities. The group shown below is flying from Soochow, on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, which was heavily bombed.





LABELLED FOR THE GRAVE
This Chinese baby was a pathetic victim of war. Kille

This Chinese baby was a pathetic victim of war. Killed by a Japanese bomb in Canton, it was labelled and placed in a box ready for burial.

Chinese that their real enemies were not their own compatriots but the Japs. Part of the Kuomintang armies were soldiers of Manchuria who got news of the suffering of their families under Japanese domination. They refused to go on fighting the communists. Chiang Kai-shek was for two critical weeks the prisoner of his own forces. The outcome was better than might have been thought. Both sides were impressed by the General's courageous and resolute behaviour, so much so that both recognised their leader in him. His return to Nanking from captivity marked the dawn of reconciliation and of real unity.

At the time I was in Hong-Kong. It was Christmas Day, and we were having our Christmas dinner together, when suddenly crackers started going off with terrific gusto. Our Chinese servant came in, grinning widely and told us: "China No. 1 Government man have returned Nanking."

Taking advantage of the war in Europe, Japan had presented demands
—notorious in China as the "Twenty-one Demands." Under cover of



AGONY OF CHINESE WOMANHOOD

One of multitudes, a woman of Chengtu, a lonely survivor amid a mass of wreckage, mourns her home and dead. Japanese bombers had raided this densely populated place in the Szechwan province of Western China, north of Chungking, killing hundreds and devastating large areas.

the Anglo-Japanese alliance—but with a typical duplicity which concealed from the British Government the five most drastic demands—the Japanese tried to secure for themselves a dominating position in the young Republic. China's first public act of resistance to the aggressor was in the Council Room at Versailles, where her representatives refused to sign the Versailles Treaty, because it gave Japan what she

wanted at China's expense.

The appearance of Chiang Kai-shek in 1926 as leader of a National Government had made it clear to Japan that sooner or later she would have to face a China united not only in ideals, in culture and in feeling, but in military power and organisation too. Japan realised that she must strike soon if she was to secure the mastery over her great neighbour. She struck first in Manchuria in 1931. Manchuria having been turned into a puppet state under the name of Manchuria having been turned following six years to consolidating her gains and to the preparation of her plans for further penetration. By the occupation of Manchuria she had won the first round of the contest, and the League of Nations had received its first serious blow as an effective instrument of world peace. China had been left alone. No other member of the League was prepared to fight in her support. The further plans were put into effect with the actual outbreak of war in 1937.

On July 7th, 1937, at the Marco Polo Bridge outside Peking Japanese troop movements provoked retaliation from the Chinese, and thus began China's war against aggression, now part of the struggle of the

United Nations.

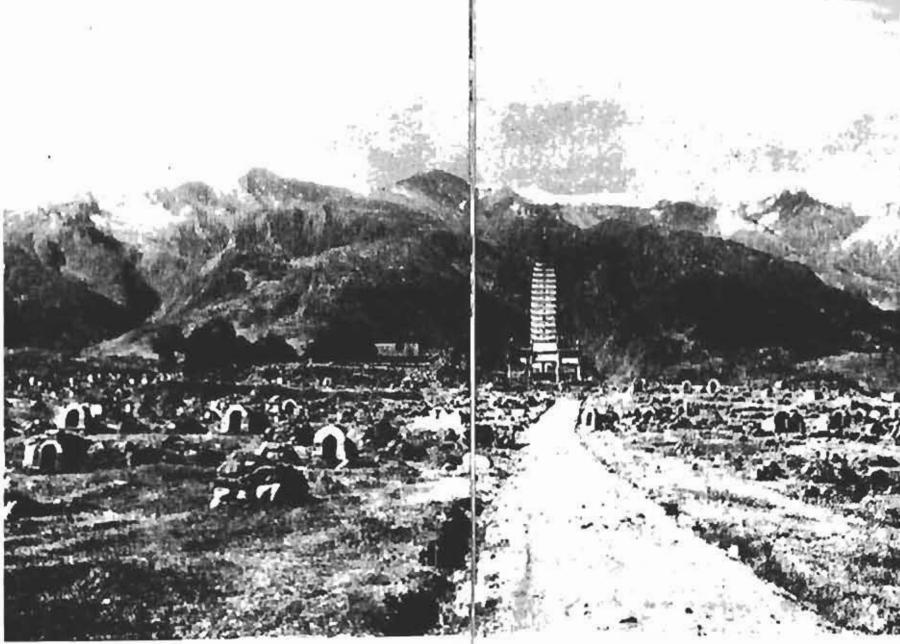
Resistance at Peking, or Peiping as the ancient capital had been renamed by the Republicans, was impossible for the Japanese were virtually in possession before the war began. The city of the Manchus was taken on August 8th. The rich and populous coastal areas were the next object of attack. Shanghai was the immediate victim. In the International Settlement representatives of the Western powers were forced to look on while bitter street fighting took place, and refugees crowded round the narrow strip of ground which stood for safety and order. Shanghai was taken on November 8th, 1937, Nanking, the republican capital from 1926 onwards, on December 12th.

