Chiang Kai Shek

Speech at Nanchang

March, 1927.
The following translation of a recent speech by General Kiang Kai Shih has been made by Mr. Allen of the Nanchang Y. M. C. A. at the request and with the assistance of General Kiang's secretary. In it General Kiang deals vigorously with the charges recently made against him by the communist group of the Gwoh Ming Tan. Incidentally it furnishes clear evidences of alliance with Russia and between the lines one can easily discern something of the legitimate purposes and meaning which form the basis of General Kiang's interpretation of that agreement as well as something of the more sinister meaning which the meaning holds for the Russian representative and for the Gwoh Ming Tan Communists. It is evident General Kiang feels he has come to a parting of the ways.

Most interesting information is also given as to the exclusive character of the present anti-British agitation. This evidence is the more convincing because of the incidental nature of the references to this subject.

The address follows:
"We will not permit one or two individuals by propaganda to destroy our party, nor to destroy its true spirit. If we allow our Central Committee and Government, as organized by our great leader, to be undermined by a hand full of individuals so that our work shall fail then you, comrades, and I are guilty. Especially our comrades here in Hangchow must understand the real condition of the party. We must not let a few individuals destroy our work while we follow them blindly.

"Now in Wuhan many accusations are being made against our party leaders. They charge me with breaking faith with Dr. Sun's parting message by saying that I am opposing the alliance with Russia and even negotiating with imperialistic Japan. By placing this crime on my shoulders they hope to defame my character and ruin my reputation. They accuse me of secret dealings with the army and an alliance with Fengtien and Shantung. They say that I have made no public accounting of military expenditures so that our comrades will distrust me and suspect me of misuse of funds, but the history of the Revolution and the present position of the party is too well known for these rumors to shake the trust party members place in me.

"During the first year of the Republic undesirable elements in our party and followers of Yuan Shih Kai in seeking to defame the character of Dr. Sun and discredit his past, began by spreading such rumors, asserting that he had received $300,000 from Yuan to give up the presidency. My comrades, do you now believe that that was true? But at that time there were some who thought it might be true. Just now certain persons are trying to destroy the party and to overthrow my leadership. They care nothing for the right nor for the existence of the party and they are using the same tactics Yuan used against Dr. Sun. 'A thousand lies cannot escape one truth', but even Tsao Pu-tao's mother suspected him of murder, and while it may be difficult to convince outsiders I cannot but tell you, my comrades and students, the true situation which faces me and the evil plottings of others.

Soviet

"I am accused of giving up the Soviet Alliance and of uniting Alliance with imperialistic Japan. Is this true? Do you believe it? Why? Dr. Sun made this alliance with Soviet Russia? To bring about China's equality and liberty. So long as Russia does not give up her policy of treating with us as equals the alliance is not to be broken. If any other country, Japan included, will give up its imperialistic policy and treat with us with equality we can make an alliance with that country, just as we have done with Russia. This is the foundation of our diplomacy, to bring about the equality and liberty of our country. We oppose every imperialist notion. We shall oppose them persistently so long as they do not give up their imperialistic attitude, and so long as Russia continues to treat us fairly, the alliance with her will continue. On the other hand, if Russia changes her policy and treats us imperially, we shall oppose her just as we oppose the other countries. This point I want to make clear.

"The fact is, Soviet Russia will never give up her present policy toward us and so the Sino-Russian alliance will never be cancelled. As to representatives of Soviet Russia who say we mistreat our leaders and attempt to shake our party—such actions are actions of individuals and do not represent the attitude of the whole Russian People, and therefore, have no effect upon Sino-Russian relations, our friendship is not in the least affected and we shall keep on with Dr. Sun's policy. Russian alliance does not mean making friends with one or two representatives, but it does mean friendship with the great Russian people and we still believe all expenses for the campaign, uniforms, food, medical, transportation, are
that the people of Russia as a whole mean to treat us with equality. This point I want especially to emphasize to my comrades here.

"It is essential that you understand our foreign policy as it was formulated at the joint session of Party and Government leaders held in Kwangtung and concurred in by the Political Committee. It was there decided that we should single out England for concentrated attack and to adopt toward other countries so long as they did not actually attack us, an attitude of peace. It is our purpose to make other countries understand the purpose of our Nationalist Revolution so that they will do nothing to oppose our interests, but never shall we make peace with any imperialistic nation.

Betrayal. "They charge me with betrayal to the Fengtian army, with the Fengtians and secretly negotiating with them. While our soldiers are fighting at the front and sacrificing their lives, these men sit in Harrow, inventing slanderous rumors and saying we are making peace. Is this the way for comrades to act? They spread these rumors to frustrate our efforts and to destroy the revolution. Have they no conscience? How can they make peace with those comrades who have died, with those who are still fighting at the front. This attack is not against me. It is against the revolution. Are they not the counter-revolutionists? I have never so faithfully served our leaders, Dr. Sun.

"You remember that when Yo Fei was victoriously fighting the Kins how Chin Kuei in the rear became jealous, plotted with the enemy, receiving his bribes, stopped supplies from reaching the front and then gave out word that Yo Fei was the traitor. Yo Fei died in prison, his wrong was never righted.

"The same situation is being repeated today. These trouble and rumor making individuals at Harrow have no conscience and care nothing for right. They are ready and willing to destroy the work of the revolution and overthrow our leaders if only they can thereby gain power and profit for themselves. It matters nothing to them if our nation is destroyed or if our race perished from the earth.

"When the outlook was dark and Dr. Sun was deeply discouraged he urged all party members to be true to the country, to the party and to its ideals and principles. When I was beside him he constantly said, he wanted me to be like our country's heroes, Lu Shu Fu and Shih K'o Fa, and I intend to continue in the spirit of Dr. Sun, fighting for the revolution until my death. Even if I shall not be continued as Commander-in-chief shall go single handed, with a gun upon my shoulder and fight to the end for the achievement of the Revolution and the realization of the "Three Principles of Democracy".

Misuse of Funds. They accuse me of dishonesty in financial administration. They are at liberty to come at anytime and examine my accounts. A complete report was submitted to the Rehabilitation Conference (two months ago). From July 1st to November 30th, 1926 the total expenditure including ordinary and emergency budgets was only forty three millions dollars. The budget for Kwangtung alone, before the campaign was four million a month, latter increased to five millions. This provincial budget is included in the total so that we actually spent only eighteen millions at the front and from this sum should really be deducted three million which was sent to the army in Kwangsi, which did not fighting. There were 11 divisions in the fields. All expenses for the campaign, uniforms, food, medical, transportation, are
included in this sum. In that period we occupied five or six provinces. Thirty thousand lives were lost. Our soldiers are fighting under extreme difficulty and privation while those who stay in the rear, warm, well fed and comfortable forget the hardships on their fighting comrades and spend their time in spreading rumors to injure them. I do not believe that ever in any country at any time, so great an area has been taken now such extensive military operations consummated with so small an expenditure.

"They give us three days to hand in a complete financial statement. You know that such a statement be very complicated. We must wait for a lull in the fighting and to collect reports from all sections of the army. It is impossible to make report now while the armies are fighting hard. Such an unreasonable request shows them either to be entirely ignorant of army organization or to be intentional trouble makers. They seek to destroy my character. They try to find fault where there is no fault. Their arguments are groundless and I swear to you, my comrades, that so long as the revolution is not finally accomplished and the liberty and equality of our country is not established I will never quit my duty. I am prepared to follow the example of China's heroes, Yung Fei, Shih Ko Fu, Lu Shu Fu, Wen Tien Hsiang. I shall devote myself to the last drop of my blood to the cause of the people. I care not for any personal success. I leave my reputation to the final judgement of history and will be satisfied to receive the praise and honor of the generations to come. Evil critics will affect my policy not at all for I have decided to faithfully follow our leader, Dr. Sun.

"In a word, no matter how much trouble they make for us, we will fight on just the same. No matter whether the Soviet Representative is opposed to us or friendly, we shall fight imperialism to our last breath. No matter how difficult the financial situation we will continue the fight against our enemies with the same spirit and vigor and our enemies shall never profit by this internal strife. I will die for the country, for the Principles of Dr. Sun.

"This is all I have to say to you today. Anyone who spreads propaganda against us or against our movement will be considered a counter-revolutionist and we shall treat them as we treat our enemies. Our only hope is the success of our revolution, whoever oppose our revolution is a counter-revolutionist. This, comrades, is the just of what I want to bring before you today."
Mar. 10th, 1922

Dear Mrs. Smith,

I am writing to you on the 12th of March. Today, it is a beautiful day, and I am feeling very well. I hope you are also feeling well. I am writing to you because I have been thinking about you and wanted to hear from you. I have been keeping busy with my work, but I also make time for leisure activities. I enjoy spending time in the garden and reading books. Please let me know how you are doing. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
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Dear Sir:-

I have seldom been tempted to seek publicity; but the letter
in your issue of March 15, signed "An American Anti-red" seems to
require an answer. I am an American missionary, came to China in 1910,
have spent thirteen years, excluding furloughs, etc., in Kiangsi Province,
and since September 1, 1926, have not been away from Nanchang for a
single day. Since November 7 we have been under the Nationalist. The
time when the cold weather came on. In
government.