The story of Nanking is terrible. The battle for the city was fought when fifty million men and women from all the cities between Nanking and Shanghai were trekking westwards. More people than the whole population of Britain were in terrified flight before the invader. They encumbered the battlefield, as the civilians were to do when the Germans trampled across Belgium and France. The Japanese spared none, and their strocities in Nanking, the murder of tens of thousands



MAP OF CHINA, SHOWING JAPANESE PENETRATION
The darkened areas on the map indicate the areas penetrated by Japan.

The darkened areas on the map indicate the areas penetrated by Japan. The dates of invasion in each case are clearly shown. "Penetration" is not solid occupation, but the holding of skeletal key points, on the coast, along rivers, railways and roads; but Japan established a partial blockade of China which made new land routes necessary.



THE BURMA ROAD COUNTRY, WITH A

Few stories are more romantic than that of the Burna Road, 800 miles long, half of which was made in 16 months (1937-1938), along an ancient curavan route. By this means China maintained her contacts with friendly

BACKGROUND OF SNOW-CAPPED MOUNTAINS

nations, and took in supplies. This photograph shows the highland country through which it was made. The peaks of the mountains behind the town of Tali here form a background to a high sixteen-story pagoda.



CLEARING A LANDSLIDE ON THE BURMA ROAD
Two hundred thousand peasants, with the most primitive tools, made

and kept up the road. It rose as high as 9,000 feet, and its narrow and dungerous surface skirted mountainsides like those shown here, carrying long streams of trucks, of which thousands were lost over precipices.

of men and rape of thousands of women by drunken soldiers, are only equalled by the atrocities of the Nazis in Poland. Japanese bombers droned over the fragile cities, splintering Chinese homes to matchwood, leaving a trail of devastation and woe. Air attacks on Canton began in 1938, and were followed up systematically. The Japanese military advance continued until the fall of Hankow, on October 25th, 1938, 15 months after fighting had begun. Stubbornly the Chinese fought back. The armies which the Generalissimo had trained and conserved for this vital struggle gave so good an account of themselves against the much heavier metal and air power of Japan that Japan has not made any considerable advance since that time.

How Chinese Resistance was Organised

How did China without fully developed industries, without a navy, without a rudimentary army, manage to resist the highly trained and well equipped forces of Japan? For several reasons, one of which is geographical. If you look at a relief map of China in which the river valleys and the level plains of the river valleys are shown in green, the colour changing as the land gets higher from biscuit to dark brown, you will find that Japan's military successes in China are almost entirely limited to the green areas. Japan's naval power has given her control of the coast and the big rivers. This is paralleled by her auccess in the South Pacific: and her hesitation to launch big land invasions either on Australia or India. Wherever Japan has attempted to go from the green to the brown, except for certain areas in the north, where the drier climate and the lower hills make her armoured troops effective, she has been checked.



OIL FOR THE MACHINES OF CHINA

At Lashio, key point of the Burma Road, Yuanese coolies load oil drums from a big supply dump to the trucks which will take them into China.



TRAINING ON THE YELLOW RIVER FRONT

An officers' training regiment learns have to handle an anti-aircraft gun.

The Chinese have been quick to learn the methods of modern warfare.

The mountains have helped China to keep the invader out : and the size of the country keeps him within well-defined limits. China is penetrated, not occupied! It is not possible to draw a line demarking free Chinese territory from the occupied lands, for the Japanese only possess effective control in widely distributed cities and along the course of rivers and railways. Between and around are areas still active in the fight for independence. Resistance takes the form of guerrilla warfare, an unceasing struggle not to be decided by any pitched battle where the brutality of the invader is pitched against the heroism of the inhabitants.

Second factor in Chinese resistance is the personality of a great leader—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-ahek. In him the hour has brought forth the man. He is to China what Winston Churchill is to Britain, Roosevelt to America, Stalin to Russia. His achievements in the last sixteen years, since he led the armies of the Republic from Canton to Nanking and began the unification of China, are tremendous. He stands head and shoulders above his lieutenants and associates

The character of Chiang Kai-shek is simple and austere. He is a man of God, who believes intensely in Christ, and in the power of prayer. He disciplines himself strictly, neither smokes nor drinks, lives with the utmost frugality. In his eyes and the sensitiveness of his mouth, the quality of his soul appears. His manner is quiet and unassuming, his smile quick and gracious. When he speaks it is with a calm determination and conviction that carry irresistible weight. Trained at a Japanese military academy, he is fully a match for the national enemy in war.

I have said that he has found few lieutenants to measure up to his great stature. There is one great exception—his wife. An American publicist asked the Generalissimo if he would let Madame Chiang Kai-shek go to America. "Her visit," he said, "would be worth twenty divisions to China." The Generalissimo smiled and quietly replied: "Madame Chiang in China is worth forty divisions to the Chinese people." She is, in fact, one of the great influences for good on the spirit of China. The Generalissimo does not speak English. He has never



CHINA'S GROWING AIR FORCE

Chinese pilots receive last-minute instructions before taking off. China had only 200 first-line 'planes at the beginning of the war, but the nation has rapidly become air-minded. Chinose air cadets trained under American uces in the United States of America show great smartness and discipline.





CHINA TRAINS A

An intensive programme of training has been adopted to develop both the size and fighting power of the Chinese Army. As a result it has grown in five years of war from a total of less than two hundred comparatively poorly equipped and ill-trained divisions to well over three hundred divisions with 5,000,000 men in the field and 15,000,000 men in reserve units or training camps. There are special courses in guerrilla warfare, and experience has shown that the best guerrillas are regular troops with this special training. Over 800,000 guerrillas operate against Japanese garrisons and lines of communication, while more than 600,000 regular

MODERN ARMY

troops operate behind the Japanese lines. Armed with modern weapons, like the machine-gunner seen above, the Chinese troops have gradually gained more and more initiative. Before the fall of Hankow in October, 1938, the Japanese, with their greater training and fire-power, inflicted heavy losses on the Chinese. In the second stage of the war since the fall of Hankow, this unfavourable situation was altered and the casualty ratio dropped from three to one (that is, three Chinese against one Japanese) in the first stage to one to one in the second. An immense reserve of man-power exists, as China can call on 50,000,000 fit men.



GUERRILLAS TAKE A MEAL

With chopsticks these cheerful soldiers make a meal of coarse Chinese millet with pickled vegetables-supplies captured from the Japanese.

visited America or Britain : but Madame Chiang, like her father, a Chinese emigrant to the United States, was educated in America. Meiling Soong, one of three famous sisters, was married in December, 1926. When she came back to Shanghai, she had to learn her own tongue again. To-day she speaks and writes English as easily as she does her own language. She knows how like democratic China is to democratic America and Britain. She can interpret their viewpoint to the Generalissimo.

Madame Chiang's value to China is more than political. She is the symbol of its spiritual rebirth. She has taken a leading part in almost every great movement for relief and social reconstruction. Wounded soldiers, desperate refugees, homeless orphans have all felt the touch of her eager concern. In numberless works of social service she has been an inspiration and a tonic to all China. The comradeship in work and service between her and her husband is unique in history. Together they lead the country to final victory.

The enthusiasm of the people is behind them—the enthusiasm which

moved industries inland as the invader advanced, which established a new capital-Chungking : which re-established in the West nearly one hundred universities ; which opened up hundreds of miles of new railway and built new roads to Russia and Burma. An overland route linking free China with the outside world was essential. It was established between Burma and Chungking. The making of the Burma Road (completed in 1938) was a stupendous achievement. It was 960 kilometres long and made with the most primitive means. Thousands of workers toiled like demons to carry it through wild and mountainous country. It was bombed, blocked by landslides, then cleared and repaired by superhuman efforts to ensure the continuing stream of

vital supplies and munitions of war.

Industry in China is primitive, but is gallantly improvised against odds. Within the space of a mile on a hilly road in the interior Province of Kweichow, I passed a hundred fast-moving, thirty-mile-a-day carriers, each with two tins of aeroplane spirit swinging gaily on either side of a slender bamboo pole, and then a much slower line of men each carrying a great sheet of rough forged iron weighing probably two hundred pounds. I saw the primitive forges where this iron is melted. Forges have not changed for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years, and the truck in which we were riding seemed to regard this primitive form of power with an amused patronage. But five years of war have changed the interior of China from a mediaeval to a modern state. China had 3,849 factories before the war, of which 1,290 were in Shanghai, and only 279 in the interior. Now, up to 2,000 factories are scattered in free China and 443 are at Chungking. Metallurgical works have been established. Twenty-two factories in the interior produce synthetic gasolene. Before 1937 only 745 coal mines and 33 iron mines on a small scale existed in the hinterland. Now there are 1,350 privately owned plants in the interior. There are 33 in Szechwan, which has an iron deposit of 137,597,700 tons. The sole pre-war industry in Sikang was leather tanning. Now it has ten factories. Since 1937 the textile industry has been greatly developed and there are now 230,000 spindles in Free China producing 100,000 bales a year. Vast water-power projects are being developed, and a five-year plan of reconstruction is already mapped out by the National Reserves Commission. Reconstruction will demand production of steel, coal, gold, cement, cotton, yarn, locomotives and steamships. The development of coal reserves (which amount to 250,000,000,000 tons), and iron (1,000,000,000) tons, the production of antimony, which amounts to 70 per cent. of the world's supply, tungsten and tin, is all part of the plan. As far as petroleum is concerned, China's total reserves give her sixth place among oil-



HOW THE CHINESE MEET AIR RAIDS

The crowded cities of China offering an easy mark, it was usual for the inhabitants to go out in the country, often with bundles of their belongings, when warning of air raids was given. Wheelbarrows and rickshaws, as may be seen from the photograph above, did a flourishing business.

producing countries. A gigantic training programme for technicians is already under way. The National Research Bureau has seventeen laboratories, ten model factories and four extension stations.