It is true that foreigners have suffered under the Nationalist
regime. It is equally true, I think, that no foreigner has suffered
under the Nationalist regime as thousands of Chinese suffered under both
the old Imperial regime and the militarist of the Republic under sway
of the war-lords. It is also true, in Nanchang at least, that the
suffering of the foreigners has been strictly preceded by the National-
ist authorities, and so far as I can learn it can be traced in every
case to the influence which, an American Anti-red denounces, though
under another name, Comminist activity. Since the drawing of the
lines in the present internal difficulties of the Kwohingtang, the
right of foreigners to Nationalist protection has been made very clear
here in Nanchang. To confuse the Nationalists with the Bolsheviks is
a serious mistake, as the events of the past few weeks indicate.

In our own minds as foreigners the question which looks big in
these days is, of course, the matter of our own status in China. We hear
every criticism, and feel every blow. There are those who wish to be rid
of us, but I am now convinced that the real leaders of the Nationalists
have no such idea. Their purpose is to regain for China complete sov-
reignty over Chinese affairs, and in this their purpose is fully
legitimate. I feel that the concentration of forces in Shangha is
sufficient to insure the use of moderate methods by the Nationalists in
the regaining of those rights.

The campaign against communism is now beginning in Central
China. Every well-wisher of China will of course lend all possible aid
to those who oppose the destruction and desolation this subtle and
highly dangerous propaganda brings about. As to methods, I feel that
in this section at least every rightly thinking Chinese would oppose
foreign intervention even in driving out militarism and communism. This
cause is primarily the cause of the Chinese people, and if they desire
military aid or any other aid they will not be slow to say so. The
crucial struggle will begin soon, if it has not begun already, and at
that time some of these confused questions will be greatly clarified.

I hold no brief for the National Christian Council, but I
believe I understand some of the motives which inspire some of its
leaders. Under the military rule of the first 15 years of the Republic
China has gone from bad to worse. We as foreigners have had acceptable
treatment most of the time, but as I have watched torture, looting,
rans and murder of the common people time and time again my heart has
boiled with indignation. I am not the one to draw up a bill of indict-
ment against the military leaders. That has been done by far abler
hands than mine. The incompetence and wickedness I have personally
observed have led me to agree with the spirit which welcomes the
Nationalists who have as one of their main objects the betterment of
the suffering classes. These days of fighting and turmoil are most difficult to endure, but the opponents of the Nationalists have not, in this region, shown themselves capable of anything better. During the last ten years of Peking rule in Kiangsi the Military Governor who looked after his own pocket, to start public works, and was escorted out by the people when Teng Yu-teo displaced him, joined the Nationalists when opportunity offered. This was Fang Pen-ren.

I have seldom been warmer in the public, but the letter is

Former regimes have in general been self-centered and unmindful of the good of the people. The Nationalists profess to be, for the common folks, and in Manchuria we noted that the soldiers slept in the streets rather than turn out the people from their homes. The officers sheltered in thin uniforms when the cold weather came on. In circumstances like these we feel that the army is indeed the servant, not the arbitrary master, of the people. Even now, when the sounds of the cannon have hardly died out, there is a desire to secure justice for the "underdogs" that I feel like thanking God that our movement is interested in at least a part of society and not altogether wrapped up in its own pocketbook.

I am not convinced that the Nationalist movement will finally prove to be the best for China. Certainly if Communism gains a grip on the movement it will eventually perish. I am convinced, however, that whatever hope China has today is in the Nationalist movement. If it fails, the long weary road will have to be travelled again until other leaders mindful of the common good and sacrificial in their own lives again arise in this land. If Nationalism fails in China now, we shall see a set-back of decades, if not of generations.

In the last analysis, American Anti-Red and I and all the rest of us would cheerfully suffer and would willingly leave China, if we think that in that way the Chinese people could advance any degree toward real independence and stability of national character. We feel indignant at the destruction and desolation and despoiling China has suffered under the militarist regimes. We tremble at the thought of a Communist China. We do desire, however, to see China great materially, intellectually and spiritually, making her own unique contribution to the whole of humanity.

Let us therefore hold steady through these days of conflict, giving our encouragement to those who stand for the right, striving sympathetically to learn what it is all about, dropping from our thinking insignificant details, and working for the long future. I see no nation at least every rightly thinking Chinese would attempt to internationalize the Pacific for five hundred years. Just now both countries need the warm hand clasps of true brotherhood, each striving to build up a great structure of mutual understanding and trust. Let tomorrow find us in a world once more at peace, working together for the common good of all mankind.

Yours very truly,

Fred R. Brown