Actual figures relating to the movement of industry are impressive. Since August, 1937, 600 factories, dismantled almost within the sound of Japanese gunfire, have been moved inland, 20,000 tons of machinery, 100,000 skilled workers have been evacuated to the west, where they have now trained more.

But the core of Chinese resistance lay in the morale of the people. The Generalissimo has described his system of defence against the Japanese as "magnetic defence." His policy is to draw the centre of the Japanese defence in, as a magnet attracts steel, and then he says "We beat them by morale." China's morale has been Japan's great surprise. It has already beaten Japan.



RESULTS OF A JAPANESE BOMBARDMENT

This is a scene at Nantao, a Chinese town to the south of Shanghai, laid in ruins by Japanese bombardment. The street has been reduced to rubble.



RETURNING HOME

Repeated raids on the war-time capital, Chungking, caused hundreds to fee to the safety of dug-outs and caves, of which a great number was

AFTER AN AIR RAID

hollowed out of the hillsides. In this crowded street the people are returning to their homes, or what has been left of them after the raid is over. The Chinese morale is not due to racial fanaticism, but to the people's belief in their own way of life, and their love of the freedom which is threatened by the "East Ocean Foreigners." This love of freedom inspires passive resistance, sabotage, guerrilla warfare. It makes the lot of the conqueror a miserable one. Another reason for the triumph of the Chinese morale is the low morale of their enemies. The Japanese soldiers have no Y.M.C.A.s, no Chaplains, no canteens, no concerts. Their recreations are wine and women, and this is quite openly recognised by their Commanders. It is small wonder that they are losing the battle of morale against China.

The simple people of the countryside resist as stoutly as the educated, modern young man of the towns. "Why have they made this road, almost with their bare hands?" asked an American, who was sent to advise on the transportation problem of the Burma Road. "Why do they work so tirelessly for only their keep?" The reason is one which

America will understand. They just want to be free.

China's Military Successes

China's success against Japan means as much as Russia's success against Germany, though it is not so dramatic nor so heroic in the normal sense of the word. Her people are not military. They endure rather than take the offensive. They are interested less in battle than in protecting their homes, children and old people. Yet they have managed to make many areas too hot for the Japanese to hold, and they have, in

spite of all difficulties, made a great army.

The Chinese army now consists of 300 divisions. There are 5,000,000 men in the field and 15,000,000 men in reserve. 800,000 guerrillas harass the Japanese garrisons and 600,000 regulars operate behind the Japanese lines. In addition, 50,000,000 able-bodied men are available for military service (as against Japan's total of 10,000,000 men). The Central Military Academy under the general direction of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, has since 1924 produced a steady stream of trained officers. Training includes courses in guerrilla warfare. Before the end of 1940 more than 6,500,000 militia were trained and 6,000,000 in 1941.

Training is both technical and spiritual, the latter term meaning that soldiers are constantly impressed with their duty towards nation and people. Organisation has reduced the ratio of Chinese to Japanese casualties from 3:1 to 1:1. From July, 1941 to June, 1942, the Chinese fought 5,580 engagements, causing heavy enemy losses.

Four times Japan has tried to attack Changsha, leaving the security of the Yangtze river and the protection of their navy and breaking through hilly districts to reach the heart of the rice country in central

China, Once by a ghastly mistake the Chinese burnt the city themselves though the Japanese had not reached it. Since then it has been ravaged by the Japanese : but each time they have been driven back. The mosquito army of China has driven off the disciplined horde. In the second battle of Changsha in September, 1941, the Japanese lost 41,250 men, in the third, in January, 1942, 57,000 men. It happened again in the province of Kjangsi where an important railway and vital aerodromes were recaptured by China's citizen soldiers. Japan cannot spare enough men for this type of warfare. There is a vital railway line from Hankow to Canton. The capture of its central part would give Japan a direct line from Manchuria in the north to Canton in the south. But for four years every attempt to take this railway either up from Canton or down from Hankow has failed. The defensive achievements of the Chinese army are of great significance. The hills have helped China as the winter has helped Russia; but the outstanding fact is that Japan has been held as Germany has been held. In 1942 China gave



WATERBOY CARRIES ON

The amount of devastation caused in Changking after five days and nights of intensive aerial bombardment is evident in this photograph, though the people (like this waterboy) still went about their usual tasks.

gallant assistance against the Japanese in Burma, where three Chinese

armies operated under General Joseph Stilwell.

China has refused to allow her students and many of her townspeople to become soldiers. She has drawn on the countrymen who are tough physically and at home in the country in the dark when it is not safe for any Japanese to be abroad. At night a transformation comes over occupied towns. The Japanese withdraw into their defended quarters and Chinese markets and Chinese magistrates function almost under the noses of the Japanese sentries afraid to leave the shelter of the sandbags after sundown. Their old proverb "You do not use good iron to make nails, nor do you use good men to make soldiers" makes the Chinese refuse to be cowed by the vaunted efficiency of the Japanese troops backed, as it has been, by long preparation.

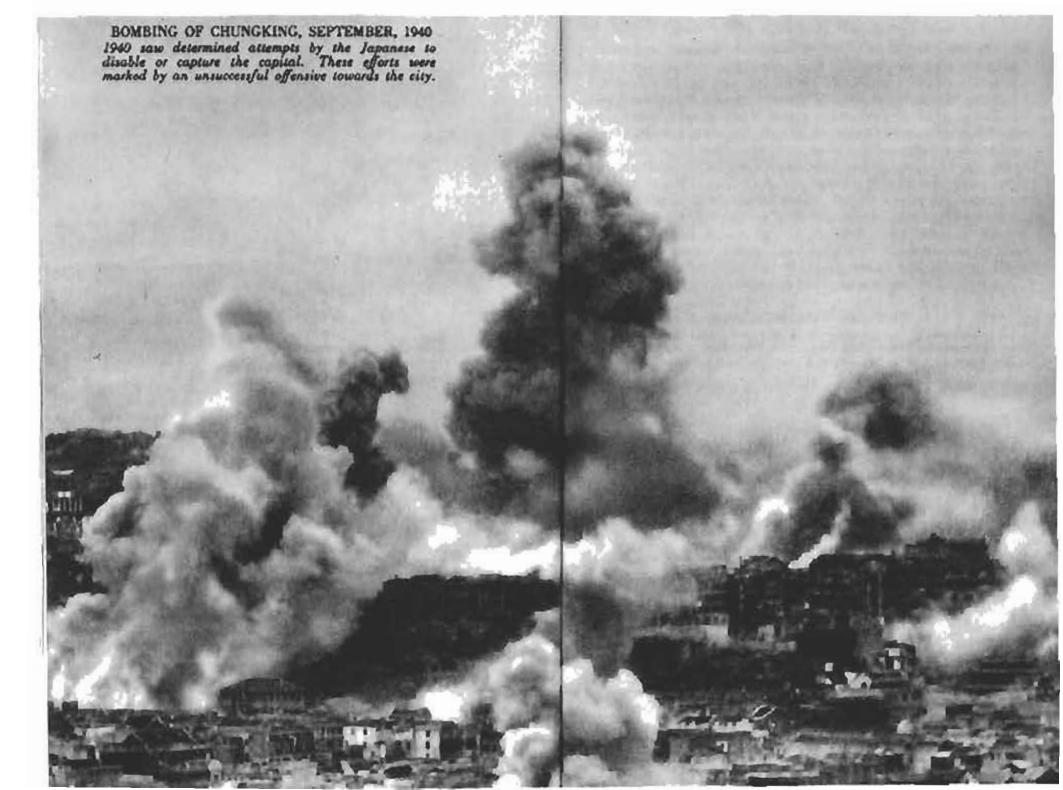
Thus, they have been fortified against an immense superiority in the air and in munitions and were able in 1938 to win the great victory of Taierchwang where the attacking Japanese army was defeated and overthrown in hand-to-hand conflict. Taierchwang, it is true, was an isolated victory. Japanese reinforcements were brought up in great strength and Hankow subsequently fell (in October, 1938). But the Japanese had to fight every yard of the way, and since then there have been no really successful Japanese advances on any large scale. For four years in effect the Japanese army has been bogged down in China. Every incoming Japanese ministry (and up to Pearl Harbour the Ministries changed every ten months) has put at the head of its programme "To finish the China incident." In this they have failed. They captured Ichang (on the route from Hankow to Chungking) by an unexpected attack across country but got no further. They have failed to hold the area round the Canton-Hankow railway. Blockade of the coast, furious bombing from the air, military expeditions and raids have been without avail. Superiority in the air they have certainly had, but here again China has not been without reply. She had only 200 first-line planes at the beginning of the war, but many additions have since been made. Twenty million dollars contributed by Chinese overseas bought 350. The co-operation of the American volunteer group—the famous Flying Tigers-has helped, and Chinese air cadets learn to handle planes on the Thunderbird and Luke Fields in Arizona under the eye of American aces. Among the trainees of the eleven United Nations there represented, the Chinese have been specially commended for their smartness and discipline. In China there is an Air Force Staff School, and an Air Force Mechanical School. A Juvenile School was set up in 1940 for boys of 12 to 15, and a National Cliding Association was established in 1941. Many new airfields are under construction.



CHUNGKING UNDER FIRE

Ten thousand were left homeless as a result of air raids in which incendiary and high explosive hombs were dropped on a residential area. Wrecked and burning buildings near the French and Soviet Embassies are seen above. Below, a salvo of bombs is dropping on the city. The explosions are seen from across the Yangtse river, on which the capital stands.







AT THE BATTLE OF CHANGSHA

A Chinese commander gives orders at the battle in which the Chinese won their great victory over the Japanese. In September, 1941, the Japanese aimed a major offensive at Changsha, capital of Hunan and headquarters of the Chinese 9th War Zone. The Japanese withdrew with heavy loss.

The National Commission for Aeronautical Affairs comprises an Air Defence Department and an Air Defence School.

That for four years there have been no successful major operations

in China is in itself a victory for the Chinese armies.

An army has been trained. Some of its leaders learnt originally the methods of warfare in Japan, some in Russian and German schools. The Chinese air force is small, but growing: what is even more important, the whole country, men and women, old and young, is pulling together.

Constructive Effort in War-torn China

The new national consciousness looks beyond the war and the slogan is "against aggression and for national reconstruction." Democracy is being steadily built up. The People's Political Council—a wartime organ—consists of some 240 members elected by provincial representative assemblies. A county system has been set up in the 2,000 county districts of China—divided into wards (comprising 6-15 households); boroughs (6-15 wards); towns (of 6-15 boroughs) and counties, with town assemblies. There is a citizenship school in each borough and a central school in each town. The National Government organisation has been overhauled to aid efficiency. Principal units are—Ministries of Interior, Foreign Affairs, War, Finance, Education, Communications, Food, Social Affairs, Agriculture and Forestry, Economic Affairs; Administrations for Health, Land and Relief; Commissions for Mongolian and Thibetan affairs; Overseas Affairs and National River Conservancy. The Navy Ministry has been temporarily suspended.

CHINESE WOMEN SOLDIERS

Women in China have come to the forefront in the war. As in the U.S.S.R., they have taken a combatant role and are trained and equipped like men. At least twenty thousand of them have fought in the guerrilla areas.







CHUNGKING'S ANTI-AIRCRAFT EQUIPMENT

Sandalled soldiers at Chungking handle an anti-aircraft battery, part of the scanty equipment available to meet the ruthless bombing of the Japanese, who took full advantage of China's deficiency in mechanisation.

The war has called for special measures in each department. Production of food has not kept pace with the growth of population, though six times the present amount could be grown. Production has been promoted by introducing improved varieties of cereal, especially of rice; control of insect pests and diseases; and the use of fertilisers; also by government loans for farmers and for irrigation schemes. Foreign trade is strictly regulated, exports of wood oil, tea and silk being set against the loans received from the U.S.S.R. (250 million dollars), U.S.A. (120 million dollars), and Great Britain (32 million dollars). 450 million Chinese dollars have been set aside for price stabilisation and the Government has established six monopolies

(including salt, tobacco and matches) producing 1,530 delices in the first year in which they were put into operation.

One hundred million dollars has been set aside for China refuse from overseas. There are now a millionyrefugees from the South in China. It is estimated that the losses suffered by Malayan Chinas through the Japanese occupation were 160 million dollars.

Communications—roads, post, telephone and telegraph have developed enormously under the urge of war. To date over 10,000 kilometres of road (including the Burma Road) have been added, with inestimable value for the future.

All these facts suggest problems on a heroic scale. They have been heroically tackled by the combined efforts of the nation.

The women of China have played a stirring part. Many of them served in the army. There have been grand old ladies who have led guerrilla bands and died fighting for their village. They have shown the quality of faith which is stirring the whole people.

Madame Chiang Kai-shek is leader in the work of national service which all Chinese women have taken up. Fifteen women sit in the Chinese parliament—the People's Political Council. Of the "Presidium" of five, one member is a woman, Dr. Wu Yi-fang, President of the famous women's college—Ginling College—which migrated, as Japan advanced, from Nanking to Chengtu. Dr. Wu is also Chairman of the National Christian Council of China.

Women have knit together the broken threads of countless lives. The number of orphans is huge. Their parents have been killed either at the war front or in the air raids. For them, nearly 100 orphanages have been built. Madame Chiang and her helpers have gone to the bombed cities and the districts where fighting was going on to seek out the helpless victims. These orphanages have become training centres. Girls and boys leave them, ready to take part as industrial workers, teachers and nurses, in the struggle for independence.

Another of Madame Chiang's creations is the society called "Friends of the Wounded" which has spread throughout Free China and is served by local committees. Many of China's soldiers are entirely cut off from their homes. Those who come from Japanese controlled provinces cannot go home. Others may be too far from their own province in free China. The "Friends of the Wounded" provide a substitute for home. They arrange special diet for men still in hospital. They organise entertainments and teach the illiterate to read and write. They write letters for those unable to do so. There are probably one hundred thousand disabled soldiers. Centres for the treatment of the disabled and disfigured have been set up. The orthopsedic hospitals of



TREATING A CASUALTY IN A CHINESE HOSPITAL

This photograph was taken in the modern Sun Yat-sen hospital in Canton
before evacuation. Hundreds of air-raid victims received treatment there.

the Chinese Red Cross were the special concern of the people of Hong-Kong. The orthopaedic societies of Britain and the United States have helped with equipment. Disabled soldiers have been handed together into industrial co-operatives. They work at rice hulling, sulphur production, eigarette making, and "Wounded Soldier Cigarettes" have had a special vogue.

Fighting disease has been a tough problem, for the movement of the troop and civilian population has tended to spread infection. Thus, malaria, China's "Fifth Columnist Number One" has been taken to places where it was previously unknown, because of the movement of the Southern armies to share in the battles of the North. Workers who have gone to make roads and railways have brought back malaria to their own villages.

There have been other epidemics—relapsing fever, dysentery cholera. The efforts to fight these diseases have been on a large scale. For years, medicines were flown every night inland from Hong-Kong. The last time I travelled by plane to Chungking I had one package under my seat and another on my knee. Convoys of trucks carried millions of doses of quinine to the malaria-infected regions.

This service reveals another striking fact about the new China—the solidarity of the Chinese overseas with their kinamen at home. The Chinese in Java sent generous supplies of quinine. Cantonese in California sent to Hong-Kong half a million M. & B. tablets for their fellow countrymen in South China. The Chinese Red Cross has been entirely dependent on contributions from Chinese overseas and its leader Dr. Robert Lim is himself a Malayan Chinese (who was educated at Edinburgh and fought for Britain in the last war). Chinese in Canada, Australia, South Africa, in London, in Calcutta, have provided his ambulances and trucks and are numbered among his doctors, nurses and orderlies. China has no Empire, but she has wide-spread colonial relations, mostly under the British flag. There are, for example, more Chinese in Singapore and Malaya than either Malays or Europeans. They have brought China magnificent help in her time of need.

The story of China's fight for freedom is not complete without a brief description of the industrial co-operatives. These are the equivalent of factories—government aided associations aiming at local self-sufficiency for workers of different kinds. For example, destitute refugee artisans from the Yangtze valley, sometimes with their tools, sometimes with nothing but their clothes have joined together and, with government help, made a success of joint production. Dr. H. H. Kung has been the President, from the start of this movement. He has had the help of a dynamic New Zealander, Rewi Alley, whose adventures and personality recall Lawrence of Arabia. Rewi Alley has travelled all over China and in Thibet, organising cooperatives. There are now 1,800 separate societies with a membership approaching 50,000.

Every worker joining a co-operative must learn to read and write, and subscribe to its principles. The manager is elected, and control rests in the hands of the whole body which appoints central federations for marketing and supply. The movement is growing in productive capacity—in 1941 it made over a million blankets for the army. It serves also as a University for working men, and thus helps to spread a general literacy and understanding in a way which the old scholastic tradition was not equipped or intended to do. Literacy in



EDUCATION OF THE CHINESE SOLDIER

Men are seen going over the notes of a military training class. The Chinese Board of Military Training has organised many such classes.

China is proceeding by leaps and bounds, a fact of enormous future importance for the democratic progress of the country.

Education has laboured under special difficulties, and there have been three wholesale student migrations—in the autumn of 1937 from Peiping and district; in the winter of 1937 from Nanking and district and in the autumn of 1938 from Canton and district.

The universities and colleges in these centres trekked, with what they could move, hundreds of miles, to Kunming, Chungking and Chengtu. They moved from palatial buildings into primitive huts. But education has gone on in spite of all. Technical education, in particular, has been developed. A Central College of Technology was established in 1939, and the specially trained Chinese engineers and chemists have an extremely important part to play. Chinese youth is vigorous. The Kuomintang Youth Corps organised in 1939 has 400,000 members. Over ten million Chinese children have received Boy Scout and Girl Guide training in their schools.

The treacherous attack of the Japanese on the American fleet at

Pearl Harbour on December 7th, 1941, definitely ranged the United States and Britain on China's side. The series of campaigns which followed and involved the taking by the Japanese of Hong-Kong, the Philippines, Malaya and Burma, had inevitable repercussions. China was cut off from the much-needed help of her kinsmen in the Southern Pacific, and from her only remaining port to the outside world, Rangoon. Supplies could no longer be sent by the Burma Road, and a new highway to Chungking must be made. The amount of co-operation that was previously possible through Hong-Kong came to an end. It is tragic that co-operation had not gone far enough for the British to have trained Chinese armies to fight beside her own, although Chinese troops played a gallant part in the fighting in Burma, where the Generalissimo sent some of his best men.

In the balance of profit and loss it must be set on the credit side that the British, American and Chinese military leaders have had to coordinate their plans; that the question of supply for China has become

READING IN "BASIC CHINESE"

A Mass Education movement began in China before the war, and has been extended. A vocabulary of the thousand most used characters was selected, and text books prepared. Many books and newspapers are now printed in "pei hua" the ordinary spoken language, and are even limited to the thousand basic characters. Literacy, in consequence is increasing.



a main concern of the United Nations, that a new phase of understanding has been reached. No longer an isolated country, China participates equally in the shaping of a new world.

Summing Up

To sum up finally, How far has Japan succeeded in China? She has made some material gains. China has 28 provinces plus Mongolia and Thibet. The Japanese are in the three North eastern Provinces (Manchuria), in Jehol and in seven northern provinces. Japan has secured control of the wealthy iron and coal areas in the north - west and the cotton area in the Yangtze. She has clutched at the waterways, and this is China's most serious embarrassment. Her economic life since time immemorial has been based on water in spite of the continental nature of the country. Goods have floated down rivers to the sea, and been drawn up rivers again. The rice of Central China has been sent down the brawling dangerous Yangtze and then drawn up the southern rivers to the hilly districts of Fukien and Kwangtung, where they do not grow enough rice for their needs. Japan has cut the Yangtze and controls it for 1,000 miles inland. She controls all the coast and most of the river mouths. Chinese carriers must therefore carry their burdens of rice for hundreds of miles over the hills.

On the other hand, Japan has made no headway in the uplands, and even in the districts which are technically "occupied" she controls only roads, railways and rivers and big cities. All round these islands of conquests the machinery of Chinese government functions under direct orders from Chungking. In none of them is the Jap secure from the Chinese guerrillas, even in daylight, certainly not after dark.

The Chinese say they have "traded space for time." Japan has found it increasingly difficult to gain "space" and she is losing "time." China is not an industrialised country. Even now the industrial base on the Far West is inadequate. Time is needed to build factories, to amass equipment, to acquire the guns, tanks and planes that are needed to place her on something like equal military terms with the enemy. Time also is needed to complete the new road on which thousands have been patiently labouring four hundred miles to the north in replacement of the Burma Road. This is the Assam road from Calcutta to Chungking. Time is needed to open up the ancient caravan tracks to the north-west in the strange dim regions of Turkestan. Time is needed to establish an air transport service across the Roof of the World, a project as yet, but not outside the sphere of practical politics.

Time also is needed for the splendid unity of China now, to exercise its full effect. Since that unity was achieved, since the nation began to



MAKING BLANKETS FOR CHINESE SOLDIERS

Here is one of the Chinese industrial co-operatives in action. Some three thousand women belong to this co-operative. Sitting at their handlooms, some with babies on their laps, they contribute to a yearly output of two million blankets for the Chinese army. There are now 1,800 co-operatives.

fight back in earnest the Japanese have been brought to a standstill. The Japanese are the slaves of a machine. The Chinese are the defenders of freedom. Their fight is one for civilisation.

Being myself incurably Christian in faith and thought, I see China's culture and civilisation as one of God's greatest gifts to men. I see also great significance in the fact that so many of the leaders of China at this time have the same reverence and love for Jesus of Nazareth that we have here in the West. There is surely hope for the future of the world if the United Nations can secure for mankind not freedom to do what you like, but a true Christian freedom, disciplined, generous, forgiving and devoted. China faces the future, side by side with her fellow democracies, ready and willing to play her part in this great enterprise. "Let us take the Cross," Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek broadcast to all China on Easter Eve, 1938: "Let us take up the Cross to secure true salvation of our country and Peace for all mankind."



ALLIED LEADERS CONFER AT CHUNGKING

Generalissimo und Madame Chiang Kai-shek receive General Sir Archibald Wavell and Lieut.-General George Brett, Commander-in-Chief and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in the South-west Pacific. Left to right, seated, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, former Ambassador to China, since, Amhassador to U.S.S.R., Madame Chiang, Generalissimo Chiang, Lieut.-General Brett, General Wavell. Between Sir Archibald Kerr and Madame Chiang is Owen Lattimore, personal political adviser to the Generalissimo. Behind the Generalissimo is General Ho Ying-chin, next to him is Brig.-General John Magruder, head of the American Military Mission to China. Plans are made in close collaboration.

UNITED AID TO CHINA FUND

LETTER FROM MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK TO LADY CRIPPS, PRESIDENT OF UNITED AID TO CHINA FUND.

"It gives me especial pleasure to send you this message because, uside from the material aspect of the aid you propose extending to China, this organization is in itself a practical demonstration of the sympathy and friendship existing between the peoples of our two countries. Your organization is representative of every section of the people of Britain, and in democracies, after all, it is the will of the people that finally counts.

"In giving this uid to China you are actuated by a desire to give recognition to the fact that we are fighting shoulder to shoulder in a common cause, for common aims and for common principles. China will gladly accept it as aid motivated by friendship desirous of extending a helping hand in time of stress.

"I hope that you will find that a gracious giver meas with an equally gracious receiver, for your gift indeed blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

The Find has already rabled £120,000 to Madame Chiang Karshek for nomediate distribution. China urgently requires money for medical supplies, for the relief of hir millions of refugees, and the rebuilding of her bombed hospitals, universities, schools, and industrial resoperatives.

DONATIONS should be sent direct to The Hun. Lady Cripps, President, at the Landon Hendquarters of the United Ad to China Fund (11789), 57, New Band Street, London, W.L. (Telephone M. Cyfair 6911-6913).